The First New Chronicle and Good Government

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ON THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD AND THE INCAS UP TO 1615

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY Roland Hamilton

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THE FIRST NEW CHRONICLE AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture

THE FIRST NEW CHRONICLE AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

On the history of the world and the Incas up to 1615

FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA
TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ROLAND HAMILTON
THE KINGDOM OF THE INDIES
[1615]

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Dedicated to His Holiness the Pope, His Majesty the King

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FOREWORD
Serafín M. Coronel-Molina

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala was born sometime after 1536 and died in 1616 in Huamanga, Ayacucho, only a year after completing his monumental and classic work, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (*The First New Chronicle and Good Government [On the History of the World and the Incas up to the Present]*). Guaman Poma was the son of "Mr. Martín Guamán Malqui and Mrs. Juana Curi Ocllo Coya, descendant of Capac Apoyarovilca, granddaughter of the tenth emperor from Cuzco, Tupac Inca Yupanqui" (Francisco Izquierdo [2006]: available online; translation mine). As such, he himself was the descendant of Inca nobility, not to say royalty. According to historical documents, he was a native speaker of Quechua and Aymara, and subsequently he learned Spanish and became fully literate in this language. In the 1570s, since he had already adopted Christian beliefs to a certain degree, Guaman Poma worked as a Quechua interpreter for the Spanish priests during the campaign to "extirpate idolatry" from the social fabric of the Peruvian Andes.

Guaman Poma became disappointed with the treatment of the native peoples of the Andes by the Spanish Conquistadors and the colonial government. This disillusionment ultimately inspired him to write his *Nueva corónica* to the Spanish king, Philip III. His intention was to explain the history and cultural achievements of the Andeans prior to the arrival of the Conquistadors and colonists and to describe the unnecessarily brutal treatment the newcomers showed the Andeans in the years and decades following the Conquest. He depicted in detail the injustice, exploitation, and abuse of power of colonial rule and also offered suggestions for social and governmental reform in Spain's new colonies.

Many researchers view Guaman Poma's text as having political intent. His status as an indigenous subject of Spain's Andean colony, his descriptions of the abuses suffered by the indigenous peoples, and his recommendations to the Spanish king for political and social reforms illustrate the political acts and intentions in play with respect to how people from different cultures view one another, the ways they interact on multiple levels, and how some people obtain and hold power over others.

A number of elements make the *Nueva corónica* remarkable, not least among them the inspired combination of a trilingual text and detailed line drawings; it is both multilingual and multimodal. In fact, the hybrid blend of three languages—mostly Andean Spanish with considerable amounts of Aymara and various dialects of Quechua incorporated—plays a significant role in the interpretation of the text, at the same time that it creates complexity that problematizes analysis.

Another notable aspect is Guaman Poma's perspective as a provincial noble. The majority of authors of other existing colonial indigenous texts on the Conquest (most notably, el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's Comentarios reales de los Incas) were nobles from Cuzco, the center of the Inca empire. Guaman Poma's provincial perspective gave a much different slant to the presentation of certain historical facts than that of, say, el Inca Garcilaso.

Finally, as the only surviving colonial text containing illustrations of pre-Conquest Inca life, the *Nueva corónica* provides invaluable information for archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, linguists, and philologists studying Inca culture. Furthermore, the illustrations are subjects of study in their own right: they are unique because they involve European traditions of visual representation rather than Andean conventions.

Unfortunately, Guaman Poma's text disappeared under unknown circumstances, and it is not certain whether King Philip actually ever saw it. The *Nueva corónica* eventually emerged from obscurity in the Danish Royal Library in 1908, where it had languished since at least the early eighteenth century, although some experts claim that it may have been there since as early as the 1660s. It was discovered there by Richard Pietschmann, a German scholar, who wasted no time in bringing it to the attention of other scholars. Clearly, the fragile original antique document could not be made available for study to the numerous researchers who would have loved to plumb its cultural and literary treasures. For this to be possible, a facsimile copy would be necessary. After a number of aborted attempts to produce such a facsimile, a heavily retouched edition was finally produced by Paul Rivet in Paris in 1936. In 1980, another version appeared, this time a critical edition which offered a transcription based on a careful analysis of the original manuscript rather than on Rivet's 1936 facsimile. This version was a collaborative effort between two very well-known Andeanists, John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno (with contributions by Jorge Urioste), and was published as *Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI). Most recently, in 2001, the Danish Royal Library produced a high-quality, online digital facsimile of the original manuscript, with Rolena Adorno as scholarly editor.

In the 1990s, the *Nueva corónica* became the focal point of a number of new studies that aided the increasing understanding of both the Andean and the Spanish colonial past. These studies served to establish it as a key text in both colonial and post-colonial studies. (It can be considered post-colonial in the sense that it is a literary, artistic, and political text written from an indigenous perspective that critiques European colonialist discourses.) Much of this research has been published in Spanish, which is not so surprising given the lack of an English translation that non-Spanish-speaking researchers could use. One particularly interesting perspective has been the reading of the *Nueva corónica* as an autoethnographic text:

> Guaman Poma's *New Chronicle* is an instance of what I have proposed to call an *autoethnographic* text, by which I mean a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have of them. Thus if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct *in response to* or in dialogue with those texts. Autoethnographic texts are not, then, what are usually thought of as autochthonous forms of expression or self-representation (as the Andean *quipus* were). Rather they involve a selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror. These are merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous idioms to create self-representations intended to intervene in metropolitan modes of understanding. Autoethnographic works are often addressed to both metropolitan audiences and the speaker's own community. Their reception is thus highly indeterminate. Such texts often constitute a marginalized group's point of entry into the dominant circuits of print culture. (Pratt 2002, pp. 608–609)

Pratt's use of Guaman Poma's text in this example implies a unidirectional vector of cultural change: practices of alphabetic-text literacy going from colonizers to colonial subjects who "select and invent from the materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture" (Pratt 2002, p. 612) [Peter Cowan, personal communication]. This is just one example of how Guaman Poma's work has served to throw light on cultural change during the colonial period.

Other scholars who have studied Guaman Poma's work from different perspectives include Adorno, Albó, Ballesteros, Barnes, Castro-Klarén, Cerrón Palomino, Cummins, Chang-Rodríguez, Duvoils, Espinoza Soriano, Pease, Urioste, Harrison, Husson, Kauffmann Doig, Lohmann Villena, López-Baralt, Mannheim, McCormack, Mendizábal Losack, Murra, Ossio, Pietschmann, Porras Barrenechea, Quispe-Agnoli, Rostworowski de Díez Canseco, Rowe, Salomon, Stern, Szeminski, Varallanos, Zavala, and Zuidema, among many others. This number will only continue to grow now that we have this partial English translation available to the investigative community.

This is the contribution that Roland Hamilton has made to Andean studies: he has provided us with the first ever English translation of the first part of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno.* This first segment of the translation from Spanish (mixed with Quechua and Aymara) into English extends to page 369 of the original-language text and has 146 full-page illustrations. This English translation is an outstanding and unique contribution that will permit the text's outreach to a wider group of scholars who may be interested in such work but who do not necessarily speak Spanish or Quechua. It will also constitute fertile ground to continue exploring from multiple angles and disciplines of Guaman Poma's great work. Hamilton's work is singular and a major undertaking, because the *Nueva corónica*'s complexity and multilingual nature make translating it a tremendous challenge.

In addition to the English translation, Hamilton also provides us a detailed glossary of terms and phrases (Quechua/English). The glossary is an invaluable addition for the clarification and understanding of Guaman Poma's hybrid text. This work is invaluable, but translating into English the entire *Nueva corónica* should be a priority. Hopefully this can be carried out in the near future for the benefit of scholars from around the world interested in analyzing Guaman Poma's unique work.

INTRODUCTION

Roland Hamilton

One of the most fascinating books on pre-Columbian and early colonial Peru was written by a Peruvian Indian named Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. This book, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government,* covers the pre-Inca times, various aspects of Inca culture, the Spanish conquest, and colonial times up to around 1615, when the manuscript was finished. The original manuscript, located in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, has 1,189 pages and can be viewed on the Internet on the Royal Library's official Web site along with a transcription prepared by John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno for their 1980 edition of the work and updated with the collaboration of Ivan Boserup of the Royal Library in 2004 (www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm). The main text is accompanied by 398 full-page drawings, which are the most accurate graphic depiction of Inca and colonial Peruvian material culture ever done.

This translation goes up to page 369 of the original manuscript and has 146 full-page illustrations. It describes pre-Inca and Inca times, with many comments on the colonial period. The original title has been retained. Although, strictly speaking, Guaman Poma's comments on good government appear more fully in the last part on colonial times, he also discusses this topic in the section translated here.

One of Guaman Poma's basic objectives was to expose the exploitation of the Indians by the Spanish colonial government. He argues that the indigenous governments treated their subjects far better than their Spanish overlords. Apparently in order to qualify as an advocate of Indian rights and appeal directly to the king, Guaman Poma calls himself a prince, glorifies his ancestors, insists on his orthodox Catholic beliefs, and states that pre-Inca Indians were Christians (see MS p. 73). Guaman Poma also has unkind words for mestizos, considering them inferior to both Indians and Spaniards (see MS p. 215). However, he made an exception for Martín de Ayala, whom he identifies as his half-brother and praises as an exemplary Christian (see MS pp. 17–18). Guaman Poma implies that the king should appoint native Indians like himself to positions of authority in the colonial government in order to improve the administration and provide just treatment of the Indian masses.

In a letter to King Philip III of Spain dated 14 February 1615, Guaman Poma says that he has written a "*coronica o historia general,*" and evidently he hoped that the work would be published in Spain. Though there is no documentary evidence, the manuscript must have been sent to Spain, and from there made its way to the Royal Library of Denmark in Copenhagen, where it remains to this day. Though the handwriting of the letter is more refined than that of the manuscript, the signatures and flourishes are exactly the same (see Adorno, *Guaman Poma,* pp. 81–83, and the original manuscript, p. 10).

The manuscript is written in a careful and generally uniform script, and Guaman Poma's desire to publish it is reflected in his imitation of the printing conventions of his time. His lettering is similar to that of books printed in Spanish in the 1500s. He numbered each page, rather than each folio, and placed at the bottom right corner of each page the first word of the next page. Headings are in very large letters, and occasionally in the text there will be a line in large print. Nevertheless, Guaman Poma's book was not printed until 1936, when a facsimile edition was published in Paris (see Adorno, *Guaman Poma,* pp. 13–15, 19–22). Guaman Poma's manuscript does have some apparently unique features, with each section continuous, no paragraph headings, and no capital letters at the beginning of a sentence or a proper noun. There are no periods or commas, only hyphens (-), in the original manuscript.

Guaman Poma's approach to each subject starts with a full-page drawing and captions. The following text describes the drawing in detail. In the introductory material, Guaman Poma includes letters to the pope and the king of Spain, along with comments on the great value of his book. These letters follow the style of Spanish authors. For instance, the letter attributed to Guaman Poma's father closely follows an introductory letter written by Martín de Murúa for his book on the Incas (see the introduction to the Codex Murúa by Ossio, pp. 18–20, and Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," pp. 72–173, 220–222). Most of the rest of the book is written in Guaman Poma's powerful but rather difficult style, which was influenced by his native Quechua (see Urioste's introductory comments to the 1980 edition of Guaman Poma's book). It continues with chapters on the ages of the world, following biblical history, and includes sections on the pre-Inca era of Peru as well as the history and customs of the Inca and early colonial Peru.

The manuscript's wealth of information on Inca and colonial customs is not found anywhere else. This includes descriptions of ordinances, age grades, the calendar, idols, priest-sorcerers, burials, punishments, jails, songs, palaces, roads, boundary markers, storage houses, and officials. The authenticity of this information is documented with numerous Quechua names and expressions.

John Rowe's scholarly article "The Age Grades of the Inca Census" compares Quechua terms for age grades of the Incas in several chronicles and concludes that the most reliable source is Guaman Poma. Similar studies could probably be made of the *acllas,* or chosen women, the *camachicoc* and *curaca* (officials), the *chacras* (fields), the *huacas* (deities), sicknesses, *quipo* interpreters, *sapsi* (common property), kinds of *uasi* (houses), prayers, songs, and so on.

Guaman Poma's fondness for long lists may stem from the use of the *quipo* (or *quipu*), Andean knotted strings used to record numbers. The quipo interpreter had to know what the numbers meant. For instance, a quipo would be used to inventory items in a storage house: so much jerky, so many garments, blankets, maize, quinoa, and so on. Such a list might include as many as forty or fifty items (see Murra, *Formaciones económicas,* 243–254).

Guaman Poma was more influenced by the Andean genealogical approach to history than European chronologies in years before and after Christ, though he also uses that system. Thus Guaman Poma copies biblical genealogy from Adam to Christ. He lists the kings of Persia and Egypt in biblical times, the Roman emperors, the popes, and numerous pre-Inca rulers as well as the Incas, their wives, and captains.

Guaman Poma developed a characteristic style of illustrations and commentaries that has been well documented (see especially Adorno, *Guaman Poma,* pp. 57–120). I will concentrate here on the manuscript of Fray Martín de Murúa dated 1590, "*Historia del origen y genealogia de los reyes ingas del Piru . . . compuesta por el padre fray Martin de Morua.*" The very complicated relations between Guaman Poma and Murúa have been studied in depth by Adorno and Boserup ("Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa"). A discrepancy in spelling ("Morua" versus "Murua") seems to be due to an Indian scribe who misspelled the name in the manuscript. Guaman Poma spells the name "Morua" and tells of him mistreating the Indians, but he also describes him as a "*gran letrado,*" great man of letters (Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva corónica* [1980], p. 521). Guaman Poma's illustrations are similar to many of the paintings in Murúa's manuscript, including his depiction of a number of the Inca rulers and their main wives, or *coyas* (queens). However, the Inca rulers and their wives in the Murúa manuscript look European, while those of Guaman Poma look Indian. For instance, a drawing by Guaman Poma of the ninth Inca, Pachacuti (MS p. 108), shows him with a sling in the right hand, a cloak tied over his shoulder, and a star-headed club in the left hand—almost exactly the same pose found in the Murúa manuscript (folio 17, dorso). As already mentioned, Adorno and Boserup did an in-depth analysis of the Murúa Poyanne manuscript (published by Ossio as the Codex Murúa) and the Guaman Poma text. They concluded that an unknown artist did the paintings of the Inca rulers and their wives in the Murúa text, but that most of the other illustrations were done by Guaman Poma. They also indicate that Guaman Poma "was an artist-and-illustrator-turned-author by virtue of what he had learned from Murúa about the genre and subgenre of historical writing" (Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," pp. 193–94, 224).

The only chronicles that describe the *coyas* in such detail and treat them in a separate chapter with drawings are those of Murúa and Guaman Poma. For instance, Guaman Poma's drawing of Mama Huaco (MS p. 120) shows her with a mirror in the left hand, while in the Murúa illustration, she has it in the right hand (folio 22, dorso); otherwise both are very similar. Although the Murúa manuscript has color paintings, Guaman Poma's drawings appear to be in black ink on white paper. Nevertheless, his descriptions of the Inca rulers and their queens give the colors of their garments almost exactly as in the Murúa paintings.

Guaman Poma and Murúa deal with many of the same topics in similar ways, but there are differences between the two manuscripts. Murúa writes in a rambling but correct Spanish prose, in contrast to Guaman Poma's problems with Spanish grammar. The style of the script for Murúa's work is more refined, and the numbering is done by folio, while Guaman Poma numbered each page in the style of a book. The use of numerous terms and expressions in Quechua as well as his additional comments makes Guaman Poma's work generally more valuable for the study of Inca culture.

A Summary of the Life and Times of Guaman Poma

Guaman Poma states in the chronicle that he was born after the Spanish conquest of 1532 (*El primer nueva corónica,* p. 860). He also gives his age as eighty, both in the chronicle and in his accompanying letter to the king of Spain dated 1615 (*El primer nueva corónica,* p. 1106). If taken literally, this would mean he was born in 1535. However, Guaman Poma probably means that he considered himself very old. The Indians of Peru did not keep track of chronological age or dates of birth. The Incas, however, were interested in age grades and celebrated a boy's first haircut after he was weaned at about two, and puberty rites for girls on their first menstruation and for boys at about age fourteen, after which boys were considered ready to marry and join the labor force. Older men unable to do a full day's work were retired from labor service.

The principal source for Guaman Poma up to the 1590s is his own work. He tells very little about his early years. He was probably born in the city of Huamanga (modern Ayacucho), learned Quechua from his family, and later learned to read and write in Spanish from a local priest. In colonial times, many Indians of the provincial elite served under Spanish clergymen and administrators. Guaman Poma tells of serving as assistant to a Spanish priest, Cristóbal de Albornoz, who led an inspection tour of towns and villages south of Huamanga in an effort to identify and punish Indians practicing ancient religious rites in the period 1569–1570 (see MS p. 282). Guaman Poma was familiar with the administration of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581), and he states that Toledo studied the ancient ordinances and adopted the best (MS p. 195). Toledo also ordered the resettlement of numerous small Indian villages into larger towns called *reducciones.* This was done to make it easier for the caciques under Spanish administrators to raise Indian tribute labor. Guaman Poma explains that this disrupted the lives of many Indians because it moved them too far from their fields (*El primer nueva corónica,* p. 447).

Toledo claimed that the Inca had usurped power in the region, and that the Spanish had liberated the Indians of Peru. This may explain why Guaman Poma traced his lineage to a pre-Inca dynasty. Evidently he felt that this would enhance his standing with the Spanish rulers.

During the 1590s Guaman Poma worked as an interpreter in proceedings of the assignment of lands to colonial and native parties in Huamanga and did illustrations for Murúa's chronicle. After losing a dispute over a land claim in 1600, Guaman Poma seems to have spent much of his time writing and traveling to gather information for his monumental book (see Adorno, *Guaman Poma,* pp. 27–40). He did a drawing of himself asking questions about the history of Peru and comments that he interviewed Indians from all parts of the Inca Empire. He also mentions that he learned much as an assistant on official inspection tours of the country organized by the colonial government (MS pp. 368–369). In addition, he gives his principal written sources, including José de Acosta and Martín de Murúa, mentioned above (*El primer nueva corónica,* pp. 1088–1090). Guaman Poma was familiar with the "Doctrina Christiana y catecismo para instrucción de los indios," written in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara in 1583 by the priests of the Third Church Council in Lima under the guidance of Acosta and published in Lima in 1584. (For a detailed and fully documented account of Guaman Poma's life, see Adorno, *Guaman Poma,* pp. xi–xviii, xxii–xxxviii.)

Guaman Poma and the Inca Garcilaso

Both Guaman Poma and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, whose works Guaman Poma probably did not use, lived from about 1539 to 1616 (the actual dates of Garcilaso's birth and death). Quechua was their native language, and they also learned Spanish. Both wrote chronicles in their old age, during the early 1600s, about their native Peru. Their works are more useful for aspects of Inca culture that survived in colonial times and that they saw with their own eyes. They also equate Pachacama with the Christian God. They consider the last legitimate Inca ruler to be Huascar, and his brother Atahualpa to be a usurper. Both wrote in Spanish with numerous expressions in Quechua.

The first part of Garcilaso's work, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas,* was published in 1609, but the second part was not published until 1616, shortly after his death. Garcilaso was a mestizo, son of an Inca princess and a Spanish military officer. He left Peru in 1560 and spent the rest of his life in Spain, mastering Spanish prose. He translated all of the Quechua in his book into Spanish and quoted earlier Spanish chronicles extensively. In contrast, Guaman Poma never left Peru, had problems with Spanish grammar, included passages in Quechua without translation, and only mentions his sources in a general statement toward the end of his book (MS pp. 1088–1090). In this respect Guaman Poma followed the style of most other chronicles of his day. Garcilaso did no illustrations for his book, while Guaman Poma combined his superior skills as an illustrator and writer. In fine, both Guaman Poma and Garcilaso left monumental books filled with a treasury of information on pre-Columbian and colonial Peru.

A Note on the Translation

This is the first English translation of the entire first part of Guaman Poma's book; it is based on the online copy of the manuscript mentioned above. The aim here is to render the original into readable English, a task made difficult because of Guaman Poma's usage. In his native Quechua there is no agreement in gender or number of adjectives and nouns, nor is agreement obligatory for subject and verb. Sometimes Guaman Poma uses a masculine adjective with a feminine noun, or a plural noun with a singular adjective: "*de este cuarto edad de los indios llamado auca pacha runa descendiente de noe*" (MS p. 64). At other times the subject does not agree with the verb: "*los yndios que hacia merced el rrey se llamaua allicac*" (MS p. 65). He also uses either all lowercase or uppercase, and no periods or commas, but hyphens to show breaks. However, in context his intended meaning can usually be deciphered, and punctuation has been added to improve readability.

The transcriptions of Guaman Poma's book in the 1980 Murra-Adorno edition and included with the online text contain capital letters, periods, and commas, and all Quechua words and phrases are translated into Spanish. These sources have been a great help in understanding the book.

In translating archaic or obscure words or passages, I have used reference works that reflect Spanish and Quechua of the 1600s. The most important dictionary is the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726–1729) by the Real Academia Española. I have also used Spanish-Quechua vocabularies, especially the anonymous *Vocabulario y phrases en la lengua general de los indios del Peru llamada quichua* (1951 [1586]) and *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru* (1901 [1608]) by the Jesuit Diego González Holguín. I have also consulted *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* (1960 [1944]) by Georg Friederici.

With regard to the mechanics of rendering Guaman Poma's Spanish and Quechua into modern English, there have been some special problems. Proper nouns have either been translated into their common English equivalent or transcribed more or less as they appear in the manuscript. For example, "guanoco" in the manuscript has been rendered "Huanuco"; "mango capac ynga" is "Manco Capac Inca." In keeping with the orthographic standards of the time, Guaman Poma did not use the written accent, and I have not added it. Words common in the literature on Andean topics—such as *tambo,* Quechua for lodging—have been used instead of the manuscript spellings *tanbo* or *tampu.* A few other similar changes have been made, including the use of consistent spellings for the frequently used Quechua words that appear in the glossary, but most of the Quechua has been left as in the original. Anyone interested in doing an analysis of Guaman Poma's usage should consult the Royal Library's Web site for the manuscript and its transcription.

Many of Guaman Poma's spelling inconsistencies stem from the fact that the Spanish alphabet used in the 1600s was inadequate for a precise transcription of Quechua. The Spanish vowels "i" and "e" (as well as "u" and "o") were often used interchangeably. Quechua has only three vowels: "i," "u," and "a." In addition, Quechua does not have the voiced counterparts of "p," "t," and "k," which are "b," "d," and "g," but this was not understood. The Quechua word *qumpi,* "fine cloth," can be spelled as *cumbe, cumpi,* or even *compi.* Guaman Poma spells it *cunbe, cumbi,* and *qumbi.* He represents the Quechua sound "wa" as "ua" or sometimes "gua." The word Guaman Poma spells *uaca,* an idol or deity, has been changed to *huaca* because this form is common in other chronicles and modern studies of Andean culture. In Quechua, as in Spanish, there is a distinction between "n" and "ñ," but for some reason Guaman Poma very seldom uses the "ñ." Words such as *ñaupa pacha,* "in olden times," which Guaman Poma spells with "n," have been changed.

The notes are meant to clarify the meaning and explain some differences between the Guaman Poma text and the conclusions of modern authorities. For instance, Guaman Poma's chronology needs explaining. Following biblical history, he describes five ages: (1) Adam and Eve, (2) Noah and the Flood, (3) Abraham, (4) King David, and (5) Christ and the popes down to around 1532 (MS pp. 22–47). For the Andean world, five parallel ages are discussed: (1) Vari Viracocha Runa, (2) Vari Runa, (3) Purun Runa, (4) Auca Runa, and (5) Inca Runa to the Spanish conquest (MS pp. 48–119). Guaman Poma says that the second Inca, Cinche Roca, was eighty years old when Christ was born (MS p. 89). This differs greatly from modern estimates, which place the foundation of Cuzco at around 1200 AD, but this discrepancy can be explained. In the first place, Guaman Poma understood history more in terms of genealogy than in years before and after Christ, a new concept for the Andean people. In addition, Guaman Poma accepted biblical history, including the advanced ages of characters from Genesis, such as Noah, who is said to have lived 650 years. Apparently these periods of Andean history were conceived by Guaman Poma, although his genealogy of the Inca rulers and their wives coincides with most of the other chronicles (see, for example, Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire,* pp. 108–177).

Translations of Quechua words and phrases appear on first use in brackets. In some instances, a note has been added for clarification.

My renderings of the many Quechua expressions are based on a variety of sources: the context in Guaman Poma's book, his Spanish translations, the illustrations, the reference books listed above, and Urioste's translations in the 1980 edition of Guaman Poma. I also consulted with a fellow translator, David Frye; a professor of Quechua, Serafín M. Coronel-Molina; and a scholar of indigenous Peruvian languages, Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino. I must also mention that I have relied on John Howland Rowe's classic study, *Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest* (1946).

This translation was initiated on the suggestion of the leading expert on Guaman Poma, Rolena Adorno. Her advice and examples of translations she has done served as a model for my own rendering.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION AND ORGANIZATION

All references to Guaman Poma's chronicle come from the online facsimile of the manuscript housed at the Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen, and the transcription with notes completed under the direction of Rolena Adorno. This transcription was based on the original manuscript and the edition by John Murra and Rolena Adorno, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1980). Most of the critical comments below derive from introductory material and notes in these editions. The classical study by the late John Howland Rowe, *Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest* (1946), was also used extensively.

In this translation the page numbers of the original manuscript are enclosed in brackets. The original pagination contains an error after page 155, with the next page numbered 154. The following pages in this translation have both the original page number (in brackets) and the corrected page number in parentheses; for example, [154 (156)]. This continues up to page 367/369, the end of this translation.

The original title page reads: "The First New Chronicle and Good Government / composed by Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, lord and prince / Holy Catholic Royal Majesty / Your Holiness / Ayala, prince / The Kingdom of the Indies / Five hundred ninety seven leaves —5979 folios / One hundred forty six sheets—146 [8 pages per sheet equals a total of 1168 pages, first estimate]."

I have abbreviated the title in translation for the sake of brevity. The references to the king of Spain and the pope are captions to Guaman Poma's drawing.

In her notes and introduction to *El primer nueva corónica* (1980), Rolena Adorno discusses her analysis of the manuscript held in the Royal Library of Denmark, which is the holograph by Guaman Poma. She discovered that it contains many important details that were added after the original had been written. To the title page Guaman Poma added the word *prencipe* under his name and the notes on the number of leaves. The number "5979" is an error; it should read 579 leaves, which amounts to 1,158 pages. The second number, 146 sheets, amounts to 1,168 pages because each sheet has eight pages. The last number, 1,168, is Poma's estimate of the total number of pages.

In the part of his book translated here, Guaman Poma included 147 drawings. These are the most accurate images of Andean life in the early colonial period, and his style resembles the engravings of the time. However, since he never left Peru, he depicts what he saw in books and observations of provinces where he lived, including the region of Huamanga (Ayacucho), or to which he traveled, especially from Cuzco to Lima. A few Andean features crept into his biblical scenes. Illustration 22 has Adam using an Andean foot plow, and Illustration 24 of Noah shows a llama on board the ark. Nevertheless, Guaman Poma has left a monumental book with the most accurate illustrations and descriptions of pre-Inca, Inca, and colonial life in Peru. It will provide both Andean scholars and the general public with a treasury of insights into everyday life in the Andean world up to 1615.

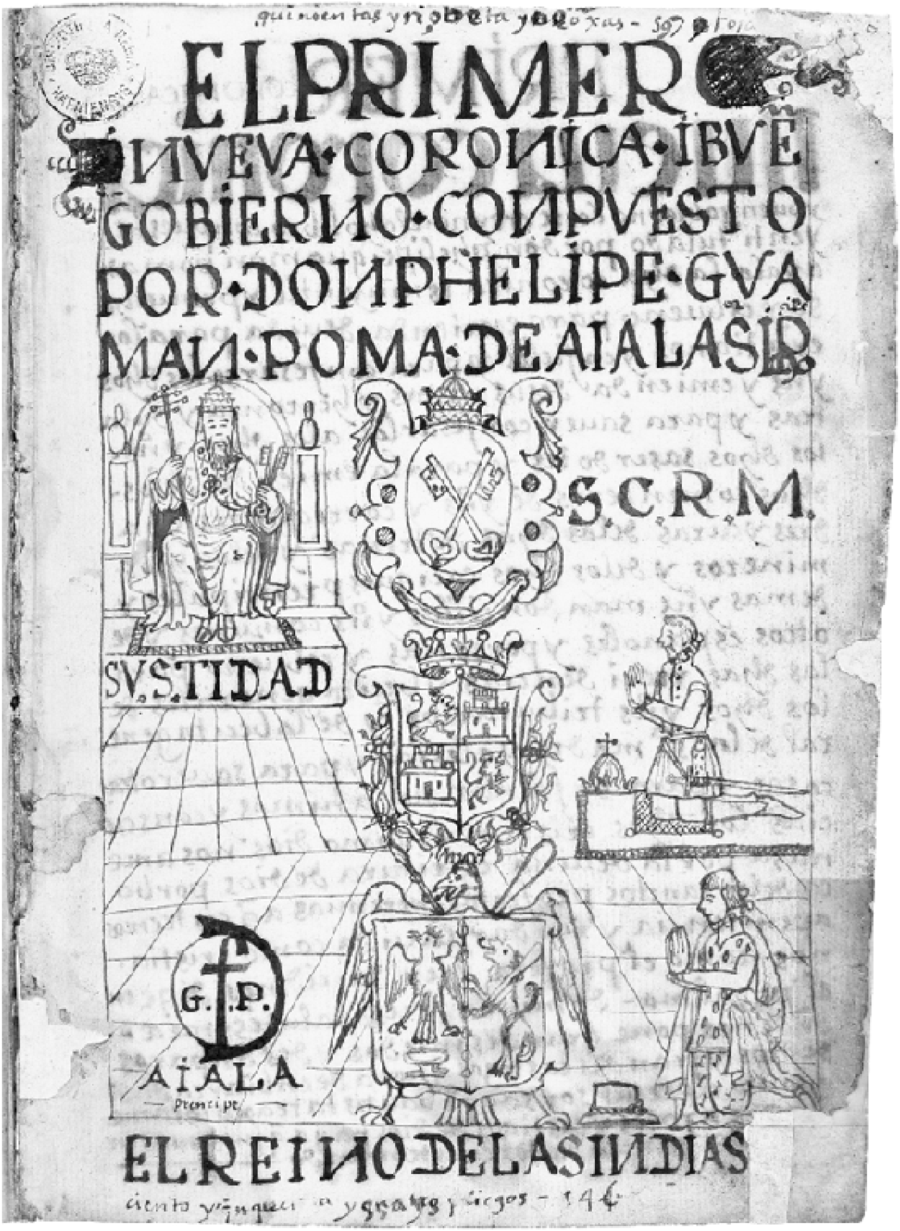
THE
FIRST
NEW
CHRONICLE
AND
GOOD
GOVERNMENT

COMPOSED BY
Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *lord and prince*
Holy Catholic Royal Majesty
Your Holiness
Ayala, prince
THE KINGDOM OF THE INDIES

five hundred ninety seven leaves—5979 folios

One hundred forty six sheets—146

[8 pages per sheet equals a total of 1168 pages, first estimate]


quinientas y treinta y ocho foxas - 537 foxas
EL PRIMER
NVEVA CORONICA I BVEN
GOBIERNO COMPVESTO
POR DON PHELIPE GVA
MAN POMA DE AIALA SIR
S.C.R.M.
SV S.TIDAD
G. P.
AIALA
principe
EL REINO DE LAS INDIAS
ciento y cinquenta y quatro pliegos - 146

0. *Drawing 1. Guaman Poma, "the author Ayala," kneeling alongside the king of Spain, before the Pope*

[0]

Title page, drawing 1. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government,* composed by Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

[1]

THE FIRST NEW CHRONICLE AND GOOD GOVERNMENT OF THIS KINGDOM, A BOOK WRITTEN AND GIVEN A TITLE BY PHELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA

This chronicle is very useful and beneficial; it will improve the life of Christians and pagans, help the Indians confess, improve their lives, correct their errors, idolatries and help the priests know how to take the confessions of the Indians. It will help the *encomenderos* or grantees of Indians, district officials, priests, curates of Indian parishes, miners, major caciques, lesser Indian chiefs, common Indians, Spaniards and common people.[1]

It is useful for the judicial process of residencies or judicial process and the general inspections of the tributary Indians and the general inspection of the Holy Mother Church, to learn new things, curb the souls and consciences of Christians. God warns us in the Divine Scriptures through the words of the Holy Prophet Jeremiah that we should do penitence and change to the Christian life; the prophet King David tells us in the psalm, “Domine Deus salutis meae” [Lord God of my salvation, Psalms 87:88] where he puts fear in us [about] abandonment by God, severe punishments that he will send us every day. The precursor Saint John the Baptist brought the warnings, whipping and punishments of God so that we would be curbed and reformed in this world.[2]

[2]

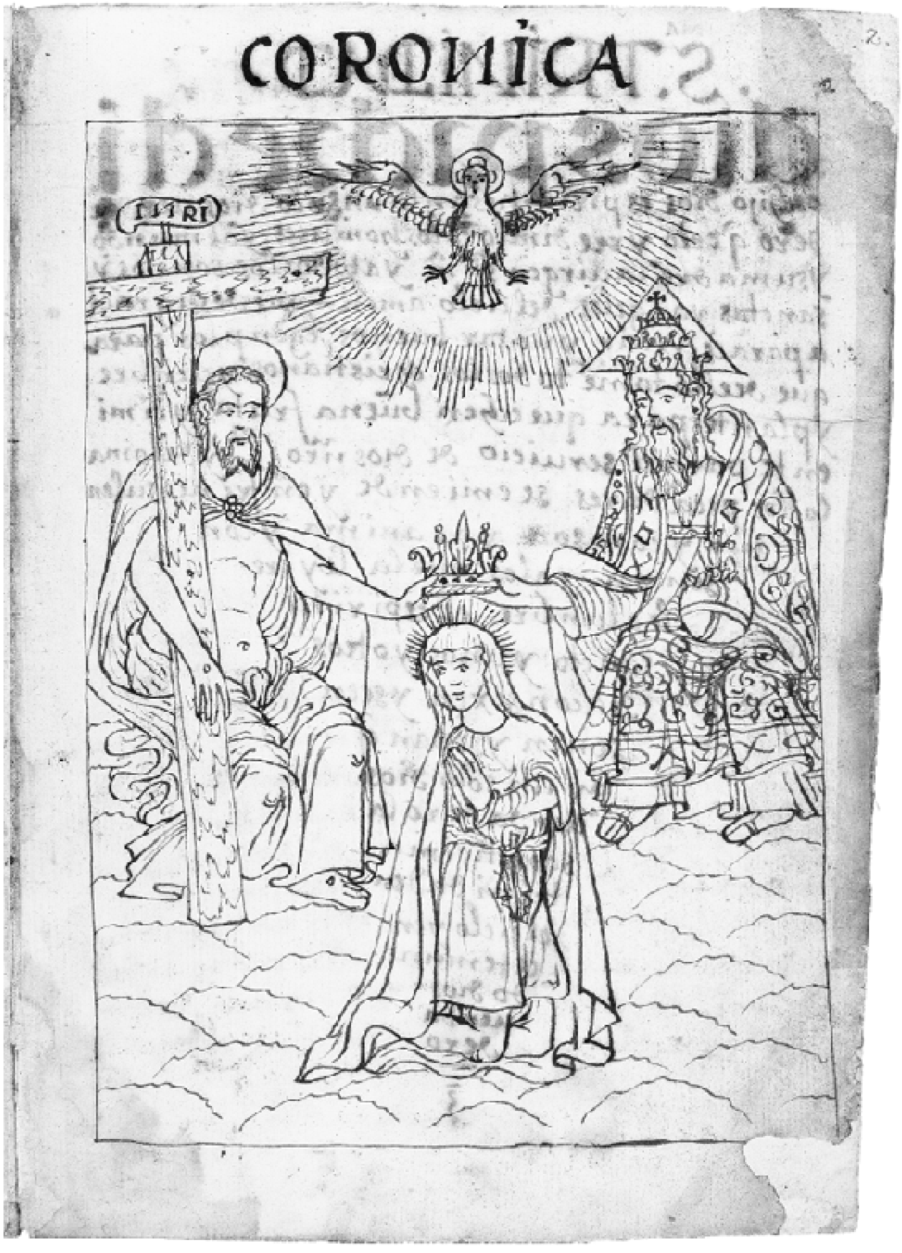
Page 2, drawing 2. Holy Trinity: Inri

[3]

Holy Trinity

God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, one True God who created and redeemed men and the world and his mother, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints and angels of Heaven. Amen.

Give me strength to write and take note of good examples. Let all good Christians learn, spread seed and plant so that it will produce good fruit and seed for the service of God Our Lord, and that sinners will refrain from evil, curb their tongues, hearts, souls and consciences. Let the Holy Spirit enlighten those who read it. Let all be advised, learn and understand that there is One True God, the Holy Trinity in Heaven and on this earth, True God.



2. *Drawing 2. Holy Trinity: the coronation of the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven*

[4]

Most Holy Father Pope

Your holy highness, key to heaven and to the inferno, power of God in the world above all emperors and kings, celestial monarch:

Open the gates for us with the key to heaven for glory and close the gates to the inferno; send us holy indulgences and pardons from your holiness; we implore you to concede this great gift for this Kingdom of Peru of the Indies. We humbly kiss your holy feet and hands, and we beg your Holy Catholic Church to give us authorization for the holy sacrament of priesthood; after all, your Holiness granted us all the other sacraments. For the holy service of God we depend on your Holiness.

Along with this request, I serve you with this little work titled First New Chronicle and Good Government of this kingdom which is a service to God and your Holiness; please accept it and give me your blessing, which we request from this Kingdom of Peru of the Indies, from your humble vassal, Don Felipe Ayala, Author (signature flourish)

May your holiness send us in your name a letter to your nuncio. We will receive it as a great gift and favor for our souls and health.[3]

[5]

Letter from Don Martin Guaman Mallque de Ayala, son and grandson of great lords and kings of old, captain general and lord of the kingdom, capac apo *which means prince, lord of the provinces of Lucana, Andamarca, Circamarca, Sora, the city of Huamanga [Ayacucho] and Santa Catalina de Chupas which is in its jurisdiction, prince of Chinchaysuyo, and second in command after the Inca of this kingdom of Peru, to his royal Majesty King Philip III our lord*[4]

It says: Holy Catholic Royal Majesty: Among the things that this great province of these kingdoms has provided which are useful and beneficial in the service of God and your Majesty, it seems to me appropriate to emphasize the intelligence and expertise evidenced in the great ability of my legitimate son, Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, which means prince, and high governor of Indians and caciques, leaders, lord over them and administrator of all the

[6]

communities and *sapsi* [community property], lieutenant general for your local official of the province of Lucana, kingdom of Peru; for about the last twenty years my son has been writing the history of our ancestors, our grandfathers and my parents, lordly kings who reigned before the Incas and after the time of the Vari Viracocha Runa[5] and Vari Runa and Purun Runa and Vari Runa Auca Runa, Inca Runa and their twelve Inca rulers and their wives the *coyas* [queens], *ñustas* [princesses], *pallas* [noble women], *capac huarmi* [powerful ladies], *auquiconas* [nobles], and the most important caciques, *capac apoconas* [powerful lords], *curacaconas* [chiefs], *allicacona* [appointed officials], *camachicoccuna* [officials], *sinchicona* [captains], including the entire government of the Incas until their end and destruction, the conquest of this kingdom which is now yours, and the uprising afterwards against your royal crown; it also describes all the cities, small towns, villages, provinces, *corregimientos* [districts], townships, as well as your mines, the lives of your local officials, church fathers and priests of *doctrinas* [Indian parishes], your *encomenderos* [grantees of Indians] and Spaniards; your *tambos* [lodgings for officials located along the royal highways], bridges, roads; miners, major caciques, common Indians, the rites they used in ancient times, their Christian practices, customs and other unusual facts about this kingdom. This chronicle was based on accounts, eyewitnesses from throughout the four quarters of this kingdom and from very old Indians who lived to be 150 years of age

[7]

and four Indian eyewitnesses from each quarter of this kingdom. This chronicle is written in a clear but serious style which upholds the Holy Catholic faith; it is a true account as befits the subject and people which it treats.

Publishing this book would render a valuable service to your Majesty. It begins by celebrating and immortalizing the memory and names of the great lords of the past, our grandfathers, whose glorious deeds deserve recognition. In the hope that all this be achieved, I humbly beg that your Majesty see fit to favor my son Felipe de Ayala and for all my grandchildren, so that they might succeed. What I desire is that our Lord watch over your Majesty and that you live many happy years with the increase of your kingdoms and realms; this is the desire of your lowly and humble vassal. From Concepcion de Huaylla Pampa de Apcara, provinces of Lucana and Sora, jurisdiction of the city of Huamanga, on the 15th of May, in the year 1587.

Your Holy Catholic Royal Majesty,
I kiss your royal feet and hands,
Your humble vassal,
Don Martin de Ayala
(signature flourish)

[8]

Letter from Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala to His

Majesty, King Philip

Your Holy Catholic Royal Majesty, I have hesitated for many months before beginning this undertaking, and after I had started, I felt like abandoning it. I thought my plan was rash, and I did not find myself capable of carrying it out properly since it must be based on unwritten accounts, taken from the *quipos*[6] or memorials and reports from ancient times remembered by wise old Indian men and women, eyewitnesses, for reliable information that can withstand critical judgment.

Thus, suspended in my thoughts, I spent many days and years undecided until I started to write this history. Overcoming my fears, I begin with this kingdom, fulfilling my desire to always search in spite of my many failings, poverty of intellect, blindness, lack of knowledge, not being a man of letters, nor a doctor, nor a Latin scholar; yet as the first chronicler of this kingdom, with an opportunity to serve Your Majesty, I decided to write of the origins, famous acts of the first kings, lords, captains, our grandparents and the nobles and their generations and descendants from the first Indian called **[9]** Vari Viracocha, his generation of *runa,* Vari Runa who descended from Noah after the Flood,[7] and from Purun Runa and from Auca Runa and the twelve Incas, their idolatries, errors, queens called *coyas; ñustas,* princesses; *pallas,* ladies; *curaca huarmis* wives of the *curacas;* nobles, captain generals, *sinchicona, capac apocona* [powerful lords], and the rest of the lower-ranking officers.

I also write about the controversy between the legitimate Inca, Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca, and his bastard brother, Atahualpa Inca, his captain general Chalcochima Inca, Ava Panti Inca, Quisquis Inca, Quizo Yupanqui Inca, Manco Inca,[8] who defended himself from the injuries done by the Spaniards during the time of the emperor.

After the conquest of your Kingdom of the Indies of Peru, comes the rebellion against your royal crown; Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Carvajal, Francisco Hernandez Giron with the rest of the captains and soldiers. The first viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela, the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza of the order of Santiago, viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, viceroy Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, viceroy Don Luis Velasco of the order of Santiago, viceroy Don Gaspar Zuñiga Asuedo Monterrey, count, viceroy Don Juan de Mendoza y de la Luna, Marquis, as well as the lives of your *corregidores* [district officials], scribes, lieutenants, *encomenderos* [grantees of Indians], priests of Indian parishes, miners, Spanish wayfarers who pass by the royal

[10]

tambos, and roads, rivers, boundary stones, and the whole kingdom of Peru of the Indies, along with the inspectors, judges, important caciques and common poor Indians and other things as well.[9]

Working to obtain for this chronicle the truest information available, I took the substance from diverse informants. Though they were brought to me from many different places, in the end in each case I sought the opinion held in common. I write in the Spanish language, drawing also on Aymara, Colla, Puquina Conde, Yunca, Quechua of the Incas, Huanca, Chinchaysuyo, Yauyo, Antisuyo, Condesuyo, Collasuyo, Cañari, Cayampi, Quito.[10] I worked hard to present to your Majesty this book titled *The First New Chronicle of the Indies of Peru.* It is useful for faithful Christians and is written and drawn by my own hand and ingenuity so that the variety and creation of the illustrations, which your Majesty will appreciate, will make it easy to understand a text lacking in the polished style of great writers.

This work serves as a guide for the preservation of the Holy Catholic faith, to reform errors and help save the unfaithful for the salvation of their souls, to guide Christians, priests, district officials, *encomenderos* of grantees of Indians, miners, Spanish wayfarers, important caciques, common Indians. Your Majesty, I respectfully ask and greatly desire that you accept this humble service. This will please me greatly and will be a joyous reward for my work.

From the province of Lucana, the first of January of 1613.[11]

Your Humble Vassal,
Don Felipe de Ayala
Author (signature flourish)

[11]

Prologue to the Christian reader who may use this book

Holding this book in your hands as you see the writing, bear in mind that in order to make sense out of these stories I had to put out so much effort because I had no written records at all; rather I had to rely on *quipo* records, accounts in many languages besides Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, Puquina Colla, Canche, Cana, Charca, Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo, Condesuyo, all Indian languages. I did all this work as a service to God Our Lord and your Holy Catholic Majesty, King Philip III.

I spent a long time, many years, bearing in mind that this account had to be useful to faithful Christians to mend their ways, sinful lives, and correct their errors; to Indians in their confessions and so that priests can learn to take the confessions of the Indians, heal their souls. The presentation and enjoyment of this book, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government,* for Christians, given the title after the first skillful chroniclers, released on the authority of the Indian lords and princes of this Kingdom of the Indies.

The favor of presenting this book is requested and begged forever of your Majesty, a book written by the present author, Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, lord and *capac apo,* which means prince, a book that stands on the author's ability and work.

[12]

Page 12, drawing 3. God created the world [and] gave it to Adam and Eve: world

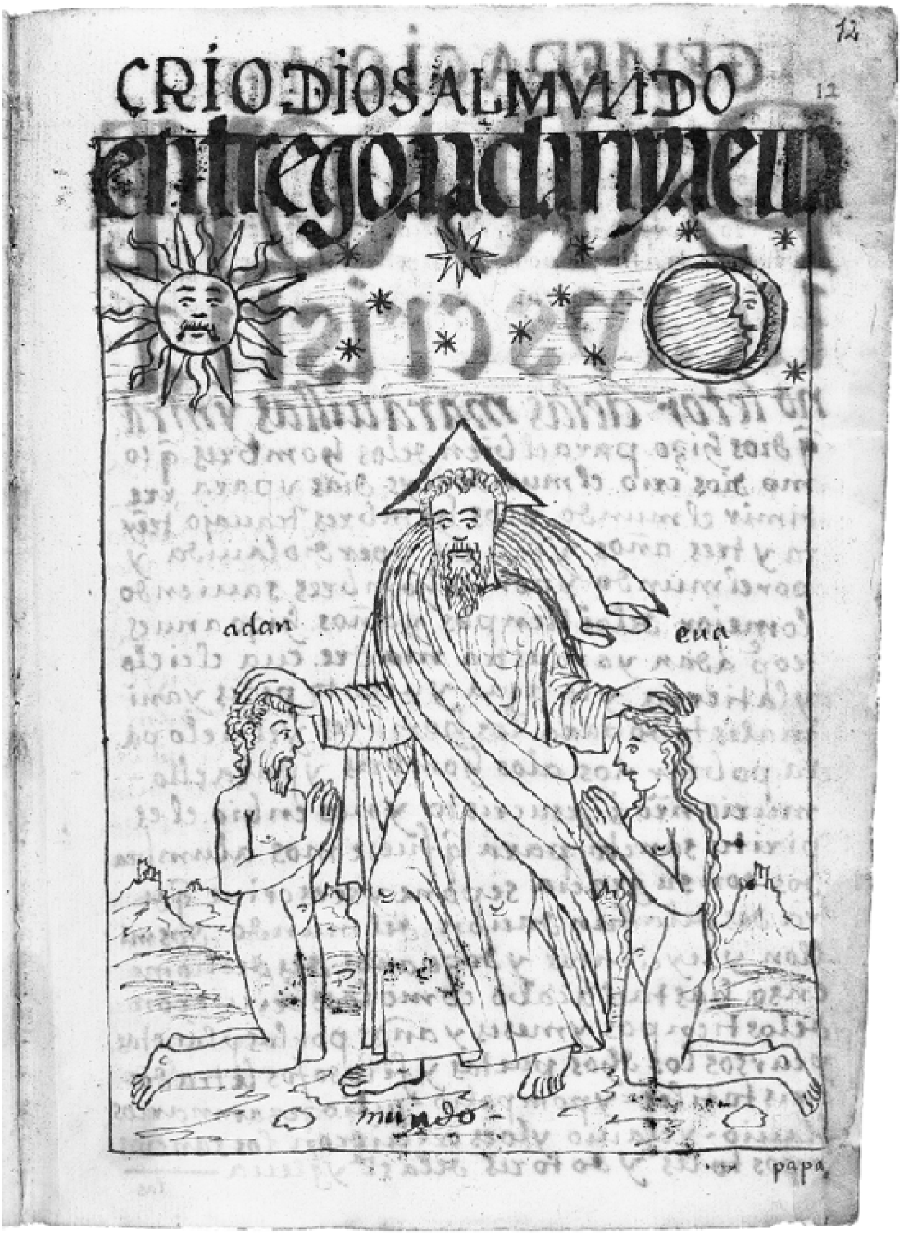
[13]

Be aware, Christian reader, of the wonders and favor that God made for the good of mankind. God created the world in six days, and in order to save it, he [Christ] worked for thirty-three years, died and gave his life for the world and mankind. Knowing the best of those times and years, he made our father Adam and our mother Eve, the sky, the earth, water, wind, fish and animals, all for mankind, and heaven in order to save us human beings. To make this possible our Lord Jesus Christ died and sent us the Holy Spirit so that we would be enlightened by its grace.

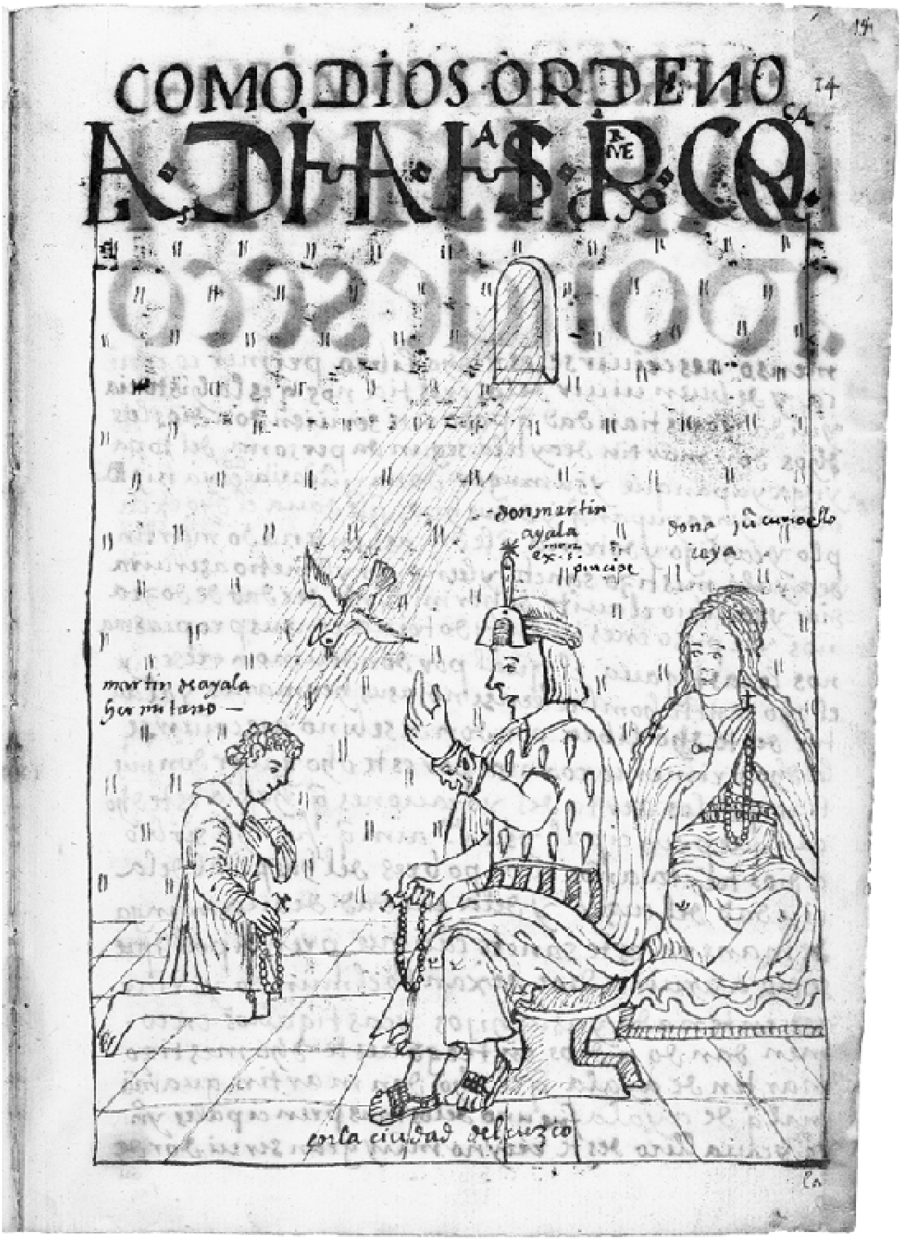
It has been set down that from the creation of the world 2,612[12] years will pass, from the beginning to the end, as was written of the times, months and years based on the planets and their courses, by the poets, learned philosophers, Aristotle, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Marcus Aurelius and Claudius, and the same was written by the Holy Apostles and doctors of the Holy Church.

[14]

Page 14, drawing 4. How God ordered the said history, First Chronicle: Martin de Ayala, hermit / Don Martin Ayala, excellent lord and prince / Doña Juana Curi Ocllo, *coya* / in the city of Cuzco


12
CRIO DIOS AL MVNDO
12
entrego adan y a eua
adan
eua
mundo
papa

12. *Drawing 3. God creates the world and gives it to Adam and Eve.*


14
COMO DIOS ORDENO
don martín ayala
doña juana curi ocllo coya
martín de ayala hermitaño
en la ciudad del cuzco

14. *Drawing 4. Guaman Poma's parents, Don Martín Guaman Malqui and Doña Juana Curi Ocllo, and his elder mestizo half-brother, the religious hermit and future priest Martín de Ayala*

[15]

The beginnings of this chronicle

The First Chronicle and Good Government for Christians begins with the story of Christian life that was spent in the service of God by Don

Martin de Ayala, second person of Topa Inca Yupanqui, and his wife, Doña Juana Curi Ocllo, *coya,* daughter of Topa Inca Yupanqui, and their children.

Don Martin de Ayala provided the example, punishment and doctrine for his stepson Martin de Ayala, saintly mestizo, imposed it on him and made him serve God. His stepson received the habit of a hermit monk at the age of twelve and was put into the study of the doctrine. With his own hands Don Martin punished his grandson, which caused him to grow.

This saintly monk taught his brothers and the author of this book; in this way *The First Chronicle* came to be written, thanks to the support of the mestizo and the virtues and prayers that were offered by this important cacique and his wife.

Although Don Martin de Ayala was an Indian, he served God by helping the poor for thirty years at the hospitals of the cities of Cuzco and Huamanga. Therefore this saintly cacique who gave himself over to the service of God, putting aside worldly pursuits to raise his stepson and his children, punishing them, and commending the mestizo Martin de Ayala to God.

Don Martin Guaman Mallque de Ayala was one of the most important Indians and lords, a gentleman of this kingdom, faithful servant of your

[16]

Majesty, second person of the Inca himself of this kingdom. Thus, as lord, he went to the ambassadors of the Emperor Charles V, Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro, to kiss their hands and offer peace and friendship to your Majesty and to be at your service. He met them at the port of Tumbes and at Cajamarca. Don Martin de Ayala, second person, was sent by Huascar Inca, legitimate king, went in his place as lieutenant viceroy of this kingdom and appeared before the Christians.

Thus Don Martin de Ayala returned to his province, and he has served as a powerful man in all the wars and battles, uprisings against the royal crown of your Majesty.

During this time, he served a gentleman, captain-general, named Luis de Avalos de Ayala, father of the saintly hermit-monk, Martin de Ayala, mestizo, already mentioned. During the battle, fought in the region of Collao, at Huarina Pampa, acting in the service of your Majesty, the father of this saintly man, Luis de Avalos de Ayala, was knocked from his horse to the ground by a lance, as he struggled against the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro. Don Martin de Ayala defended his captain and saved him from death, killing the traitor Martin de Olmos, his enemy; Martin de Ayala cut him down and killed him. Thus Luis de Avalos de Ayala was saved, got up and shouted: “Oh lord of this kingdom, Don Martin de Ayala, servant of God and of his highness our emperor, King Charles, of memorable glory! Though you are an Indian, take care, your Majesty to give him an *encomienda* [grant of Indians].”[13]

Thus, for this service, he won honor and merit as a lord and gentleman of the kingdom and received the name Ayala, second-in-command of the emperor of this kingdom, Don Martin de Ayala.

[17]

Page 17, drawing 5. Father Martin de Ayala, saint loved by God: Father Martin de Ayala, mestizo hermit, was a priest who gave mass. / Don Felipe de Ayala, author, prince and excellent lord / Don Martin de Ayala, father of the author, excellent lord / Doña Juana *coya,* queen / in the city of Huamanga

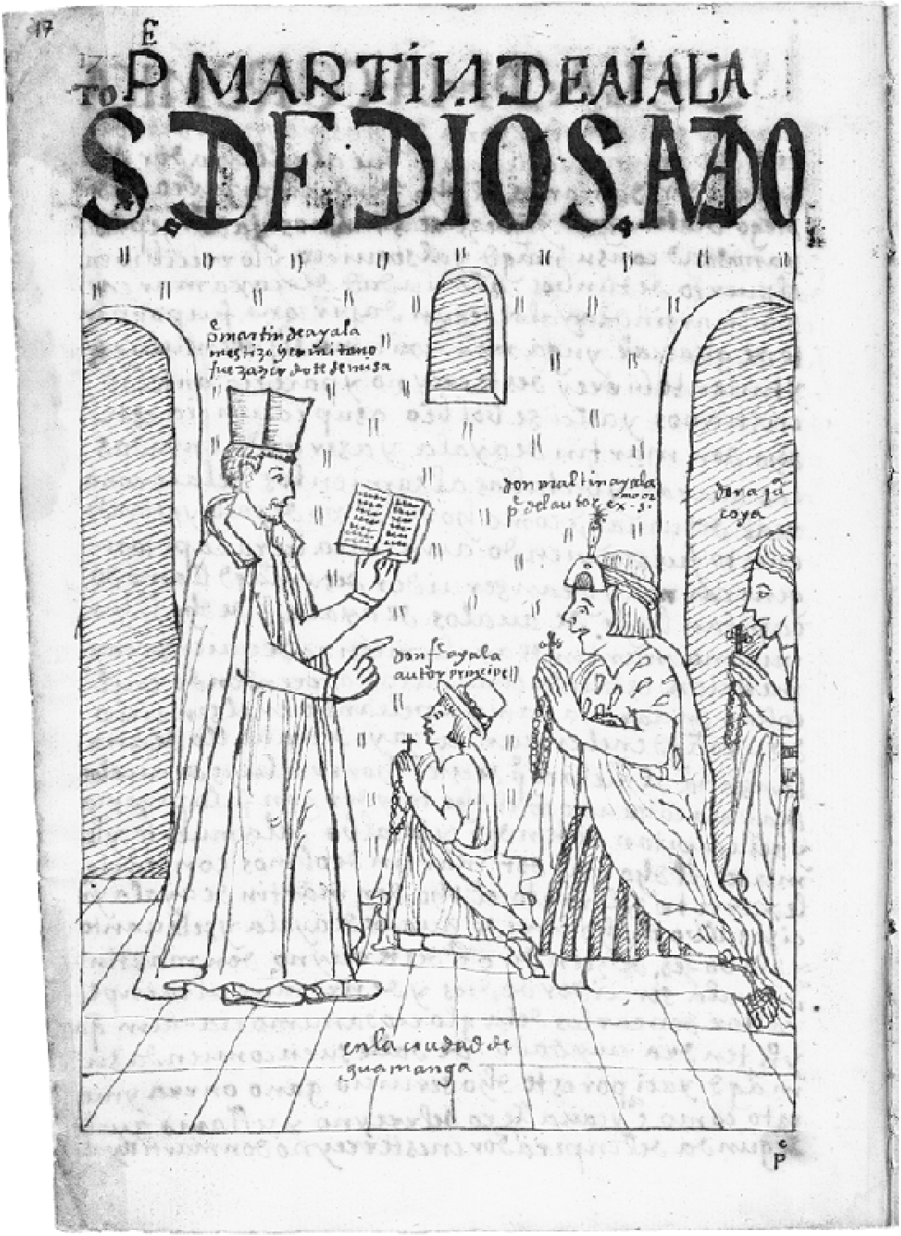
[18]

FATHER MARTIN DE AYALA AND HIS ILLUSTRIOUS STEPFATHER, DON MARTIN

Father Martin de Ayala, mestizo, ordained as a priest to give mass, was a very saintly man, who did not want a parish, rather he wanted to spend all his life with the poor people at the hospital of Huamanga. He was the chaplain of those poor people and did much penitence.

He slept little; for a blanket and mattress, he only had a mat of straw, and he kept a rooster for his clock at the head of the bed to wake him up at the hour for morning Angelus and remind him to visit the poor sick people.

He said his prayers in the morning at sunrise, at midday and evening at sunset; he lashed his own flesh as atonement. All his life he wore a cilice [haircloth] tunic, never an ordinary garment on his body. He never laughed in his life, and never cast his eyes on a woman. He lowered his eyes and face whenever he spoke to a woman. He gave alms to charity, feared God, loved his neighbors, never said a bad word to a man or woman nor to any creature. He never consented to killing any animal, not even a flea. He was very pleased if the poor should marry, and he gave them dowry so the poor would have a good marriage and serve God. In the mornings many birds came to sing to him and receive his blessing; the mice bowed their heads, did not move about when he was saying these prayers. Every night the angels of the Lord revealed divine truth to the saintly man. Afterwards he explained it to his stepfather, Don Martin de Ayala, second person of the Inca, and to his mother and brothers.


P. MARTÍN DE AIALA
S. DE DIOS.
p. martin de ayala mestizo hermitaño fue zacerdote de missa
don martin ayala
doña juana coya
don f. ayala autor principe
en la ciudad de guamanga

17. *Drawing 5. The hermit priest Martín de Ayala instructs Guaman Poma and his parents in the Christian faith.*

[19]

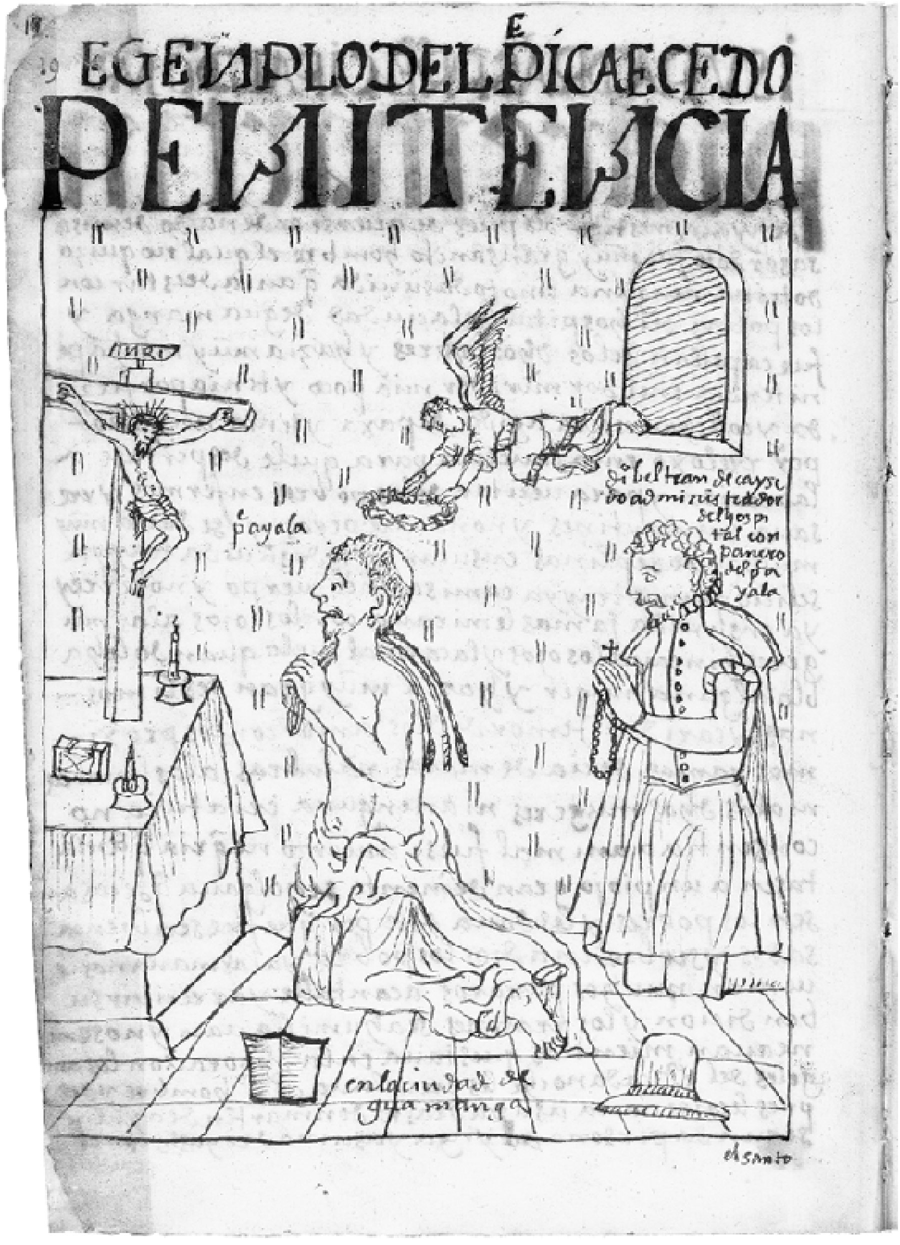
Page 19, drawing 6. Example of Father [Ayala] and Caecedo, penitence: Father Ayala / Diego Beltran de Caecedo, administrator of the hospital, companion of Father Ayala / in the city of Huamanga

[20]

The Holy Commandments and the gospel of God and good works of compassion led to the uplifting of his stepfather Don Martin de Ayala and his mother Doña Juana, along with his brothers; they all served God and had much grace and faith in God.

At this time problems troubled the Indians of the village of Canaria belonging to the *encomienda* [grant of Indians] of a Christian man named Antonio de Orerio, resident of the city of Huamanga. The Indians requested of his lordship, the bishop of the city of Cuzco, Don Fray Gregorio de Montalvo, that Father Martin de Ayala act as their interim priest. At first he refused to leave the unfortunate people at the hospital. Thus his lordship sent the order for excommunication, and Father Martin de Ayala went crying to this Indian parish and spent some months ill at ease because he felt that there one saved more money than souls. As it turned out, Antonio de Orerio himself, his brothers and all the Indian men and women were very pleased with Father Martin de Ayala, and the unfortunate sick people, elderly and orphans liked him even more. At last the good father returned to the unfortunate ones as chaplain at the hospital. When they saw him leaving, all the Indians of the town shouted and wept; some of the poor followed after him, returning in great anguish.

A few months after his return to Huamanga, this saintly man named Ayala died in the hospital, and he was given a very honorable burial within the church of San Francisco in the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepcion. After his death all the poor of the city wept and all of the landowners and their wives were saddened; even sadder were the Indians and his friend Diego Beltran de Caecedo, a very Christian man who was administrator of the hospital. And this man named Ayala was buried as has been stated. When his stepfather, Don Martin de Ayala, the prince, who served the poor for thirty years, and his mother, Doña Juana, *coya,* queen, died, they were buried in the church of San Francisco. Blessed be the Holy Trinity and its mother the Holy Virgin Mary, and all the saints and angels.


EGEMPLO DEL PÉCAECEDO
PENITENCIA
INRI
p ayala
di beltran de caysedo administrador del hospital con panero del p m ayala
en la ciudad de guamanga
el santo

19. *Drawing 6. Father Martín de Ayala flagellates himself in the presence of Diego Beltrán de Caysedo.*

The portrait shows Father Martin de Ayala and Diego de Beltran de Caysedo in the hospital of the city of Huamanga.

Devotional masses of Father Ayala

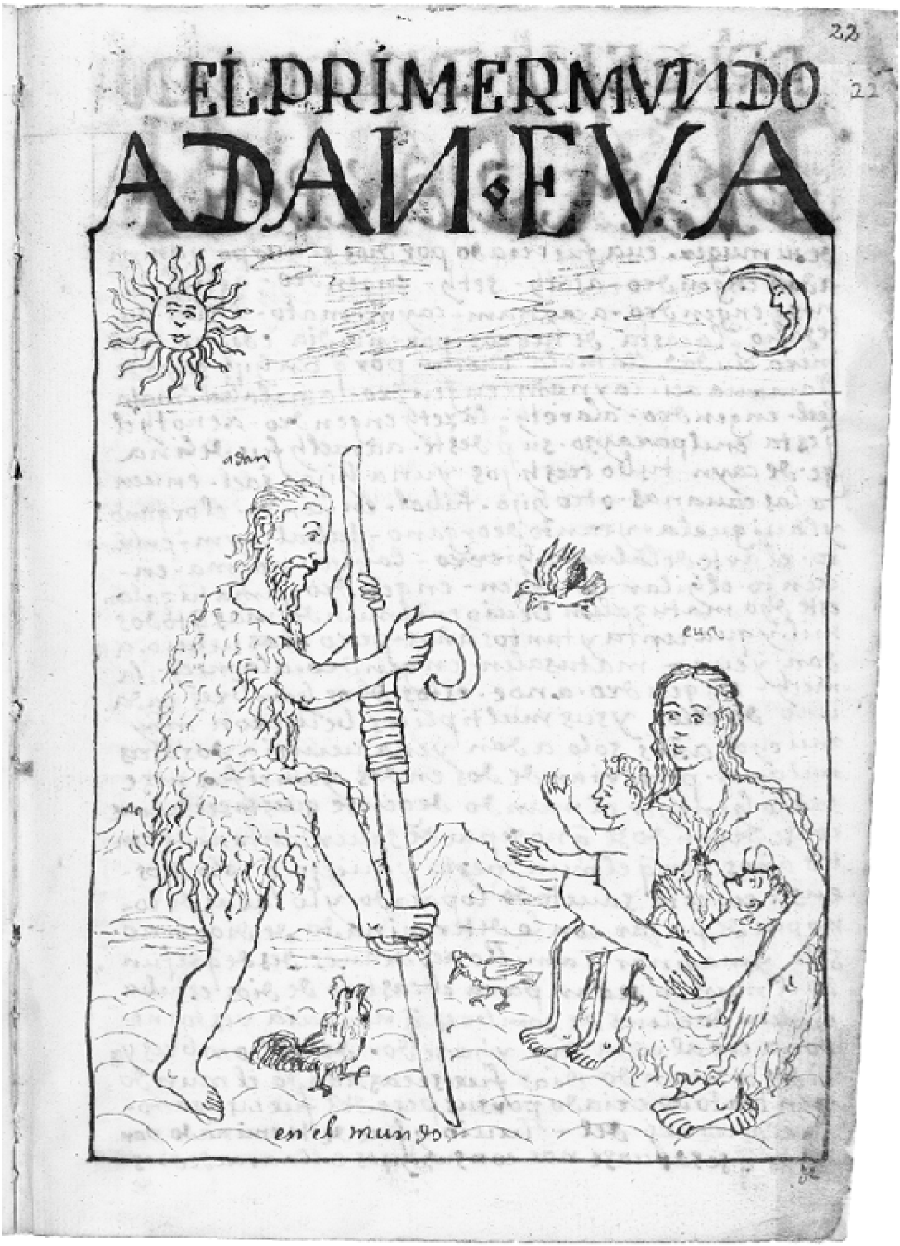
Father Martin de Ayala said mass in a very orderly and saintly way arranged for every week of the year. It seems that all Christian priests should follow the same order and saintly way of saying mass; and all the priests of Indian parishes should also follow this order. The very illustrious lords of Christ, the bishops and prelates should require it under penalty of great punishments and excommunication. The inspectors of the Holy Mother Church should take into account what this priest did, which was the following:

On Sundays he said mass for Christian kings and princes and for the people, and for all holidays he said the same mass. On Mondays it was for the conversion of the heathen who do not follow our Christian ways in the Holy Mother Church; he would marry and keep vigil over whoever seeks it. On Tuesdays for all those who give alms and for those who make offerings for prayers for the dead. On Wednesdays for his father, mother, brothers, close relatives, those who do good works and for those who do evil one must pray to God because it is best. On Thursdays mass was for dead men and women, the souls in Purgatory, high masses or praying for those who give alms or not. On Fridays for the souls of Purgatory, for those humble saintly souls that suffer one must pray to God without alms for those in need, work of mercy, because God is merciful. For this reason God put his apostles and saintly priests in this world, and thus God's ministers must be merciful. On Saturday mass must be said for the mother of God, always virgin, Saint Mary, our advocate, so she will pray to her precious son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to the Holy Trinity, one True God, without alms.

CHAPTER OF THE AGES OF THE WORLD

[22]

Page 22, drawing 7. The first world, Adam and Eve: Adam / Eve / in the world


22
22
EL PRIMER MVNDO
ADAN • EVA
adan
eua
en el mundo

22. *Drawing 7. The first age of the world: Adam and Eve, in an Andean landscape*

[23]

The first age of the world, of Adam and his wife, Eve: created by God in body and soul[14]

Adam begat Seth; Seth begat Enos; Enos begat Cainan. Cain slew Abel; from Cain came the race of Negroes because of his envy. He built the first city, which he called Enoch after his son who was so named.

Cainan begat Malalel; Malalel begat Jared; Jared begat Enoch, the one who is in Paradise. His descendant begat Lamech, who was of the lineage of Cain. Lamech had three sons and a daughter: Jabal, who invented the tent; another son, Jubal, invented the organ and the lyre and organ songs. Tubalcain invented the art of working iron. The daughter, Naamah, invented spinning.

Enoch begat Methuselah. This Methuselah lived in this world longer than anyone, 1,040 some years, but Adam and Eve lived longer. Methuselah begat Lamech; Lamech begat Noah. These men and their descendants lived many years. Only Adam and Eve would live two or three thousand years. They bore their young two at a time, and this was necessary to populate the world.

This is written with the reservation that one cannot know so much nor about so many years because now the world is old; only God knows the secret of all past and future events. One cannot know what God has ordained, but only imagine that God's punishment came thousands of years after creation.[15] The world was overflowing with people, and they did not know the Creator of mankind. For this reason God decreed the punishment of the world; every creature in the world was punished for their sins by the waters of the Flood. And God decided to save Noah and his children in God's ark.

[24]

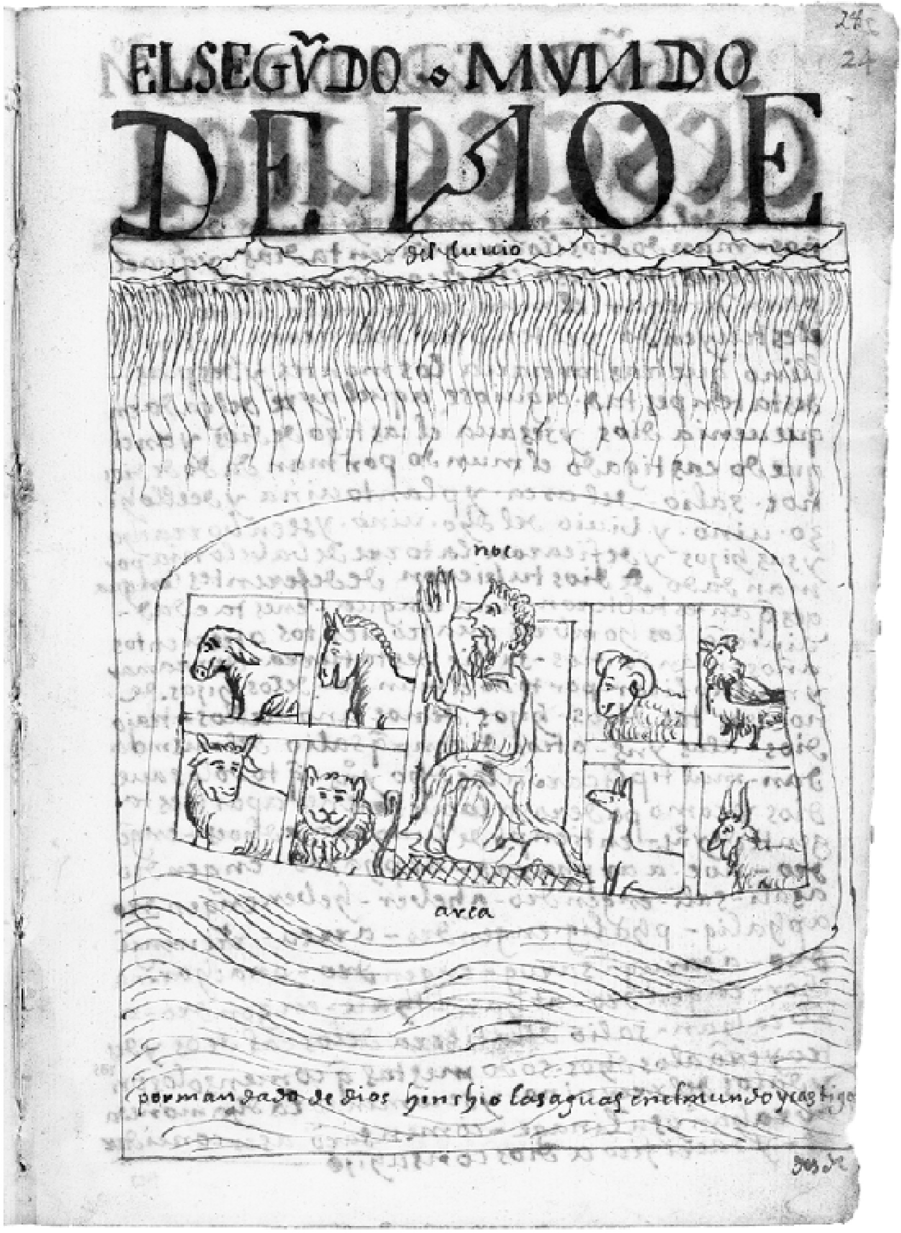
Page 24, drawing 8. The second age of the world, of Noah: of the Flood / ark / By decree of God the world filled with water and was punished.

[25]

Second age of the world, from the ark of Noah, the flood, 6,612 years

God commanded that it rain for forty days and forty nights, without letting up, and this was enough to cover the world. First he[16] noticed the thunder and the earth shaking and the whirlwind that was tossing the mountains about. After this storm came a gentle wind which carried God, and the punishment of God ceased. Thus the world was punished by the commandment of God.

Noah went out of the ark, planted a vineyard, made wine, drank of the wine, and became drunk. His sons built the tower of Babel; by God's commandment, those who had the same language before had different languages.


24
EL SEGṼDO MVNDO
DE NOE
del diluvio
noe
arca
por mandado de dios hinchio las aguas en el mundo y castigo

24. *Drawing 8. The second age of the world: Noah*

At this time men lived three or four hundred years.

God commanded the people to leave this land and spread and multiply throughout the world. Of these sons of Noah, God took one to the Indies; others say that he came from Adam himself. The Indians multiplied; God knows all; and with his powers, he can put these Indians in a separate place.[17]

During the time of the Flood, as has been stated, Noah begat [Shem begat] Arphaxad; Arphaxad begat Salah . . . Terah begat Abraham.[18]

Abraham left the country of Chaldea, and he destroyed Sodom, where the first idols of the boy king started. The first coins were minted. Abraham and his lineage started the practice of circumcision. And he sacrificed his son to God.

[26]

Page 26, drawing 9. Third age of the world, from Abraham: Abraham / sacrifice to God / with his son whom God requested / in Jerusalem

[27]

Third age of the world, from Abraham

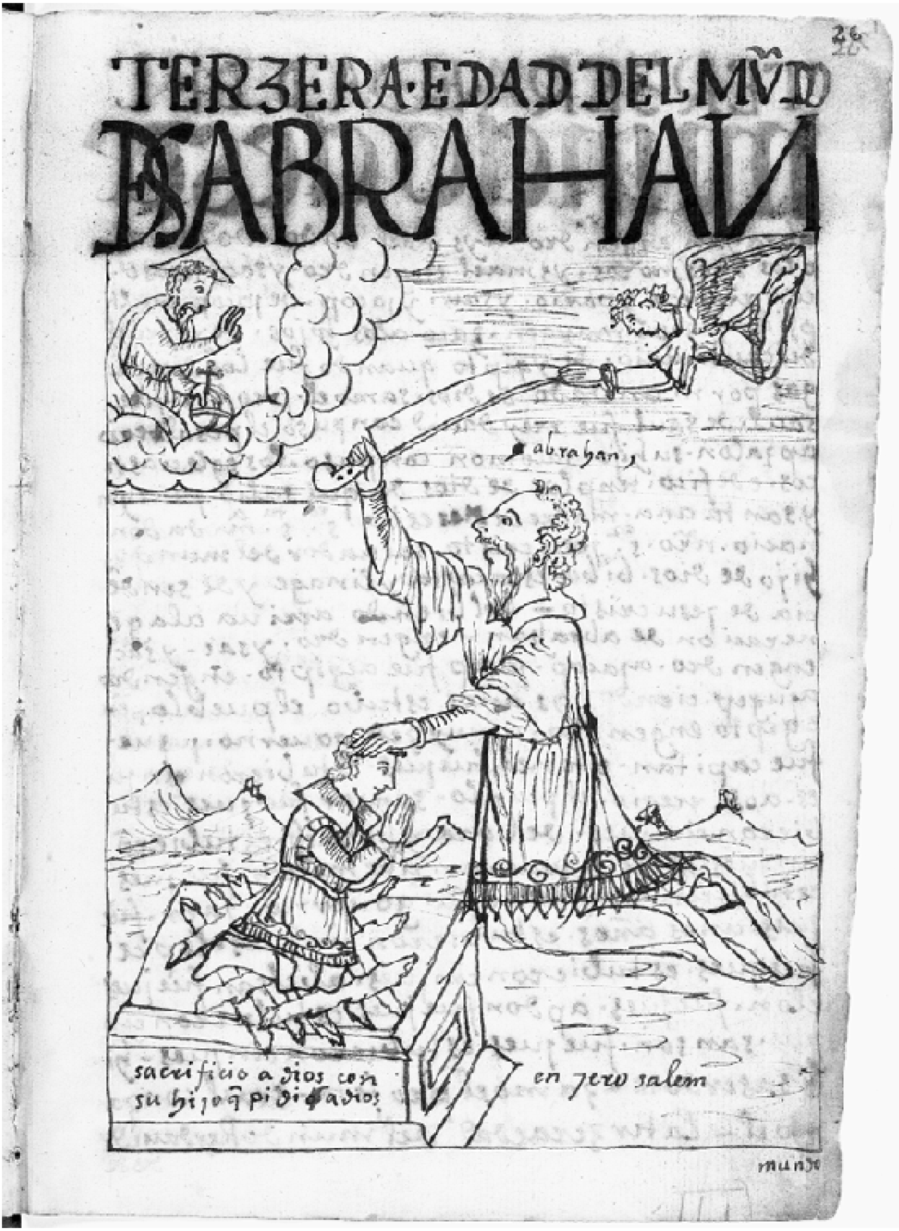
Abraham begat Ishmael; from him the Moors are descended. Ishmael[19] begat Isaac; Isaac married Rebecca, and she gave birth to Esau and Jacob. Jacob begat Joseph.

Moses brought the children of Israel out of their captivity in Egypt during the time of the ten plagues sent by God. Samuel was a prophet and judge. Saul was king. After Saul the king was David, who wrote the Book of Psalms. Absalom was his son. Solomon wrote the Book of Ecclesiastes and built temples to God. From his lineage came Juachin and Santa Ana, mother of Our Lady Saint Mary to whom our Lord Jesus Christ was born, savior of the world, the living son of God. This is the race, lineage and ancestry of Jesus Christ.

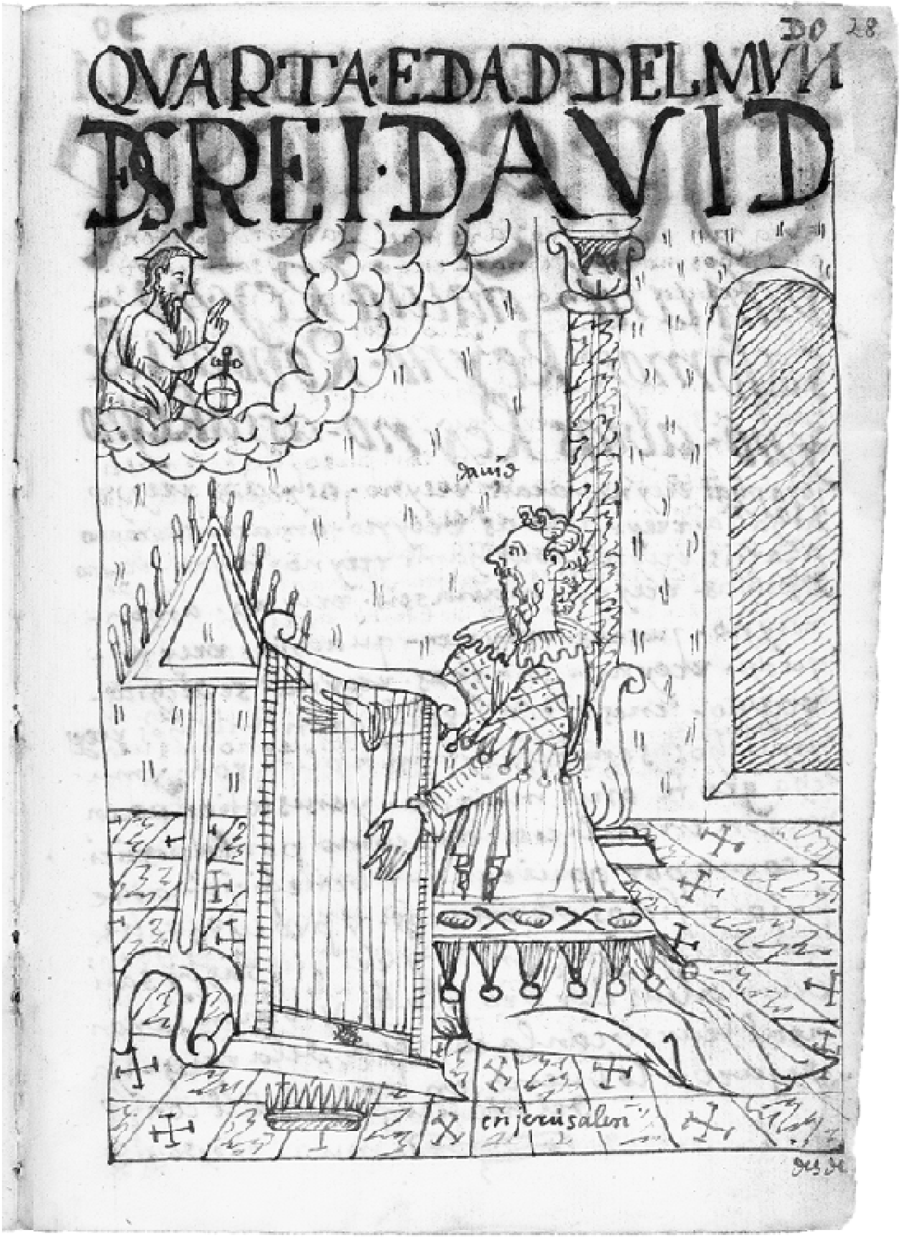
Going back to the ancestry of Abraham: he begat Isaac; Isaac begat Jacob; Jacob went to Egypt; he begat Joseph, at ninety-two years of age. The people were in Egypt; Moses was born. Joseph governed and was a captain. Gedeon ruled. Abimelech was judge; then there was no judge . . . Samson was judge; then there was no judge. Eli was a priest. Samuel a prophet, Saul with Samuel.[20] After the third age of the world, King David.

[28]

Page 28, drawing 10. Fourth age of the world, from King David: David / in Jerusalem


26
TERZERA·EDAD DEL MV͂DO
ABRAHAN
abrahan
sacrificio a dios con su hijo q̃ pidio a dios
en jerusalem
mundo

26. *Drawing 9. The third age of the world: Abraham, prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac*


DO 28
QVARTA·EDAD·DEL MVN
ES REI·DAVID
david
en jerusalen

28. *Drawing 10. The fourth age of the world: King David*

[29]

Fourth age of the world, from King David

David ruled; Solomon ruled; Roboam ruled . . . Sedecias ruled.[21]

During this age many kings rebelled and many lords; the people of the world multiplied. At this time the people became better organized through law, government, benefaction, crafts, and mechanical trades.

People developed large farms and accumulated wealth; they went in search of gold and silver and started robbing each other in their greed for wealth. They forsook the good and embraced the evil of the world.

[30]

Page 30, drawing 11. Fifth age of the world, from the birth of Jesus Christ: S[aint] Joseph / baby Jesus / S[aint] M[ary] / born in Bethlehem

[31]

Fifth age of the world, from the birth of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ

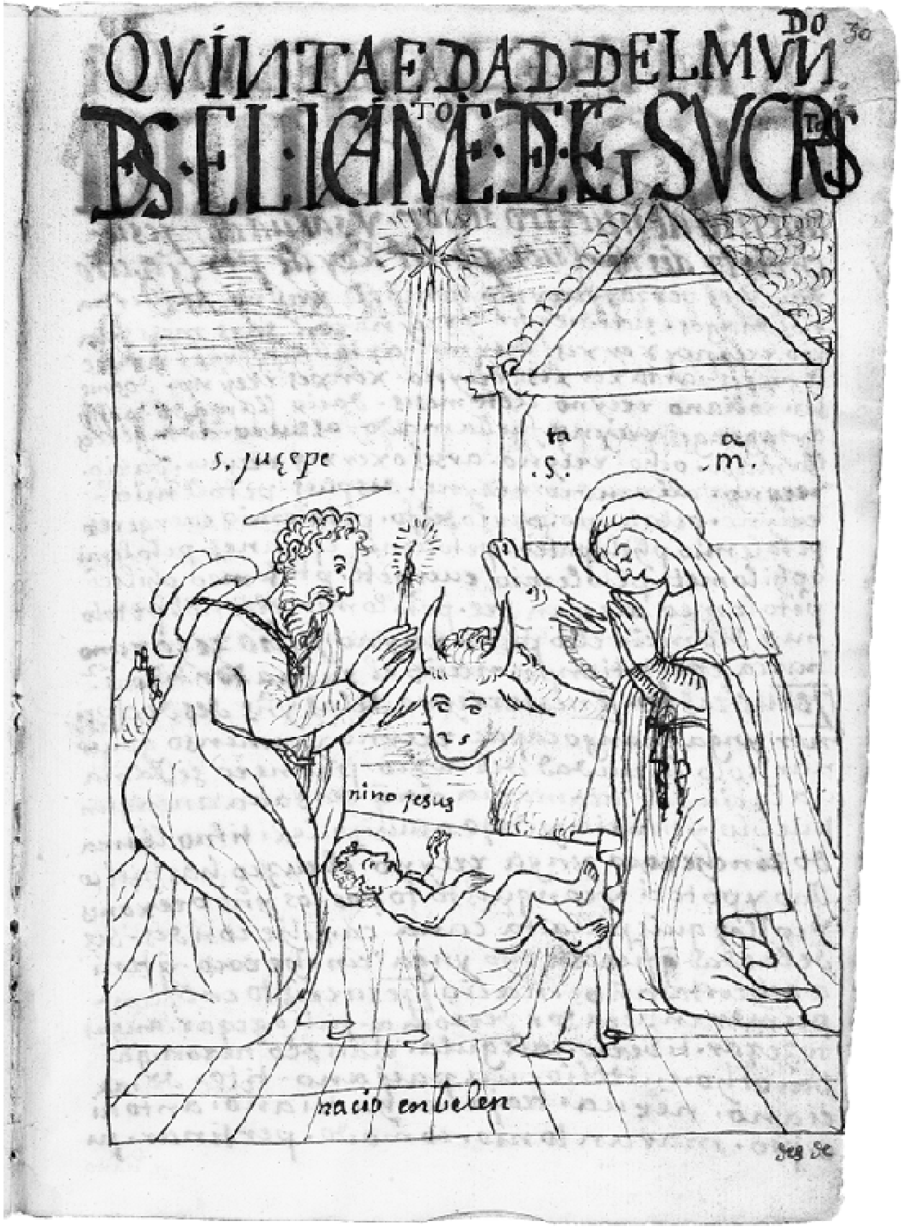
During the time of the Persian kingdom, King Cyrus II ruled; then Cambyses ruled; he was succeeded by two wise brothers who ruled for six months. Darius I ruled; Xerxes I ruled; Artabanus ruled for six months; Artaxerxes I ruled; Xerxes II ruled six months; Sogdianus ruled for seven months; Darius II ruled; Artaxerxes II ruled; Artaxerxes III ruled; Xerxes III ruled; Darius III ruled; Alexander II ruled.

After Ptolmey I ruled [Egypt]; Ptolmey II, Philadelphus, ruled; Ptolmey III . . . [Ptolmey VIII, Lathyrus]; Ptolmey IX, Alexander I, ruled; Ptolmey X, Alexander II, ruled; Ptolmey XI, Neos Dionysus, ruled; Cleopatra ruled; then came Julius Caesar the monarch.

During this time the Savior Our Lord Jesus Christ was born. And in the Indies the first Inca Manco Capac ruled and began by governing only the city of Cuzco. At first it was called the city of Acamama; it remained a town when Manco Capac died, leaving his legitimate son Cinche Roca Inca, who ruled from Cuzco to Colla and Potosi.[22] He conquered all the *orejon* [nobles] of Colla, Quispillacta, Cana, Canche, and Condesuyo.[23]

At the time when Cinche Roca was eighty years old, Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem.

The first emperor of Rome Julius Caesar [45–44 BC]; then Caesar Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax,


QUINTA EDAD DEL MUNDO
ES EL NACIMIENTO DE JESUCRISTO
30
s. jušepe
s.ta
a m.
nino jesus
nacio en belen

30. *Drawing 11. The fifth age of the world: the birth of Jesus Christ in Bethlehem*

[32]

Julianus . . . Theodosius I [AD 379–395].[24]

Charlemagne [AD 800–814] . . . , Otto I, Otto II, Otto III, Henry II, interregnum.[25] Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV, Henry V, Lothar II, Conrad III, Frederick I, Henry IV, Philip, Otto IV, Frederick II, interregnum, Rudolph I, interregnum, Adolf, Albert I, Henry VII, interregnum, Louis IV, Charles IV, Wenceslaus, Rupert [AD 1400–

1410].

At this time news of the kingdom of the Indies was made public; it told of the wealth in gold and sliver and of the small camels [llamas]. The population of Castile began to grow. Segismundo of Luxemburg was succeeded by Albert II [Hapsburg dynasty], Frederick III, Maximilian I [AD 1493–1519].

At this time the conquest of the East Indies took place and that of this kingdom by the ambassador of Doña Juana, the queen of Spain, Emperor Maximilian I. As emissaries the captains Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego Almagro came. After they died, Gonzalo Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro, the mestizo son, rebelled against the crown of the glorious emperor Charles V, emperor of the Romans, king of Castile.[26] In Rome, Ferdinand I. Now the most holy father the pope has the power in Rome.

[33]

Page 33, drawing 12. First beginning of the pope, Saint Peter: First our Lord Jesus Christ started the Holy Mother Church as pope. / Peter / in Rome

[34]

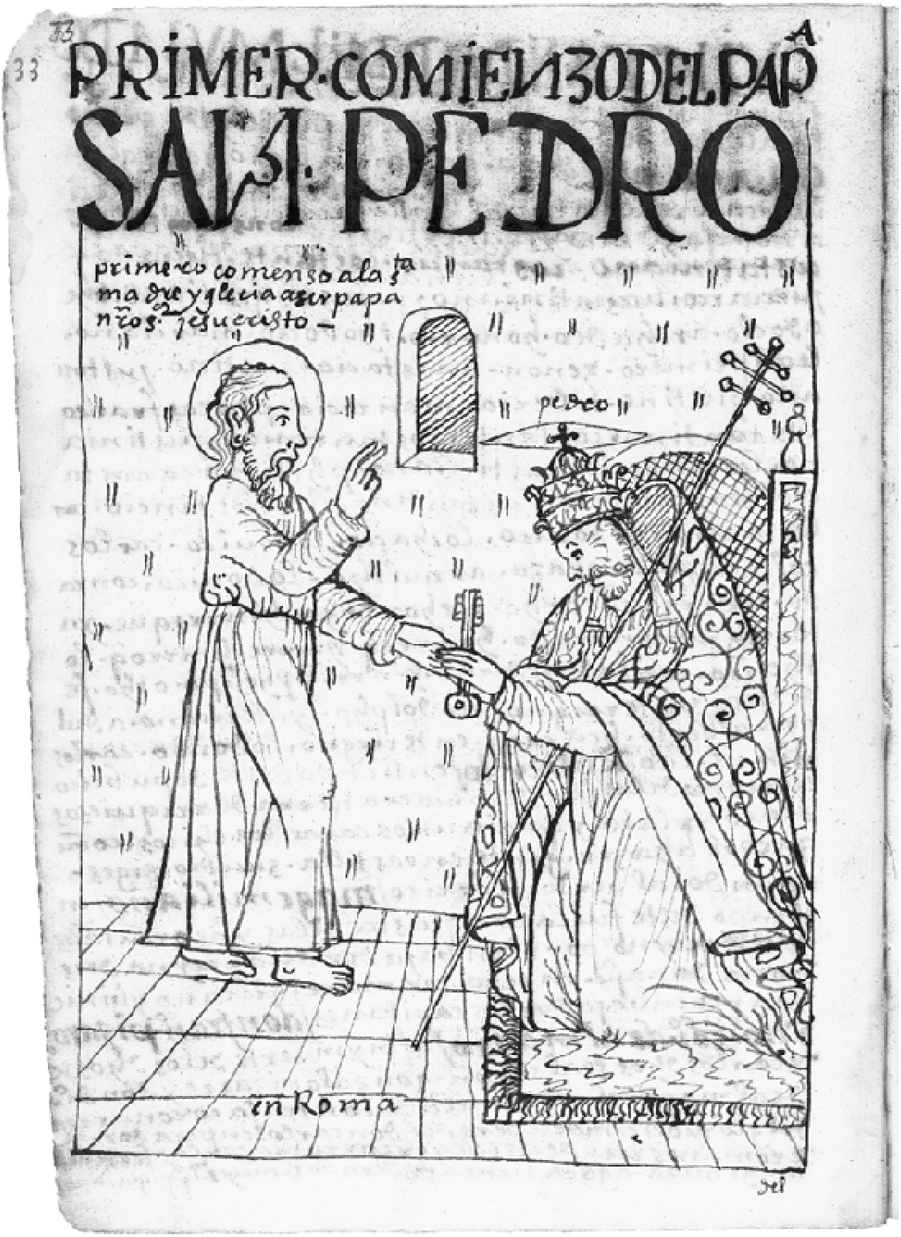
Papal Rome

The first beginning of the chair and principal seat of government of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, the pope, Summa Pontiff of Christianity: Our Lord Jesus Christ started first and in his place and lieutenant general of God in the world left it to our apostle Saint Peter.

At this time in this kingdom the Incas ruled. Lloque Yupanqui started to rule when he was thirty years old. First his grandfather Manco Capac ruled; then his son Cinche Roca Inca ruled; and then Lloque Yupanqui, grandson of Manco Capac.

As has already been stated, the first one to hold the chair and principal seat of pope was Saint Peter [AD 64–67]; Pope Linus, Pope Cletus, Pope Clement I . . . , Pope Julius I [AD 337–352].[27]

Since our Lord Jesus Christ wanted to go up into Heaven, he left Saint Peter as his lieutenant in his place, since he was the oldest who could govern the world in his place.


33
PRIMER·COMIENZO DEL PAPA
SAN PEDRO
primero comenso ala sta madre yglecia aser papa nro sr jesucristo –
pedro
in Roma

33. *Drawing 12. Christ gives the keys to the kingdom of heaven to Saint Peter in Rome.*

[35]

Page 35, drawing 13. S[aint] Jerome, Pope Damasus: Saint Jerome, cardinal, petitions / Damasus / in Rome

[36]

Up to this point the history of the pontiffs as it was written by Pope Damasus on the petition of Saint Jerome. From here on Romanos will be followed: Pope Liberius . . . Pope Damasus I [AD 366–384], Spaniard . . . Pope Innocent [401–417], Pope Leo I, Italian [440–461] . . . Pope Gregory I [590–604] . . . Pope Martin I [649–655]. . . .28

Though elected by vote, all of their steps and works of the pontiffs were recorded as Saint Jerome did, in stating all their works and martyrdom.

[37]

Page 37, drawing 14. Pope John, emperor: Pope John / emperor / in Rome

[38]

Up to this time the Roman emperors gave their approval. . . . Pope John VI [AD 701–705] . . . Adrian I [772–795].

Up to this time the Holy Mother Church of Rome underwent great struggles, and the popes led fearful lives, even though the emperors helped them. Nevertheless they lived with heavy hearts and souls due to the danger which their forebears confronted from the beginning with Saint Peter. And thus Christianity developed more, the faith was kept, and thus it will be kept in the world.

[39]

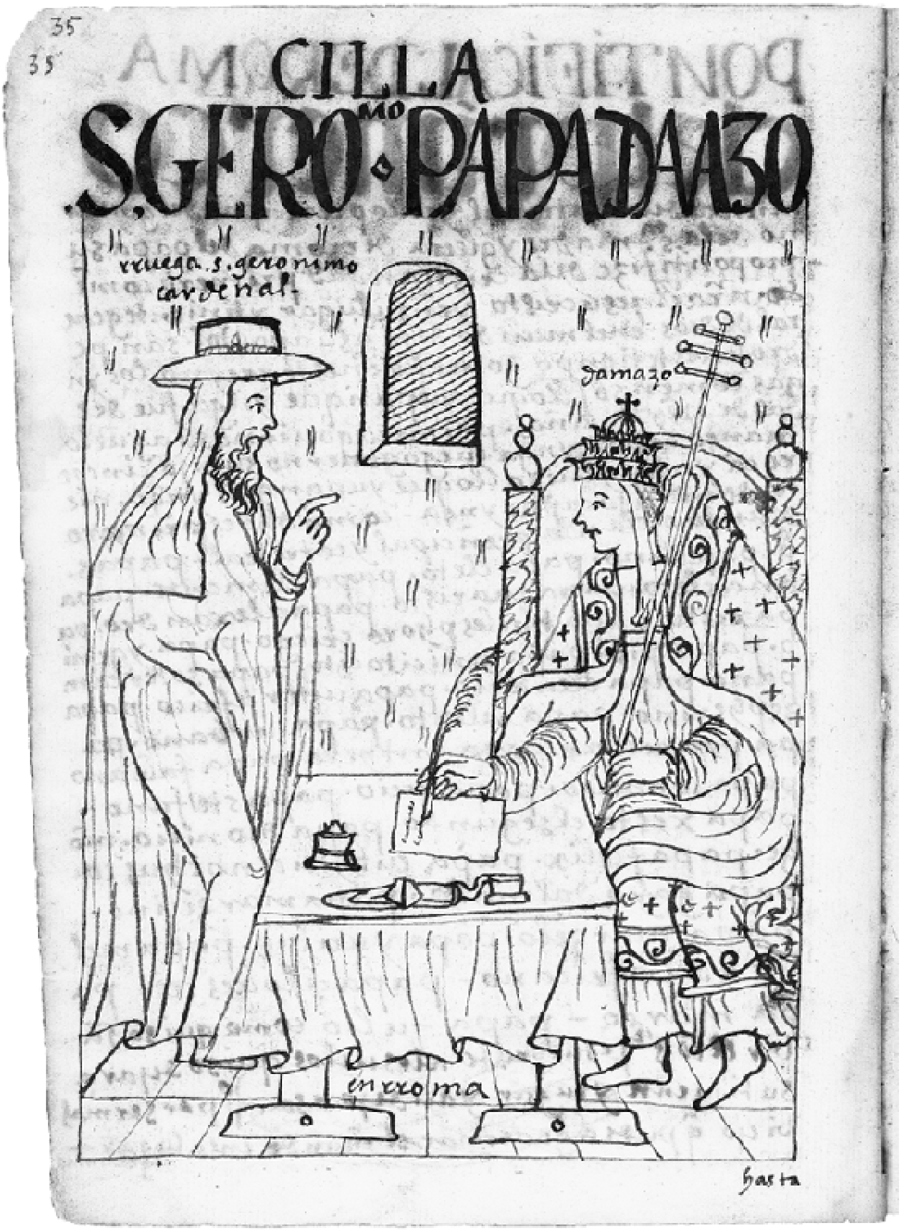
Page 39, drawing 15. Pope Leo

[40]

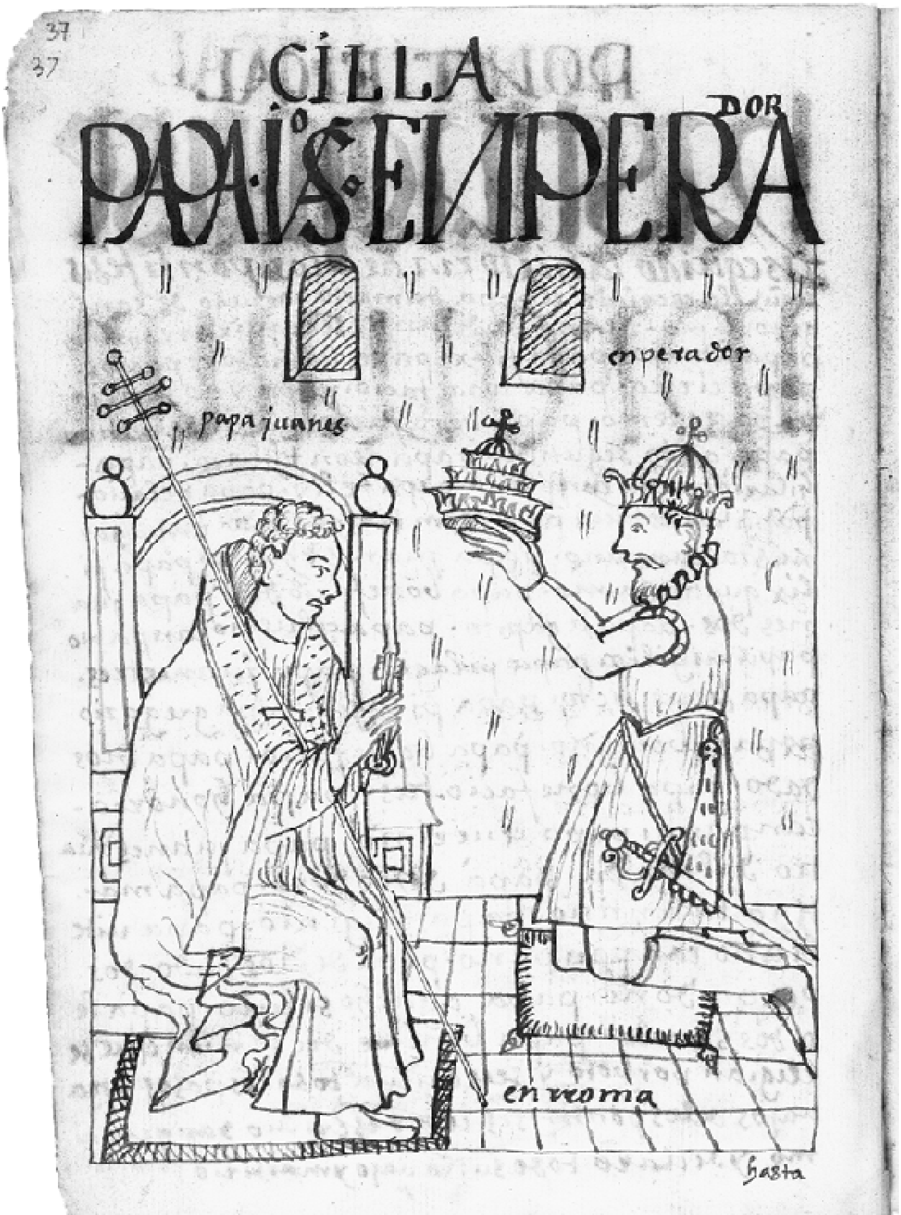
Up to this point pontiffs listed by Romano; after this Palmerio and Platina:

Pope Leo III [AD 795–816] . . . Pope John VII [872–882] . . . Pope Gregory VII [1073–1085] . . . Pope Innocent III [1198–1216] . . . Pope Clement V [1304–1314] . . . Pope Gregory XI [1370–1378]. . . .

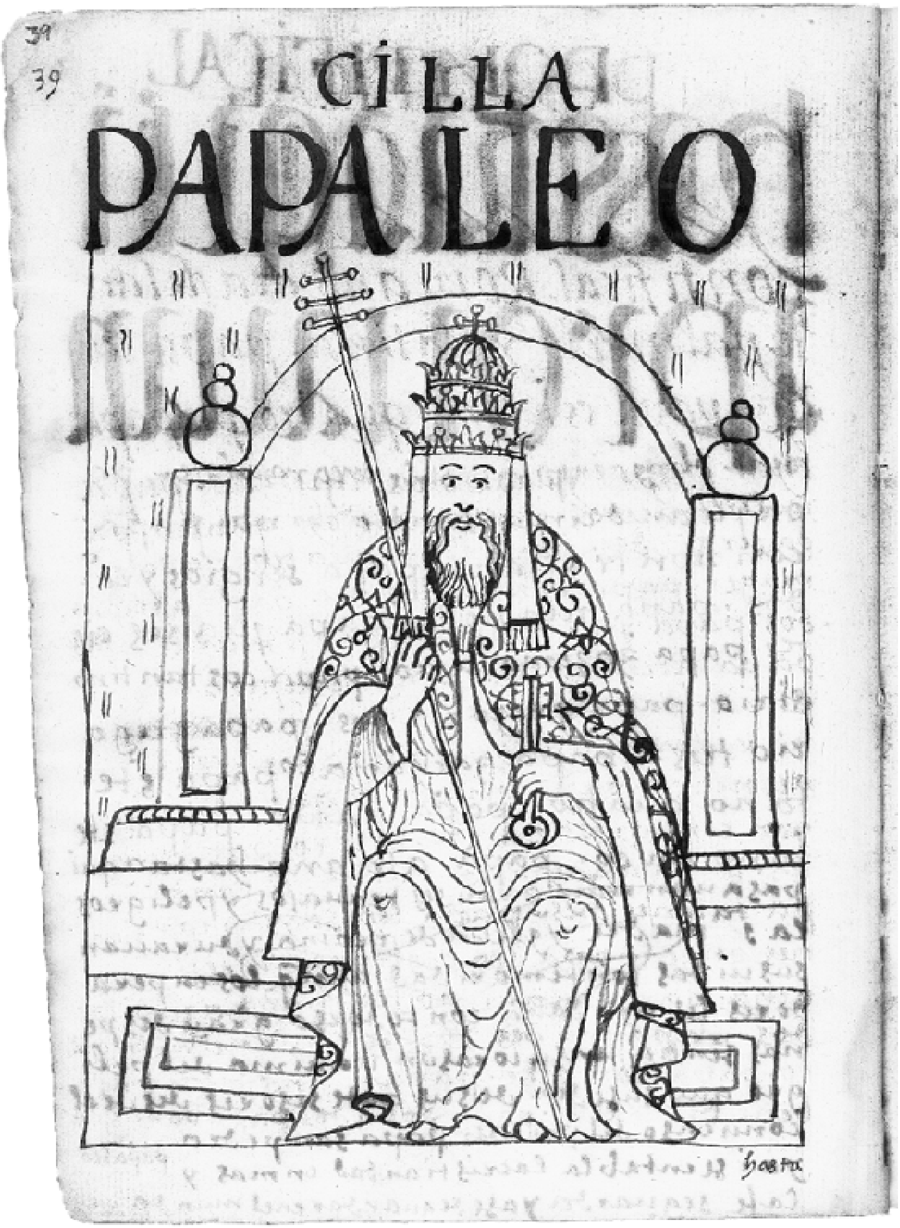
[41] . . .29


35
35
S. GEROMO PAPA DAMAZO
rruega s. geronimo cardenal
damazo
en rroma
hasta

35. *Drawing 13. Pope Damasus writes the history of the papacy at the request of Saint Jerome.*


37
37
ÇILLA
PAPAS . o . S . ENPERA
DOR
enperador
papa juanes
en roma
hasta

37. *Drawing 14. The Emperor Constantine IV crowns Pope John V.*


39
39
CİLLA
PAPA LEO

39. *Drawing 15. Pope Leo III*

[42]

Page 42, drawing 16. World: the Indies of Peru above Spain / Cuzco / Castile below the Indies / Castile

[43]

[Discovery of the Indies]

During this time the Indies of Peru were discovered, and the news spread throughout Castile and Rome that it was land *en el dia,* a higher level than Castile, Rome and Turkey. Thus it was called land *en el dia,* India, land rich in gold and silver.

During this time there was Pope Boniface, Italian [AD 1389–1404] . . . Pope Nicolas V [1455–1458] . . . Pope Paul II [1464–1471] . . . Pope Innocent VIII [1484–1492].

The philosophers, astrologers and poets knew the land, the heights and the wealth of the world and that no other land created by God was so rich because it is at a higher level of the sun. Astrology explains why [the Inca] called himself the child of the Sun and called the Sun his father. Thus it is proper for the king to praise himself saying he is very rich. . . .

[44]

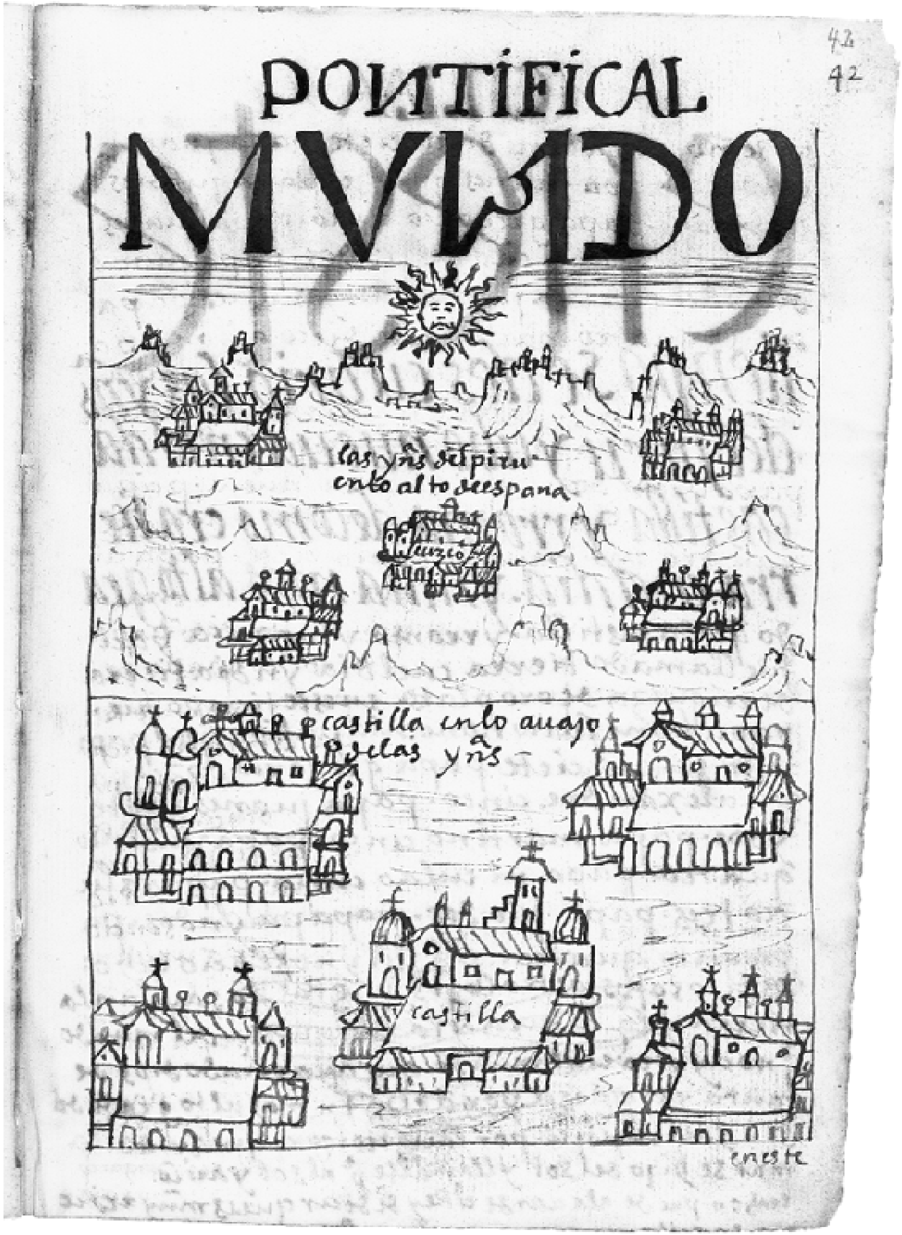
Page 44, drawing 17. Pizarro, Almagro: Don Diego de Almagro / Don Francisco Pizarro / in Castile

[45]

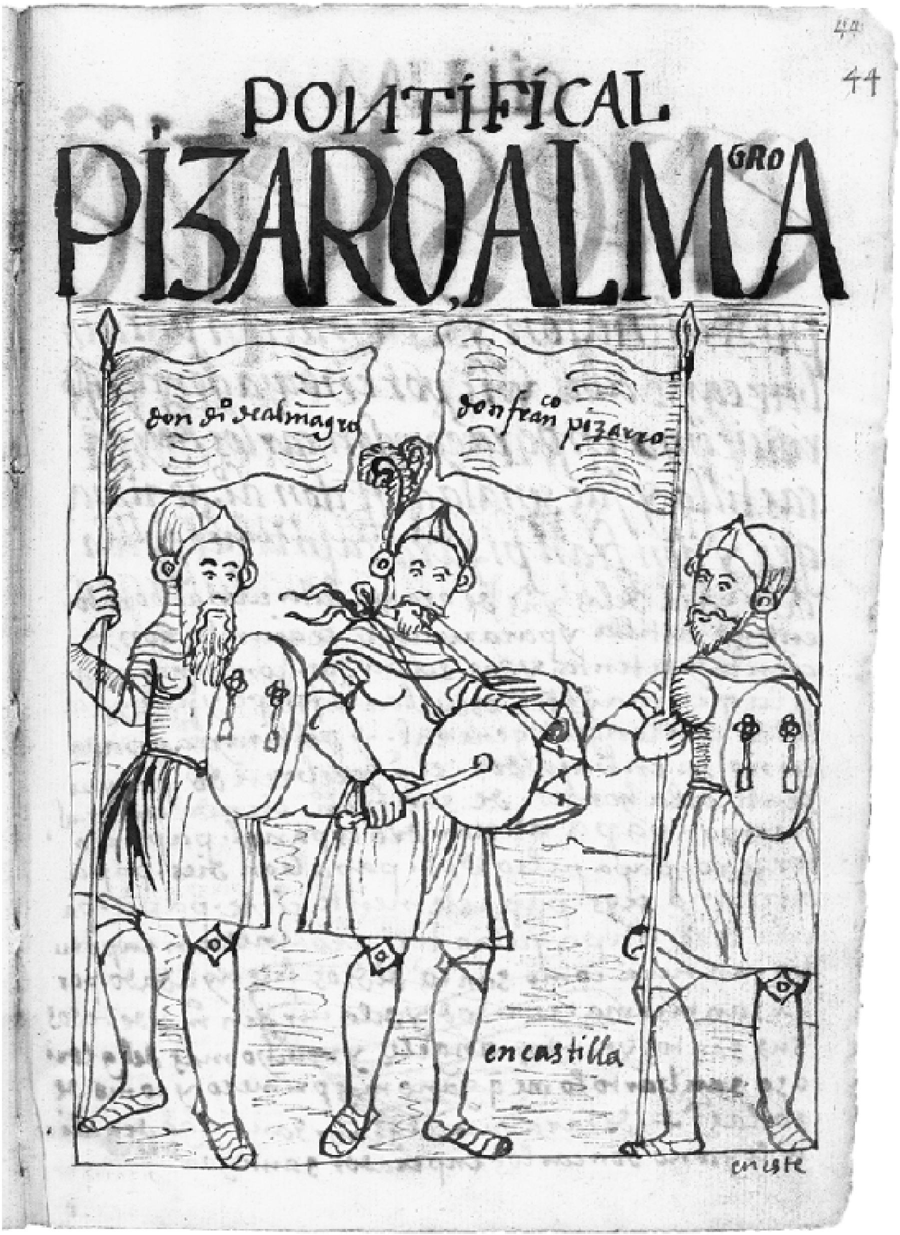
During this time the captains Don Diego de Almagro and Francisco Pizarro made an alliance and prepared to set sail for the Indies as emissaries of the most glorious emperor Don Charles, king of Castile, who gave them his approval. Given the desire for the gold and silver of the Indies, there was excitement throughout Castile. For the expedition 172 soldiers were recruited with Hernando de Luque, a school teacher, and Felipe, an Indian from Huancavilca,30 as chief interpreter.

As emissary of the holy father pope came the reverend father Fray Vicente of the order of Saint Francis. During that period was Pope Alexander VI, Spaniard [AD 1492–1503] . . . Pope Julius II [1503–1513], Pope Leo X [1513–1521], Pope Adrian VI [1522–1523], Pope Clement VII [1523–1534], Pope Paul III [1534–1549], Pope Julius III [1550–1555].

This was a fortunate time, as God's saint, who was aided by the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, all of her holy angels, and much more by the glorious Saint Bartholomew who won more first, left the holy cross of Carabuco, the lord Saint James of Galicia won it; Emperor Charles V, a saintly man.[31]


42
42
PONTIFICAL
MVNDO
las yn̄s del piru
en lo alto de españa
cuzco
castilla en lo auajo
de las yn̄s
castilla
en este

42. *Drawing 16. Pontifical world: The Indies of Peru and the kingdom of Castile*


44
44
PONTIFICAL
PIZARO, ALMAGRO
don dº de almagro
don franco pizarro
en castilla
en este

44. *Drawing 17. Don Diego de Almagro and Don Francisco Pizarro in Castile*

[46]

Page 46, drawing 18. Columbian fleet at sea by the Indies of Peru: Juan de Solis, pilot / Columbus / Almagro / Pizarro / Vasco Nuñez de Balboa / in the South Sea of the Indies, seven hundred leagues[32]

[47]

At this time Christian Spaniards set sail and landed in the Indies at the port of Tumbes. There were 172 soldiers and captains, Don Diego de Almagro and Don Francisco Pizarro and Fray Vicente, of the order of Saint Francis, emissaries of the glorious Emperor Charles V and of the holy father Pope of Rome, who was Marcellus II [1555].[33]

They landed at the port of Tumbes. First they were received by the emissary of Huascar Inca, legitimate ruler, and the second in command under the Inca, his viceroy, *capac apo* Don Martin de Ayala, who kissed the hands of the emperor and offered peace.[34] Then Huascar's bastard brother Atahualpa sent an emissary.

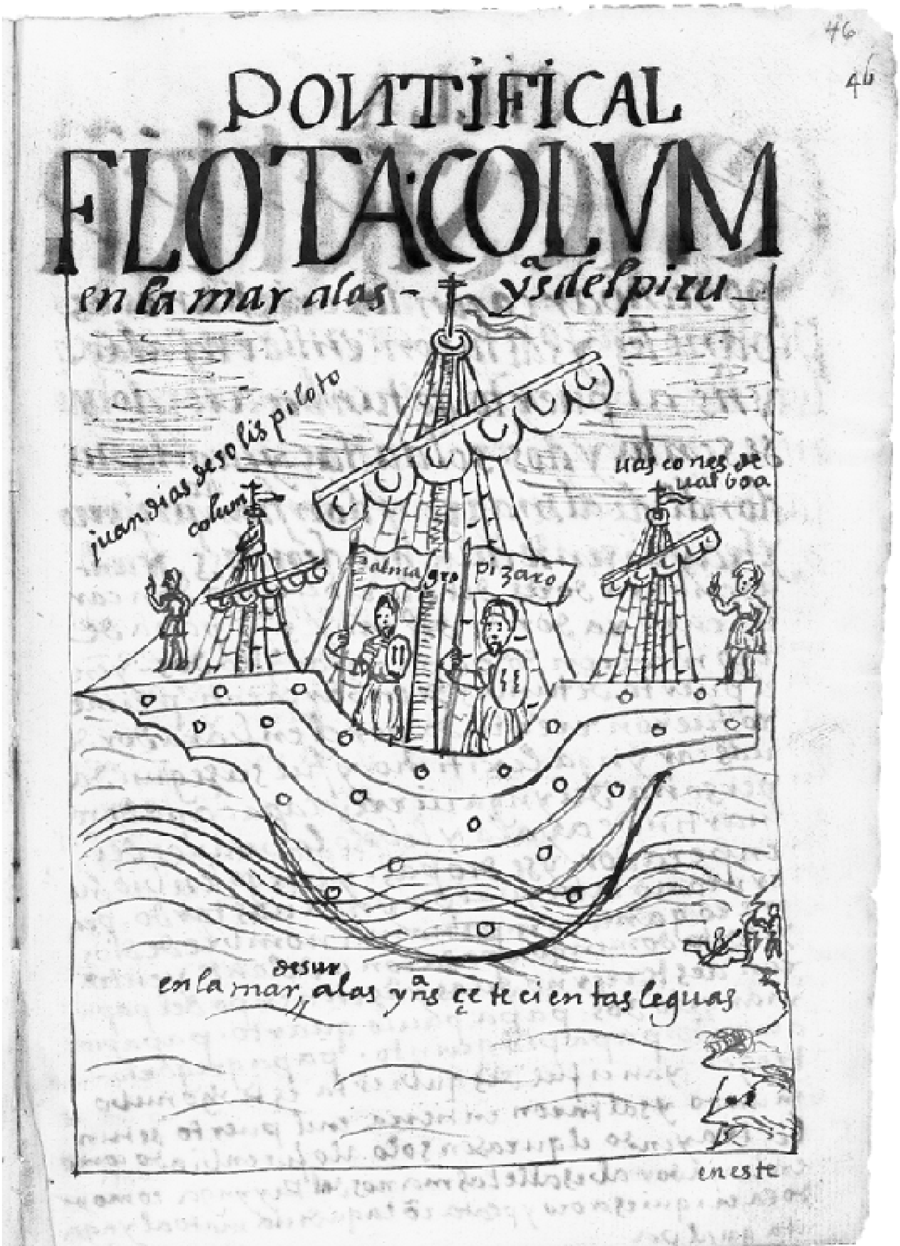
First they took Panama, Nombre de Dios, and Santo Domingo, and they moved ahead and entered this kingdom of the Indies during this time of Pope Marcellus II [1555] . . . Pope Pius IV [1559–1565], Pope Pius V [1566–1572], Pope Gregory XIII [1572–1585].[35]

Thus this New World was discovered. They landed at the port of Tumbes, intending only to fulfill their mission of kissing the hands of the Inca. When they saw the wealth in gold and silver, their greed led them to kill Inca Atahualpa.

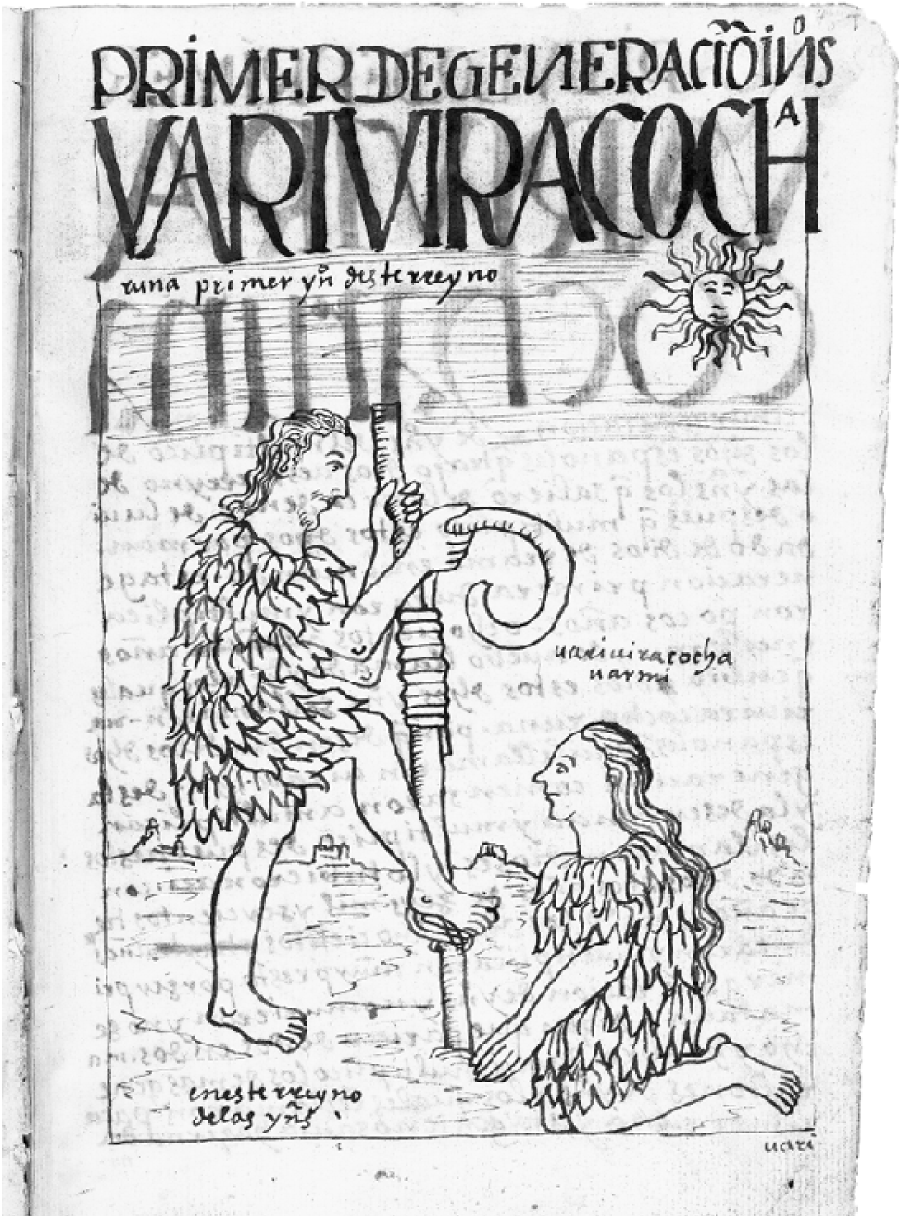
CHAPTER OF THE AGES OF THE INDIANS

[48]

Page 48, drawing 19. First generation of Indians, Vari Viracocha Runa: the first Indian of this kingdom / Vari Viracocha *huarmi* [woman] / in this kingdom of the Indies


46
46
PONTIFICAL
FLOTA COLVM
en la mar a las ỹs del piru
juan dias de solis piloto
colum
uascones de ualboa
almagro
pizaro
desur
en la mar, a las ỹns çetecientas leguas
en este

46. *Drawing 18. Allegory of Columbus's flotilla on the high seas, bound for the Indies of Peru*


PRIMER DEGENERACIÕ IVS
VARIVIRACOCHA
runa primer yñ deste reyno
uariuiracocha warmi
eneste reyno delas yñs
ucati

48. *Drawing 19. The first age of the Indians,* Vari Viracocha Runa

[49]

Vari Viracocha Runa

First generation of Indians, descendants of the Spaniards that God brought to this kingdom of the Indies, the ones who came from Noah's ark after the Flood.

After the people from Noah's ark multiplied by God's order, they spread throughout the world. This first generation lasted and multiplied a few years, 830 years in this New World called the Indies, where God sent them. These Indians were called Vari Viracocha Runa because they were descendants of Spaniards and for that reason the Spaniards were called Viracocha.[36] From this generation they started to multiply, and the descendants afterwards of these were called gods, and it was held to be so. Counting the years of 6,630 years, subtracting the 830 years already mentioned, they multiplied very fast because it was the first generation of Indians. They did not die and did not kill each other. It is said that they gave birth by twos, male and female. From here came the other generations of Indians called Pacarimoc Runa. And these people did not know how to do anything

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nor did they know how to make clothing; they wore leaves of trees and mats, woven from straw. They did not know how to make houses either; they lived in caves and under crags. All their efforts were directed to worshipping God, like the prophet Habacuc, and they cried out in loud voices as follows: “Lord, how long must I appeal to you and you do not hear me? I shout and why do you not answer?” *Capac señor, haycac amam caparisac—mana uyariuan quicho—caya riptipas mana hay niuan quicho.*[37] With these words they worshipped the Creator, using what little they knew. They did not worship demon idols, *huacas.*[38] They started to work, plowing, like their father Adam. They wandered about as if lost, wild people in an unknown land, lost.

First there lived in this land serpents, *amaros;* savages, *zacha runa-uchuc ullcos;* jaguars, *otoroncos;* goblins, *hapinunos;* mountain lions, *pomas;* foxes, *atocs;* bears, *ucumaris;* deer, *luychos.*[39] These first Indians, Vari Viracocha, killed them, conquered the land and ruled over them, entering this kingdom by the command of God.

These people called Vari Viracocha Runa lost their faith, hope of God, writing and commandment; they lost everything. Thus they got lost also, although they did have some slight knowledge of the Creator of humans, the earth and the sky. Thus they worshipped and called God Runa Camac Viracocha [man’s creator god]. These people did not know from whence they came, nor how, nor in what way; so they did not worship the *huacas,* nor the sun,

[51]

nor the moon, the stars, nor demons; neither did they remember that they were descendants of Noah of the Flood. They do have some idea of the Flood because they call it *unu yacu pachacuti* [water cataclysm]. It was God’s punishment.

Since these people each married their wives and lived without quarrels or fights, they did not have a bad life; all they did was worship and serve God with their wives. As the prophet Isaiah in the psalm prayed to God for the world and the sinners; as the prophet Solomon told us to pray for the conversion of people of this world, the Indians of this kingdom taught each other and spent their lives in prayer.

They had places designated for calling on God Runa Camac, even though they were lost souls; they did keep that place clean. These first Indians called Vari Viracocha Runa wore the same clothes and used the same plow as Adam and Eve, the first people, the same custom of cultivating the earth. They worshipped Ticci Viracocha, Caylla Viracocha, Pachacamac, and Runa Rurac.[40] On bended knee with their hands and faces toward the sky, they asked for health and favor, saying in a loud voice, "*¿Dónde estás, dónde estás, padre mío?*" *maypin canqui—naypim canqui yaya.* From these Indians of Vari Viracocha, the legitimate and elders, whom they called *pacarimoc capac apo* [king, powerful lord], came great lords. From the bastards and lesser ones came

[52]

common people. They multiplied and were called Vari Runa and Purun Runa; there were many people.

The burials of these Vari Viracocha Runa Indians were simple, without any changes from the time of Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purun Runa, and Auca Runa. The burials were without idolatry nor any kind of sermons.

Summary of the first Indians, people called Vari Viracocha Runa:

Oh what good people! They were barbarians, infidels, because they had only a glimmering of the knowledge of the Creator of heaven and earth and all therein. Only by saying Runa Camac [man's creator], Pacha Rurac [world's creator] is faith, and it is one of the serious things, though they did not know of the law and commandments or the gospel of God, which includes everything. Notice this, Christian readers, of these early people, and learn from them about the true faith and service of God, the Holy Trinity.

The end of the history of the first Indians called Vari Viracocha Runa.

[53]

Page 53, drawing 20. Second age of Indians, Vari Runa: *pucullo* [small stone house] / *vari huarmi* [woman of Vari] / *vari runa* [man of Vari] / *pachacamac, amypin canqui* [Creator of the world, where are you?] / in this kingdom of the Indies

[54]

Vari Runa

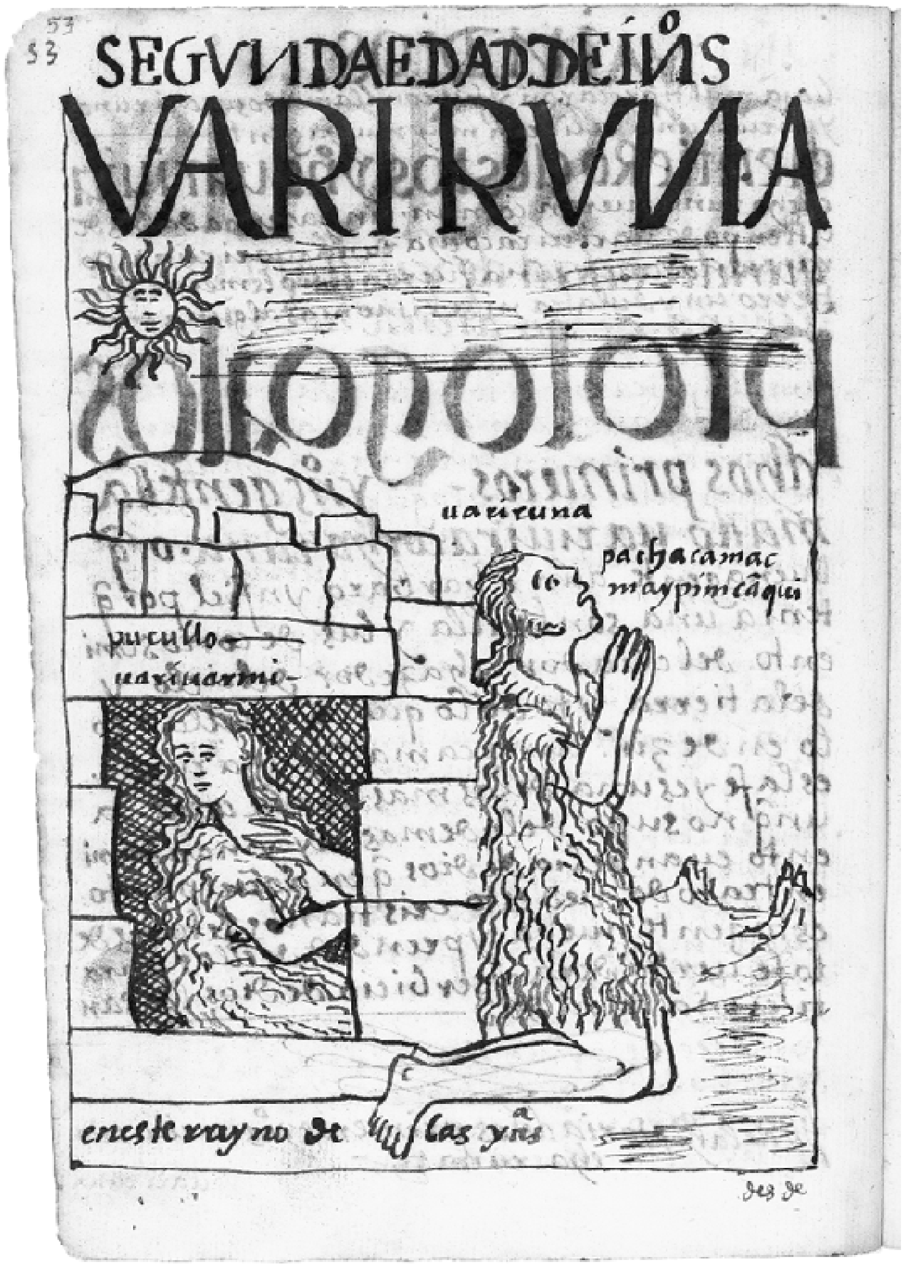
From the second age of the Indians called Vari Runa, descendants of Noah, the offspring of Vari Viracocha Runa that lasted and multiplied 1,312 years. They started to work, make *chacras* [cultivated fields], terraces, built ditches for irrigation water from the rivers and lakes, wells; these are called *pata* [terraces], *chacra, rarca* [irrigation ditches], *yacu* [water]. They did not have houses, but they did build little houses, more like an oven, that they call *pucullo.* They did not know how to make clothing, but they did dress in softened animal hides; that is what they wore.

They were not ruled by demons nor did they worship *huacas,* idols, rather with the little they knew they worshipped the Creator and had faith in God. They would pray saying, "*Ticci caylla viracocha maypim canqui hanac pacha picho cay cachapicho uco pacha picho caylla pachapicho cay pachacamac runa rurac maypim canqui oyariuay,*" which means: "O, Lord, where are you? In the sky? On earth? In the inferno? Where are you? Listen to me, creator of the world and of the people!" With these cries they worshipped God; they had commandments and laws of their own which they started to obey.

[55]

They respected their fathers and mothers and lords; they obeyed each other. Of the 6,613 years mentioned, counting from the people of Vari Viracocha Runa and from Vari Runa, 2,150 years, these Indians lasted and multiplied. From them came the third people called Purun Runa, who multiplied.

The most ancient Indians called Pacarimoc Runa, Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa had no trades, skills, farming, war, nor houses or anything, but they just knew how to break the virgin earth and make terraces on the hillsides and cliffs. They started to sift out and pick up all the little stones; they brought water in ditches. They ate and slept in the clothes they had of softened hides that cost little, as was said at first, of tree leaves, then mats of straw, then animal hides. All they knew was that there was a heaven, rest given by God, Runa Camac, and that there was an inferno, grief, hunger and punishment.


53
53
SEGVNDA EDAD DE IN̄S
VARI RVNA
uariruna
pachacamac
maypimcanqui
pucullo
uariuarmi
en este rreyno de las yn̄s
Des de

53. *Drawing 20. The second age of the Indians,* Vari Runa

The ancient Indians knew that there was one God, three persons. Of this they said as follows: that the just father, *yayan runa muchochic;* the kind son, *churin runa cuya payac;* the younger son who gave and increased health and gave food, water from the sky to give us food and sustenance, *sulca churin causay coc micoy coc runap allin ninpac.*

The first one was called

[56]

yayan yllapa [father lightning]; the second, *chaupi churin yllapa* [middle son lightning], the third *sulca churin yllapa* [younger son lightning].[41] Later for it, the Incas made sacrifices to lightning and greatly feared it. At first they did not offer sacrifices to it, but rather called out in a loud voice, all the Indians of this kingdom looking at the sky.

Summary for the readers of Vari Runa, the second people who were obliged by their father to know the Creator Ticci y Caylla Viracocha, Runa Camac. Even saying Allpamanta Rurac [earth's creator] in a loud voice; they never knew how to say more nor did they worship *huacas,* idols. With this it seems that they had all the laws, commandments, the good work of God's mercy, even though they were barbarians who knew nothing, except how to build little stone houses called *pucullos,* which remain to this day. Look, Christian reader, at these barbarians: You do not have it like this; later you lose it. Learn from them and serve God our Lord who created us.

The end of the history of the second people of Vari Runa.

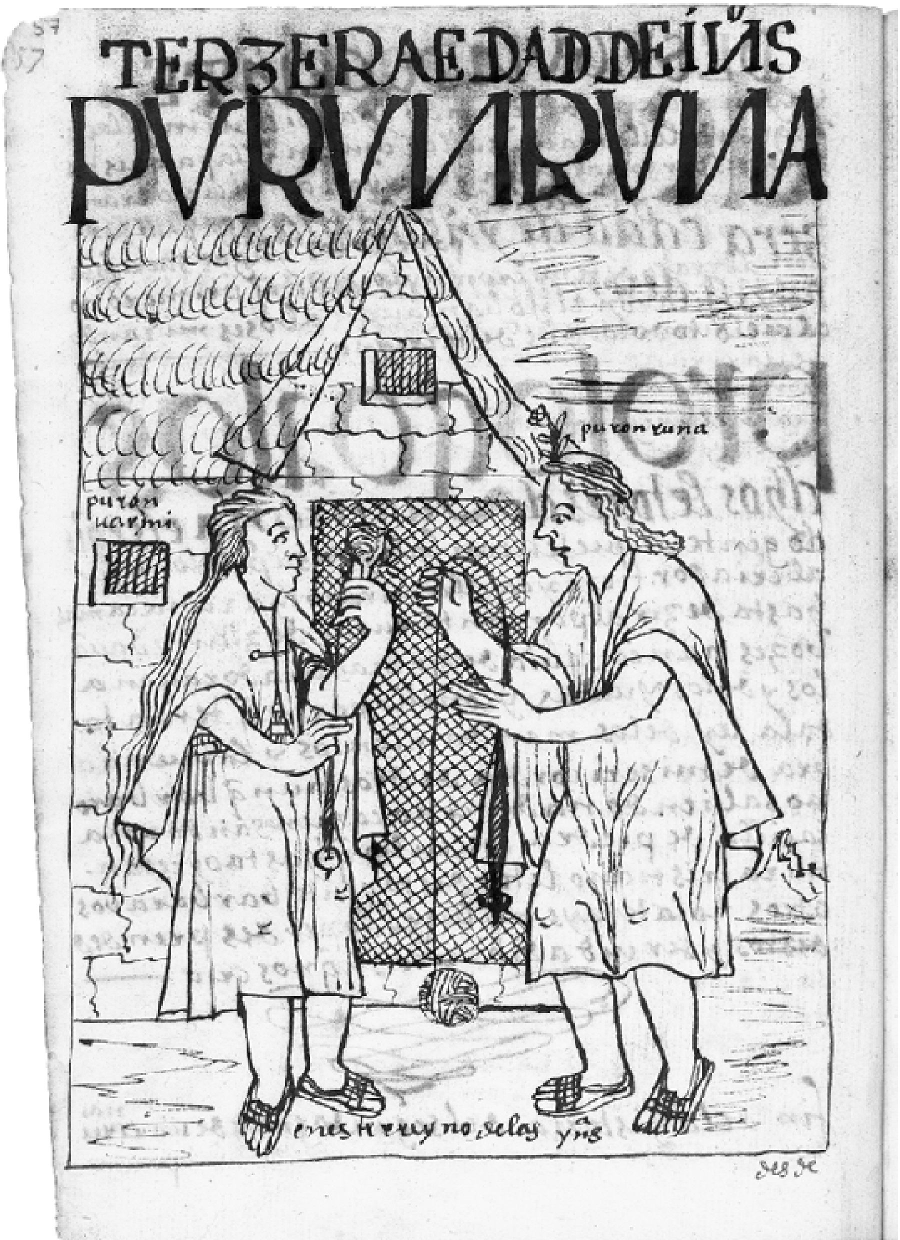
[57]

Page 57, drawing 21. Third age of Indians, Purun Runa: Purun *huarmi* [woman of Purun] / Purun *runa* [man of Purun] / in this kingdom of the Indies[42]

[58]

Purun Runa

This third age of Indians named Purun Runa, descendants of Noah, the one who survived the Flood, [were] descended from Vari Viracocha Runa and Vari Runa. These people lived and multiplied greatly like the sand of the sea shores until they overran the kingdom of Indians. They multiplied for 1,130 years. These Indians started to make clothing by spinning and weaving, *auasca* [coarse cloth], *cumbi* [fine cloth], and other crafts, decorations and plumage. They built houses with walls of stone covered with straw roofs. They also made kings and captains; the legitimate descendants of Vari Viracocha were called *capac apo uanto uan rampa uan pacarimoc apo* [powerful lord, with carriers, on a litter, primordial, lord].


57
TERZERA EDAD DE IIÑS
PVRVN RVNA
puron runa
puron uarmi
enes ti rruyno selas yñas

57. *Drawing 21. The third age of the Indians,* Purun Runa

They descended from a good lineage and had commandments and laws; each lord from each town used markers to designate their own property, land, pastures and *chacras.* They married their women, conversed together, gave dowries, provided good examples, doctrine and punishments. There was justice among them, law and order. They started to perform brave deeds and among themselves many acts of charity. Thus they ate in the public square, danced and sang.

These people multiplied like ants. They started to establish order; they opened up roads which are used today. And with what little they knew, they worshipped the Creator. And of the 6,612 years of the world, **[59]**

from the people of Vari Viracocha Runa and Vari Runa up to this generation of Indians of Purun Runa, together they lasted and multiplied 3,200 years. Another people called Auca Runa began to multiply.

There was drinking and dancing, *taquis* [song and dance]; people did not kill each other, nor did they quarrel. They all enjoyed themselves and had fiestas. There were no idolatries, ceremonies, witchcraft, nor evil of any kind. They respected the laws and regulations made by them and would die for them. The kings and captains of that time upheld the law of the property markers and lines. Their women did not commit adultery, nor were there any whores nor sodomites because they had a rule that such women were not to be given food to eat or *chicha* [liquor] to drink. Since they had this law, there were no loose or adulterous women among the women of this kingdom. The girls were virgins when they married, and this they prized. They remained virgins up to thirty years of age. Then they married and were given a poor dowry, living with what they had.

These Purun Runa Indians started to populate the lowlands, which were very hot. They built *pucullos,* little houses; at that time they started to build walls, put roofs on the houses, make fences and settlements with a square, though they still did not know how to make adobe bricks, rather they used only stone. They cultivated their *chacras* and made irrigation ditches for water. They worshipped God, and for that reason God did not punish these people. Thus they multiplied greatly.

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The Purun Runa Indians started to weave clothing with colored stripes and dye wool in colors, raise much livestock, *uacay* [llama], *paco* [alpaca]. They started to look for silver and gold; they called silver *purun cullque;* gold, *purun cori;* copper, *anta;* copper pan, *coyllo iarpc;* lead, *yana tite;* tin, *yurac tite;* pyrites, *atocpa corin.* They started to make clothing of solid silver and gold, *canipo; chipana huaytas* [ornaments], *aquillas* [silver tumblers], *mecas* [wooden plates], *poroncos* [earthen plates], *tinyas* [small drums], *cusmas* [tunics], *taua cocros* [men's garments]; *topos* [women's garment pins] and other service, finery and wealth of these people.

They never learned how to read or write; they were completely wrong and blind; they lost the road to glory. They were mistaken to say that they came out of caves, crags, lakes, hills and rivers. They actually came from our parents Adam and Eve, based on their clothes and tunics, work, tilling and worshipping our God and Creator.[43]

Some others state that the Indians came from the lineage of the Jews, looked like them and had beards, blue eyes, blond hair, like the Spanish; had the law of Moses, knew letters, how to read and write and the ceremonies. If they were of the lineage of the Turks or Moors, they would also have beards and have the laws of Moses. Others said the Indians were savage animals, that they did not have the law nor the prayers nor the tunic of Adam and were like horses or beasts and did not know the Creator nor cultivated fields, nor built houses nor forts, nor

[61]

had laws nor rules nor knowledge of God and the holy arrival.

God sent his prophets and apostles, very holy men; he did not send the most perverse animal but the Spaniards. Having writing and the voice of a prophet and patriarchs, apostles, evangelists and saints, they taught the Holy Mother Church of Rome; they made errors and lied with greed for silver. They did not follow the law of God nor the gospel nor preaching. And the Spaniards taught the Indians of this kingdom bad habits and did not obey God nor their fathers and mothers nor their elders, nor justice, as God commands.[44]

At this time, in the smallest town, there were ten or twenty thousand warriors, not counting the old ones, the young or the women. Thus they made many cultivated fields on the crags, carrying sifted earth and water in jars to irrigate the earth.

Consider the number of Indians there must have been in this kingdom. They say that once during a pestilence many, many people died and that for six months condors and vultures ate these people and could not eat all the dead in this kingdom. That is what they say.

Throughout this kingdom many kinds of lineages and languages of Indians appeared. This happened because the land is so broken and mountainous, producing different words, dress and *ayllos* [communities].

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Summary for the readers of the Purun Runa Indians: Consider, Christian readers, these people of the third age who improved with their law and ancient practices of knowledge of God and the Creator. Although they were not taught them, they had the Ten Commandments, good works, kindness, giving alms and charity among themselves. And the number of people increased greatly. They started to quarrel over firewood, carrying straw, land and *chacras,* pasture, corrals, and water, over who had to carry water, or from greed for the wealth of another town; they went to war and plundered the cloth, clothing, gold, silver. Among themselves they danced and played drums and fifes. In spite of all that, they never forsook the law and always made prayers to the god of the sky, Pachacamac. Each town had its king. These Purun Runa Indians never practiced idolatries and lies, nor were there any at that time; rather, all were well behaved.

Consider, Christian reader, and learn from these barbarian people that their glimmering of knowledge of the Creator was not so small. Thus make sure to refer to the law of God for his holy service.

The end of the third age of the Purun Runa Indians.

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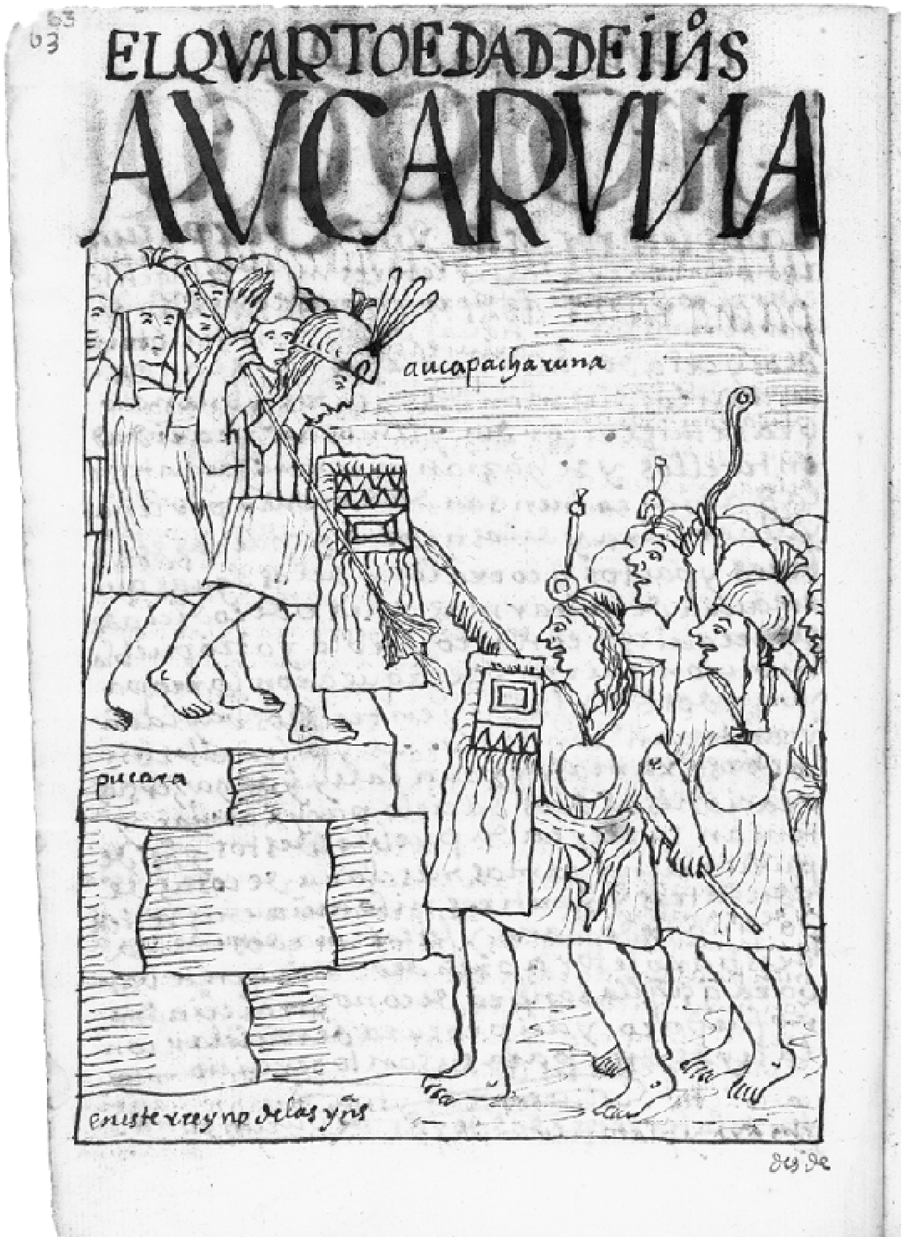
Page 63, drawing 22. Fourth age of Indians, Auca Runa: Auca Pacha Runa / *pucara* [fortress] / in this kingdom of the Indies

[64]

Auca Runa

This fourth age of Indians called Auca Pacha Runa were descendants of Noah and from the lineage of Vari Viracocha Runa and Vari Runa and Purun Runa. These people lasted and multiplied for 2,100 years. They left and moved from the good places out of fear of war, isolation and contradiction that they had. From their towns in the lowlands they left to settle highlands, hills and crags and defend themselves and started to make fortresses that they call *pucaras.* They built walls and fences around their houses and fortresses and hiding places and wells to draw water to drink.

They started to quarrel and battle, having many wars and slaughters with this or that lord and king. They were fierce captains and warriors, spirited men. They fought with weapons they call *chasca chuqui, zuchoc chuqui* [spears]; *sacmana champi* [club], *uaraca* [slings], *conca cuchuna* [long-handled battle axes], *ayri uallcanca* [hatchets], *pura pura* [chest plates], *uma chuco* [helmets], *uaylla quepa* [shell trumpets], *antara* [panpipes]. With these arms they won victories, and there were many killed and much blood shed until taking prisoners. They took wives and children; *chacras,* fields, irrigation ditches and pastures. They were cruel and robbed property, clothing, silver, gold, copper, even taking the grinding stones that they call *maray tonay, muchoca, collota.* They were warlike and treacherous. They had much silver and gold, *purun cullque, purun cori,* and they had


63
EL QVARTO EDAD DE INDIOS
AVCA RVNA
aucapacharuna
pucara
en este reyno de las yndias

63. *Drawing 22. The fourth age of the Indians,* Auca Runa

[65]

great riches among them.

They worshiped God the Creator like the ancient Indians, and there was much charity and adherence to the commandments from ancient times; these were good men and good women who had an abundance of food; their children multiplied as did their livestock. They had great captains and brave princes, very brave. It is said that during battle they changed into mountain lions, jaguars, foxes, vultures, hawks and wild cats. Thus their descendants to this day are called *poma, otoronco, atoc,* condor, *anca* [eagle/hawk], *usco* [wild cat]; wind, *acapana;* bird, *uayanay;* snake, *machacuay;* serpent, *amaro.* Thus the names of their ancestors were derived from other animals. They won these names in battle, and the most esteemed names of a lord were *poma, guaman* [hawk], *anca, condor, acapana, uaynay, cori, collque,* which is still true today.

There have been great kings, prominent lords and ladies, knights, dukes, counts and marquis. Apo Guaman Chaua Yarovilca was emperor over all this land, including Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo, Condesuyo: Tahuantinsuyo.[45] These people of Auca Runa, Purun Runa, Vari Runa, Vari Viracocha Runa lasted and multiplied for 5,300 years. Afterwards the Incas started to conquer this kingdom.

After having multiplied, each town had its king. The four parts had an emperor, *pacarimoc capac apo.* The lord and king was called *pacarimoc;* the chief of ten thousand Indians, *huno apo;* the leader of a district was called *uamanin apo;* the chief of one thousand Indians, *uaranca curaca;* the chief of five hundred Indians, *pisca pachaca curaca;* the leader over one hundred Indians, *pachaca camachicoc;* the leader over fifty Indians, *pisca chunca camachicoc;* the leader of ten Indians, *chunca camachicoc;* the head of five Indians, *pichca camachicoc.*[46] And the Indians whom the king rewarded were called *allicac.*

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The king rewarded this *allicac* because he was a conquistador, a man of might or a wise man.

No one was called powerful lord, *capac apo,* unless he was a legitimate descendant of Vari Viracocha Runa, Pacarimoc; this one is *capac apo.* Others merit the name *apo,* others *curaca,* and others *camachicoc.* The least of them did not have the right to call himself *allicac curaca;* he came from lower-class tributary Indians.

In ancient times there were no nuns because of the troubles and wars they had among themselves. Besides they did not agree to have them. But there were many nuns because the women remained virgin until they reached thirty or forty years of age. And what good nuns they would have been if they had been dedicated to the service of God.

They ruled and were very warlike Indians and strong brave warriors. Each one charged like a lion, killed the enemy, ripped out his heart and ate it; such were those fierce and strong warriors and captains.

The Indians populated hilltops and heights because they were very strong and fierce; they spent all their time making war, winning and taking whatever others had at that time.

The Indians were merciful and for that reason they all ate in the public square, including the poor pilgrims, strangers, orphans, sick, those who had nothing to eat. They all ate well, and the poor took the leftovers. No nation had had this custom and work of mercy in the whole world like the Indians of this kingdom; it was a holy thing.

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Each lineage and *ayllo* had its own dances, *taquis, hayllis* [farmers' chants] and songs, *harauis* [songs of love], and celebrations with *cachiua* [choral song]. There was no idolatry, no *mocha* [reverence] to the *huacas,* nor ceremonies. They ate, drank and enjoyed themselves without temptation from demons, nor did they kill each other and get drunk like they do now in Spanish Christian times. Now all the Indians are drunkards, killers, swindlers and there is no justice.

Virgin women married at thirty and forty years of age; some who never married died virgins. Now the first thing the priests do is deflower them as if it were the gospel. The ladies married and received the dowry like a poor person; they gave what they could, a few dresses and livestock, *llacllana ayre* [adzes] and weapons, *champis* [battle axes], *conca cuchuna* [halberds]; earthen jars, jugs, cooking pots, houses, *chacras.* And they divided up everything they had, and with it great *cunanacus* [mutual advice], sermons, good examples, service to God, though they did not know him very well. This was for the good life of the married couple.

They did not tolerate the sins of adultery or unions with sisters, aunts, godmothers, cousins or close relatives. Those who committed these sins were given the death penalty and severe punishments. At that time the kings, captains, and lords meted out much justice. Marriage vows were given by the man to the woman and by the woman to the man. They embraced and kissed each other on the mouth. No other could have carnal knowledge of that woman. There was baptism by word, and they were baptized. Women were given the names of their parents. Children were given the names of their mothers; for that, they had fiestas. With the one who gives the name by word they made the kinship of godfather and godmother. These were called *yaya* [father, elder],

[68]

uauqui [a man's brother], *mama* [mother], *ñaña* [a woman's sister], *tura* [a woman's brother], *pana* [a man's sister or female cousin]. The children were baptized at that time.

There were great punishments for thieves, robbers, murderers, adulterers, rapists; they got the death penalty; and for liars and the lazy. These punishments were given by the justice of the king and lord.

In ancient times the kings made peace among themselves, waiting a year or half a year, and then at the end of this period they would meet. These kings had no other duty than to build fortresses, houses, *chacras,* irrigation ditches, and lakes to irrigate the fields of this kingdom. These God-fearing Indians would wait until the faithful Indians were one hundred years old before making them preachers and judges who punished and served as good examples in the towns of this kingdom on the orders of the king of that time. The young men and boys were taught by being punished, like Cato of Rome who served as a good example and taught his sons so that they would behave.47 These good Indian people punished and governed in this kingdom; they were humble.

There were philosophers, astrologers, grammarians, poets who knew little, because they lacked writing. It was difficult for an Indian to be a Pompey or Julius Caesar. They knew from the stars and the comets what would come to pass. They watched the stars, storms, winds and the flight of birds, the sun, the moon and other animals, and they knew that there would be war, hunger, thirst, pestilence and many dead as sent by the god of the sky, Runa Camac.

The boys and girls until thirty years of age abstained from eating any rich food, honey, vinegar, *agi* [chile pepper],

[69]

nor delicacies, nor were they allowed to drink *chicha* [liquor] until they became men and women, until they were authorized by their elders; this was so that they would become skilled in fighting and improve their health and lives so that they could run like deer. It might be necessary for them to flee, endure hardship along the roads and battles; least they become accustomed to luxuries and become rebellious and arrogant; those delicacies cause harm and sinfulness of the world and were not permitted.

They had a supply of food and abundance of maize, *sara,* six different kinds; *papas,* potatoes, three kinds; *ocas,* little radishes; *ulluco,* watercress; *añu, masu,* false radishes; *quinoa* [a grain], food for doves; *tauri,* lupines; *chuño, caui, caya, tamos* [freeze-dried tubers]; *llama, uacay; paco, uanaco, vicuña* [smaller, wild llama]; *luycho, taruca* [deer]; *cui* [guinea pigs]; *ñuñumas* [wild ducks]; *yutos* [tinamous]; *chichis* [small fish]; *callampa, concha, pacu* [mushrooms]; *yuyo* [herb], *llachoc, onquena, ocoroco* [aquatic plants]; *pacoy yuyo, ciclla yuyo* [herbs]; *pinau* [grasses]; *cancava* [herb], *cusuro, llullucha* [aquatic plants]; *runto* [eggs]; *chalua* [fish]; *yucra* [shrimp]; *apancora* [crab].

The lowland Yunca Indians had *yunca sara* [maize]; *camote,* sweet potato, *apicho; racacha* [roots]; *mauca, suya, zapallo* [squash]; watermelon; *achira* [root]; *poroto* [beans]; *cayua* [cucumber]; *ynchici,* peanuts; *asipa,* roots; fruit; peppers, *ucho* [chile pepper], *asnac ucho, puca ucho* [red chile pepper], *rocoto ucho,* peppers; cucumbers; *cachuma* [sweet pepper]; plantain; *savintu* [guava]; *pacay, lucuma* [fruit]; *palta* [avocado]; *usum* [prunes], plums, and other herbs and things that they eat and live on in this kingdom.

These people started to make ordinary burials of their dead in vaults they call *pucullos.* And they made separate burial places for their leaders; they made the *pucullo* white, painting it. Their burials were without ceremony, nor idolatry at that time. They knew that in the other life there would be discomfort, torture, hunger, thirst,

[70]

cold and fire. They knew this about the inferno very well because they called it *ucu pacha supaypa huacin* [inferno, underworld, the devil's house]. For that reason they buried the dead with food, drink, clothing, silver and the wife. They cried much over the deceased, knowing about the suffering in the other life after death.

There were no sorcerers, real or false, no one skilled in poisoning, no adulteresses, whores, sodomites, blasphemers, nor blasphemy, because they killed them by severe torture, stoning them and pushing them off cliffs. Thus there was justice and punishment of the evil ones. Now the poor are punished the most and the rich are pardoned. Bad justice! There were no thieves or robbers because of the cruel punishments according to the justice of king at that time. There was not much gold or silver because there were no tools for mining. For that reason the people were not as greedy as the Spaniards who kill each other for half a silver coin and will go to the inferno for silver like slaves.

There were no bridges in this kingdom nor open roads. For this reason each king remained in his town and knew of no other place; thus he had no reason to wear any fancy clothes.

At that time the Indian kings, lords and leaders were much feared, served, respected, obeyed, because the people were well trained and punished.

Nowadays the Spaniards ruin everything; the priests are worse; and the judges and government inspectors the worst of all because everything they do is against the Indians and the poor.

[71]

At that time justice prevailed because there was only one God, one king and one judge. Now all that has changed; there are many lords, many judges, much damage and many kings.

At that time the principal lords went out with their *uantos* [carriers] and *rampa* [litter] and hammocks according their rank and regulations for having it. They had many wives and multiplied and filled the land with people; the number of Indians increased greatly in this kingdom. There were not many judges; the only judge was the king and they had no other in each town. The king governed and defended his land and kingdom with his arms, though there were not very many Indian weapons at that time of infidels.

These people had the custom of purging themselves every month with a purge they call *vilca tauri.* They grind and mix three pairs of heavy grain with *maca* root; they take it by mouth and half of it down below with a medicine in a syringe that they call *uillcachina.* It gave them much strength to fight and improved their health. They lived to be two hundred years old and ate with much gusto. The Indians had many other purges, and they did not let blood for illnesses. They only bleed from falls or blows from clubs. Thus they were very strong and brave men. They would take a mountain lion with their bare hands and rip it to pieces. They killed these animals with no Indian weapons.

[72]

They did not know what it was to fast on Fridays, nor on the four Ember days after Lent. They did not observe holy days nor count Sundays; their Sundays came every ten days and a year and the thirty-day lunar months. They observed the movements of the sun and the course of the sun and the moon for planting their fields. They observed where the sun rose in the morning and where it set. The philosophers and astrologers kept track of when to harvest the crops, plow the earth, prune, irrigate and other labors that they do. Even today old men and boys who do not know how to read know these things; in this way the Indians live.

The ancient philosophers called *camasca amauta runa* [wise Indian healers] interpreted the stars, comets, eclipses of the sun, storms, winds, animals and birds.[48] They saw signs and foretold what would come to pass, the death of great kings of Castile and other nations of the world, uprisings, hunger, thirst, death by pestilence, war, a good year or a bad year. Thus they found out about Castile, and for this reason they called the Indians of ancient times Viracocha because they knew that these people were descendants of Viracocha of the first people of their father Adam and the lineage of Noah of the Flood. The same was written about knowing the seasons of the year for planting by the philosophers Pompey, Julius Caesar, Marcus Aurelius, Claudius, Aristotle, Marcus Tullius Cicero and the Greeks, Flemish, Gallicians as well as the poets.[49] If these Indians knew how to read, record and write their ideas, ingenuity and skills, it was by using *quipos,* cords and signs, an Indian expertise.[50]

There were no *chasques,* runners; dispatches; *tambos,* lodgings; bridges,

[73]

roads; nor was tribute given because the kings of that time were Christians, feared God and his justice; they never made anyone sweat nor did they make the poor Indians work in this whole kingdom. They were not polished, except the kings, great lords and captains, and those who could, as well as the principal ladies and rich women as they could, and they were obeyed.

They did not have *huacas,* idols, nor did they adore stones, the sun, the moon, stars, nor did they have temples with roofs. They had a designated place; there they spoke with God in heaven, Runacamac. Thus the devils fled from them, and there was not so much temptation among those people at that time. There was no pestilence, hunger, loss of life, drought because it rained a lot. There was an abundance of food and increase of the herds and of the Indians because God permitted it at that time for the Indians.

At that time no one killed, robbed, cursed, committed adultery, nor offended the service of God, nor was there lust, envy, covetousness, gluttony, pride, anger, indolence or sloth.[51] There was the commandment of God and good works of God, charity, fear of God, and they gave alms among themselves. They had good and serious judges, God fearing, because they took an oath at that time saying, "*Runacamac unanochiuachun cay allpa millpuuachon,*" "Creator of people let me be killed and swallowed by this earth." With these words they took an oath. They did have battles and death in order to defend themselves and their land like men,

[74]

not like barbarous animals, the people of that time. Had they lacked the three vices of drunkenness, war and stealing property, there would have been very holy men at that time, if the apostle of Jesus Christ had come.

There are also serpents of the kind that remained before God sent the first people of Vari Viracocha Runa. In the place called Quichacalla Masaca of the Aymara from Guaylla Ripa, above Pampa Chire and beyond Vato Cocha, Vanca Cocha, there are serpents. When one sees a Christian it flies the distance of an harquebus shot making a booming sound like an harquebus, approaches the man, holds his body and ties him up so tightly that it cannot be removed even by cutting it with a knife. From the clothes it reaches the skin and kills the man, unless he is cured immediately with the very eggs it lays. There is no other cure.[52] And in that same place there is another serpent-like lizard that kills men on the plains. In other lands, such as the Andes, there are vipers and rattlesnakes that strike and snakes, jaguars, mountain lions, bears and caiman. All are snakes to punish evil people who God left in the world.

The generation and lineage of people from very ancient times that God brought to this kingdom of pagan Indians who descended from Adam and Eve and the offspring of Noah of the Flood—these were Vari Viracocha Runa, Yarovilca, which is to say he is a much more

[75]

important lord than all of the nations. From Vari Viracocha Runa descended Vari Runa, Yarovilca, as did Purun Runa, Yarovilca, and Auca Runa, Yarovilca, which refers to the legitimate king who was a descendant of Adam and Noah. Yarovilca means king; Yarovilca also means Inca.[53]

A division was made of Allauca Huanuco of the town of the city of Huanuco el Viejo where Topa Inca built his houses with Yarovilca, being *capac apo* Yarovilca Pacarimoc. Next came Runto Poma Viracocha, Carva Poma Viracocha Runa, Inti Guaman Viracocha, Illapa Poma Vari Viracocha, Ticci Viracocha, Condor Vari, Nina Vari, Cuci Poma Vari, Ticci Viracocha Inca.

From Vari Runa and Vari Viracocha until king Purun Runa and lord Auca Runa, *capac apo* Tingo Poma . . . Guaman Chaua, Ancau, Apo Condor, Apo Nina Quiro, Apo Pichiu, Illa Poma, Apo Pachacuti, Condor Chaua.[54] These were the kings and emperors over the other kings, the absolute lords over the whole kingdom of the Indians in ancient times from their nation, although there were many more kings at each fortress. But the one referred to above had the highest crown before the time of the Inca, and after he was feared by the Inca, and for that reason he was made second person of the Inca.

From here will come the second persons of the Incas, from the generation and lineage of the *capac apo* king Yarovilca, who made peace and was the friend of Topa Inca Yupanqui. *Capac apo* Chaua was married to his wife Mama Poma Ualca.

[76]

He was succeeded by *capac apo* Guaman Chaua, *capac apo* Guaman Lliuyac, *capac apo* Guayac Poma, *capac apo* Carua Poma, *capac apo* Llucyac Poma. These great lords lasted from the time of Topa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac Inca until the time of Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca and his brother Atahualpa Inca, bastard, and until the defeat of captains Chalcochima and Quisquis at the time of the conquest. From the time of the conquest by queen Doña Juana, the time of Emperor Maximilian and Emperor Charles V, our most Christian Catholic lord, until King Philip II, who now rests in heaven, to the time of his son, lord and most Christian Catholic king Philip III, on to the grandsons and descendants of *capac apo* Don Martin Guaman Malque de Ayala, Yarovilca, second person of the Inca, most Christian prince, who spent his life in the service of God and of his Magesty to the age of 150 years. He left his legitimate son Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Don Melchor de Ayala, Don Diego de Ayala, Don Francisco de Ayala, Don Martin de Ayala, and the rest of his grandsons and granddaughters, princes descended from Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purun Runa and Auca Runa, Inca Runa, Viracocha Christian Runa, the Spaniards. They will continue in the service of God and your Majesty.

Likewise the king and lord of Antisuyo comes from the time of Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purun Runa, and Auca Runa who was *capac apo* Pantitica Anti of the town of Manari Anti and his wife was Mama Mallquima.

[77]

They were infidels until the present time, although they were at peace and friends of the Inca. Later the Indians here are warlike, Indians of the jungle; they eat human flesh. In their lands there are animals, serpents, jaguars, mountain lions, poisonous snakes, caiman, cows, wild donkeys and other animals, many macaws, parrots, birds, monkeys, wild pigs, and many warlike Indians, some naked and others use loincloths, while others wear an *anaco* [tunic-like garments], both men and women.

These are all warlike Indians who cannot be defeated due to the dense foliage, the wild animals, mighty river, full of fish and ducks and in some places there are caiman. But they can be deceived into accepting Christianity. Nothing can be done here about the greed for money; one just loses and ends up dead.

The king of Condesuyo was *capac apo* Mullo and his wife Tayca Malco Huarmi Timtama. He was lord from Vari Viracocha Runa and Vari Runa and Purun Runa and Auca Runa; this *capac apo* Mullo was descendant of theirs up to the time of the Christians. They are poor Indians, of little power from the time of the Incas up to now; there are not many Indians in Condesuyo, the province of the city of Arequipa.

The king of Collasuyo was *capac apo* Malco Castilla Pari and his wife *capac ome* Mallco Huarmi Tallama. He was the descendant of Vari Viracocha Runa and Vari Runa, Purun Runa, Auca Runa; this *capac apo* Castilla Pari, Hatuncolla. They are Christian Indians, very rich in silver, gold of Potosi and Callahuaya; they have much native livestock and *papas, chuño, quinoa* and *oca,* much increase of Indians, little maize and fruit. They are big, lazy, clumsy beasts, and that is why they are called *puquis colla* [imbeciles] of Collao, *mapa colla,* dirty ones of Collao; from the time of the Incas they were very lazy and awkward these Indians of Collasuyo.

Summary for the readers of the Indians called Auca Pacha Runa, the fourth age: although they had the law of their ancestors to call on and knew God of the heights and hilltops, since these people left their towns and went to settle in the high cordillera and crags, they built fortresses for the great wars that they had. For that reason they were called Auca Runa [warrior men]. They killed each other, robbing women and children from each other and taking each other captive in the many battles of one king against another king. In spite of all this they did not stop worshipping God in heaven; they respected the commandments that they had and did good works of charity. Before going into battle they would pray, all asking for victory in a loud voice, speaking like prophets: "How long, oh Lord, must I cry out and not be heard, shout, and you will not answer me? Blind Lord, you will not see me. Help me, Lord God!" "Hayca pachamama capac apo señor caparimosac mana uyariuan quicho cayariptipas mana tac hay hiuan quicho apo dios ñausacho canqui manacho cauariuan quiman yanapauay apo yaya dios."

All this kingdom worshipped God in their hearts and words, even though they were rich people in gold, silver, clothing and livestock. With all that they worshipped God and they had fiestas.

The end of the Auca Runa age and beginning of the Incas little by little.[55]

[79]

Page 79, drawing 23. First chapter of the Incas, their coat of arms: Inti Raymi [Sun festival] / Coya Raymi [queen's festival] / Choqui Illa Vilca [lightning deity] / idol of Huanacauri / Pacaritambo / Tambotoco / idol of the Incas and the coat of arms of Cuzco / royal coat of arms of the kingdom of the Indies of the Inca kings

[80]

Tocay Capac, the first Inca

The first account is of the first Inca king who was of the lineage of the legitimate descendants of Adam and Eve and the progeny of Noah and the first of Vari Viracocha Runa and Vari Runa and Purun Runa and Auca Runa. From here came Capac Inca, Tocay Capac, Pinau Capac, the first Inca, and this generation and lineage came to an end. Their coat of arms was painted and called the most authentic.

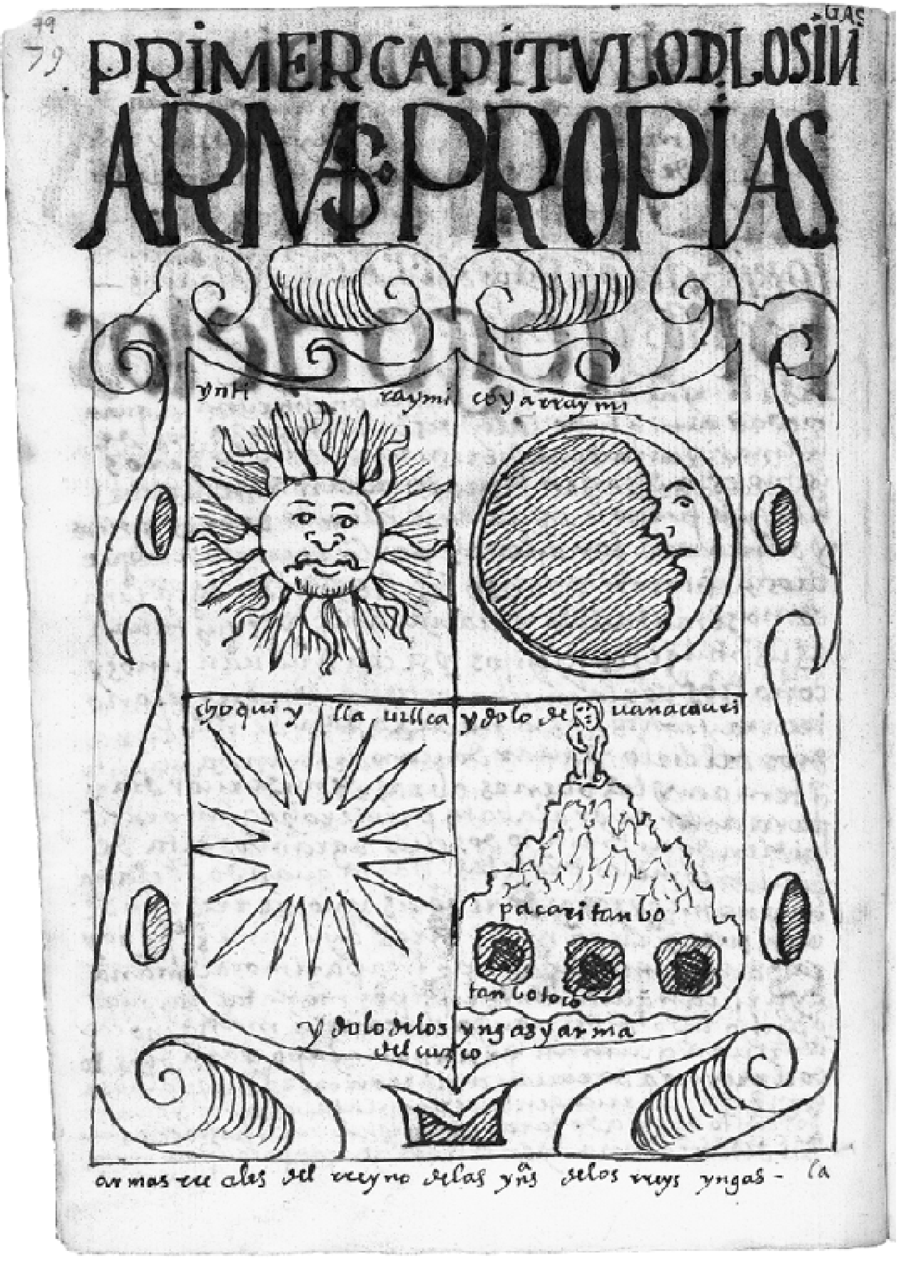
The first chronicle declared the Inca Intip Churin, the Sun's child. First he said that his father was the Sun, his mother the Moon and his brother the Morning Star. His idol was Huanacauri. It is said that they came from Tambotoco, also known as Pacaritambo.[56] They worshipped and made sacrifices to all these things. But the first Inca, Tocay Capac, had no idols nor ceremonies. There was none of this until the reign of the mother and wife of Manco Capac Inca and his lineage. They were of the *amaros,* serpents; the rest of what they say and depict of the Incas is a hoax.

These first Incas died, and Manco Capac Inca began to rule. From the time of Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purun Runa and Auca Runa, Manco Capac Inca had no town, land, *chacras,* fortresses, nor lineage or relatives from ancient times, *pacarimoc.* Manco Capac

[81]

did not know if he was from the sons of the first Indians of Vari Viracocha Runa, the descendant of Adam and Noah of the time of the Flood, nor if he was from the lineage of a great *capac apo,* so he said he was the child of the Sun.

This first Inca Manco Capac did not have a known father; for that reason it was said that he was the child of the Sun, Intip Churin Quillap Uauan [the Sun and Moon's child]. But actually his mother was Mama Huaco. They say that this woman was a great deceiver, idolater, sorceress, who spoke with the demons of the inferno and performed ceremonies and witchcraft. Thus she made stones, crags, sticks, hills, and lakes speak because the demons responded to her. So this woman was the original inventor of the *huacas,* idols, witchcraft and enchantments, and that was how she deceived the Indians. First she deceived the Indians of Cuzco which she held under her control because these Indians thought it a miracle that a woman would speak with stones, crags and hills. For that reason Mama Huaco was obeyed and served, and she was called the *coya* of Cuzco. They say she slept with all the men of the town whom she liked. This deception lasted many years, according to the Indian elders.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79. *Drawing 23. The first coat of arms of the Inca*

This Mama was the first to be called Mama when she became a matron. She was called Mama Huaco; when she married her son and became a queen, she was called Mama Huaco Coya, and she found out by divination with the devil that she was pregnant with a son, and the devil told her to give birth and not to show the child to the people but to give him to a nurse

[82]

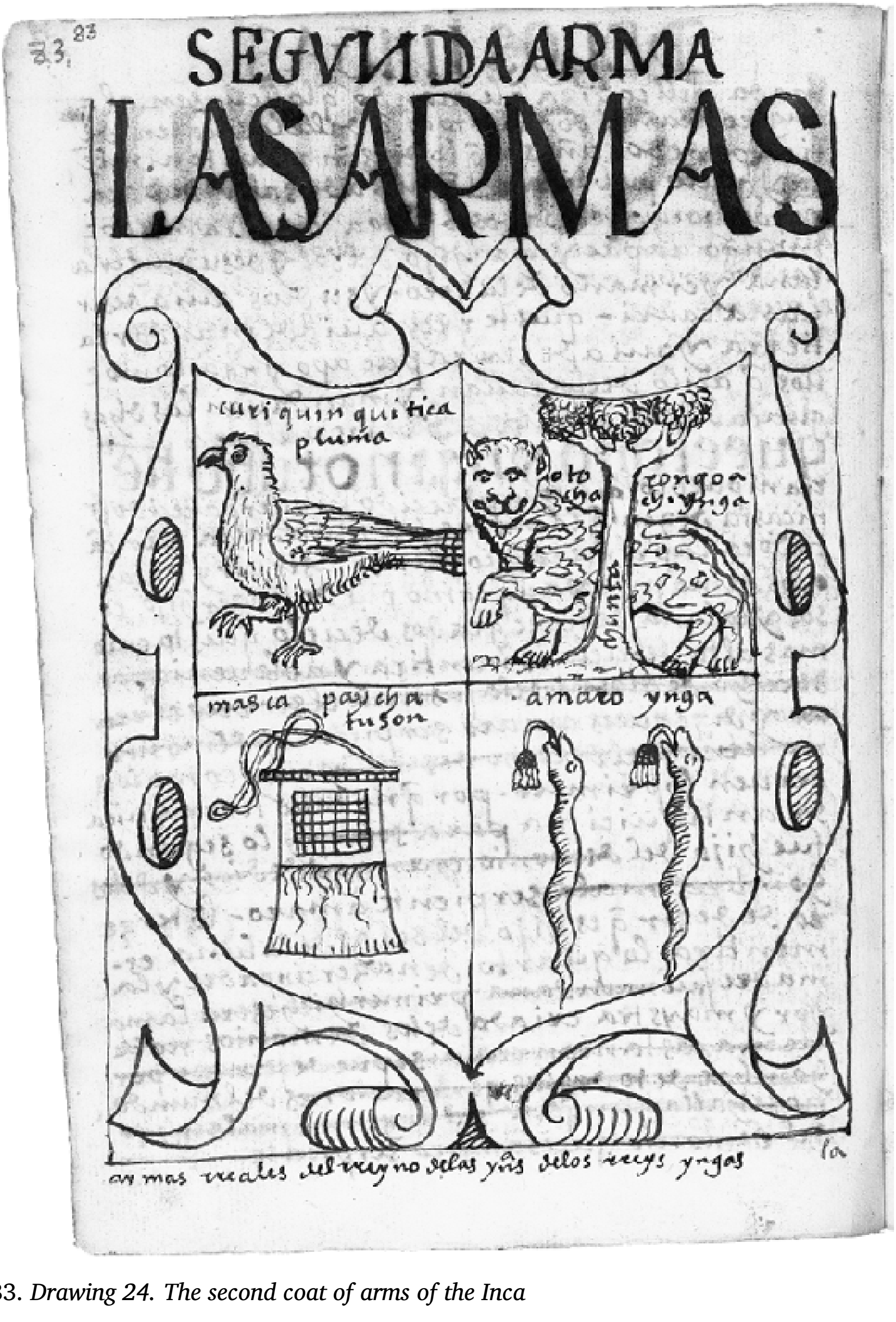
named Pillco Ziza. The devil ordered her to take the child to a place called Tambotoco and leave him there with food for two years. After that it was to be proclaimed that out of Pacaritambo had come a *capac apo* Inca king named Manco Capac, child of the Sun and of the Sun's wife the Moon and brother of the Morning Star. His god was to be Huanacauri. This king was to rule the land and be *capac apo* Inca like them. This was decided and ordered by the *huaca vilca* [deities], who are the demons of Cuzco.[57]

This Inca had no land, no town of his own, nor did he have a father or lineage. They say that his mother was worldly and a sorceress, the first one to start serving and conferring with demons. It is a lie that he could be the child of the Sun and the Moon at thirteen degrees in the sky which is in the highest part of the sky. They say that he is an *amaro,* serpent, as it was written.

In the first place he had no land nor ancient lineage to be king. Second, he was the son of a serpent, *amaro*. Third, to say that he was the child of the Sun and the Moon is a lie. Fourth, he was born without a father but of a mother, the first sorceress, the most skillful one raised by demons.

[83]

Page 83, drawing 24. Second coat of arms, coat of arms: *cori quinquitica* [gold] feather / Otoronco Achachi Inca / *mascapaycha,* fringe / Amaro [serpent] Inca / royal coat of arms of the kingdom of the Indies of the Incas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83. *Drawing 24. The second coat of arms of the Inca*

[84]

The second coat of arms that they painted

First upper left, *quinquitica* [bird]; second upper right, the *chonta* tree, and behind the tree, the *otoronco;* third lower left, the *mascapaycha* [royal fringe]; fourth lower right, *amaros* with the fringes in their mouths. This is painted of their dress and of their feather and of their name which they called themselves: Otoronco Amaro Inca. They say that they came from Lake Titicaca and from Tiahuanaco and that they entered into Tambotoco. From there eight brothers and sisters, Incas, came out: four brothers, the first, Huanacauri Inca, the second, Cuzco Huanca Inca, the third, Manco Capac Inca, the fourth, Topa Ayar Cachi Inca. And the four sisters: the first, Topa Huaco, *ñusta;* the second, Mama Cora, *ñusta;* the third, Curi Ocllo, *ñusta;* the fourth, Ipa Huaco, *ñusta.* These eight brothers and sisters came out of Pacaritambo and went to the *huaca* of Huanacauri, on the way from Collao to the city of Cuzco. This city was first called Acamama; later Cuzco. Thus the Inca ordered the worship of and sacrifices for their *pacarico* [place of origin] and *huacas,* the hills, caves and crags.[58]

All those who have earplugs are Incas, but they are not perfect, rather they are poor Indians and of low people, not nobles, but commoners. Of these who have earplugs, only one was the first Inca king, Manco Capac. For that reason he was called *capac. Inca* means a common man, not a king, rather *capac apo* means king. So the first Inca was Manco Capac, the second Anta Inca, Caca Guaroc Inca, Quihuar Inca, Masca Inca, Tambo Inca,

[85]

Lare Inca, Equeco, Jaquijauana Inca, Huaro Conde Inca, Aco Inca, Chilque Inca, Mayo Inca Yanahuara Inca, Cavina Inca, Quichua Inca.[59] They say that one of these went away and got lost. Chillpaca Inca was an *orejon* Inca[60] and so were those of Yauyo province. He went under the earth to the cordillera of the province of Yauyo, near Lima.[61] They also have bone earplugs, garments and *llautos* [headbands], plumes and the sheared hair of the Incas. The people of Puquina Colla province[62] were also of the Inca caste; since they were lazy, they did not achieve enough for the privilege of Inca earplugs; for that reason they were called *puquis, millma rinri* [dumb, wool ears]. They use earplugs of white wool because they did not reach Tambotoco. Those of Huanca Vilca province also wear gold rings which hang from their noses and from their chins. They are not Incas, but that is what they are called. They say that the province of Anca Huallo Chanca, whose inhabitants came out of Chocllococha Lake, numbered fifty thousand Indians, not counting the women, old folks or children.[63] Their king, Anca Huallo, wanted to be Inca at the time of Manco Capac the first Inca. And the Inca introduced him to his sister, Topa Huaco. Then she, *huarmi auca* [woman warrior], deceived and killed the king and captain Anca Huallo. After the captain general died, all of his people went into the woodlands and continued on to the other side, the North Sea[64] in the cordillera, lands beyond the woodlands, cold rough land, where they remain to this very day. They are pagan Indians and under the government of their king and lord Inca.

They say that there are many Indians with many different garments and lineages who make war among themselves like the Chunchos, Antis.[65] There is much gold and silver, land and livestock. The land is fertile, the Indians warlike; as I have said, these people live on the North Sea.

[86]

Page 86, drawing 25. Manco Capac Inca: pompon / This Inca ruled only Cuzco, Acamama.

[87]

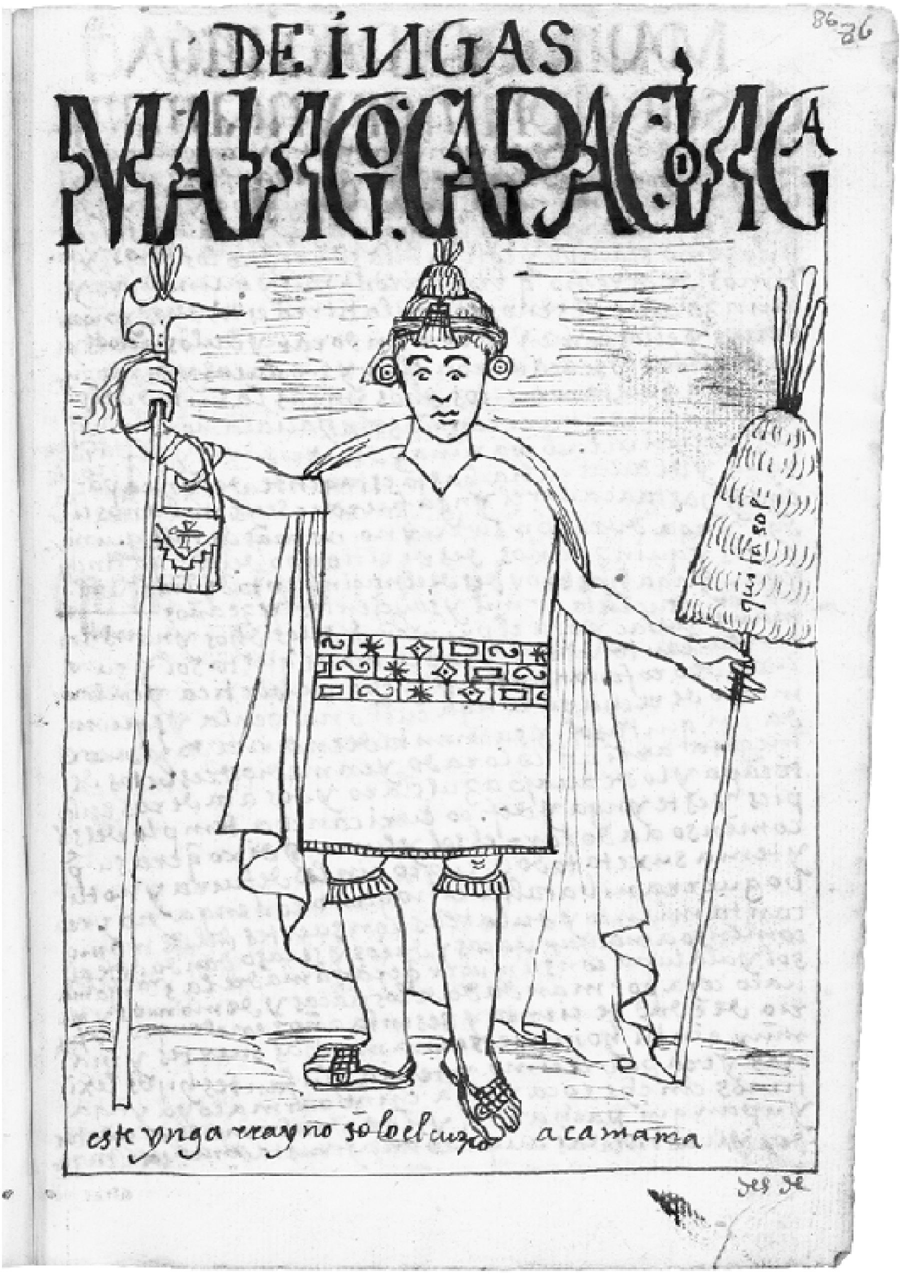
Manco Capac Inca

The first Inca ruled for 160 years from the beginning, and the last legitimate ruler was Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca, and his bastard brother was Atahualpa Inca. From the beginning of the rule of the Incas and the end of their kingdom, as it ended and the kingdom was destroyed, the legitimate Inca kings ruled over this land for fifteen hundred fifteen years. They started to worship *huacas,* idols, and demons. Their rule ended and along with it their *huacas* and demons. These Incas conquered half of Peru, and half of the eastern forest was left unconquered.

From the time of Vari Viracocha Runa and Purun Runa and Auca Runa to the Inca times Inca Pacha and on to the end of the Incas, six thousand years elapsed. The kingdom of the Incas lasted no more than fifteen hundred years from the time of Inca Cinche Roca until today, from the time of the birth of our Lord Christ and Savior Jesus Christ to the year 1613.[66]

Manco Inca, the first father of the Incas, had a green *llauto,* a feather pompon and fine gold earplugs, the *mascapaycha,*[67] *uayoc tica* [pompon feather ornament]; he held in his right hand a *conca cuchuna* and in his left a parasol. He wore a flesh-colored cloak and a tunic, red above, sky blue below, with three woven *tocapos* [stripes] and cord fastenings on his feet.[68]

This Inca built the Coricancha, Temple of the Sun. He initiated the adoration of the Sun and the Moon and said the Sun was his father. He controlled all of Cuzco, but not the surrounding regions. He did not make war or do battle. He conquered by deceit, enchantments and idolatry. With tricks of the devil he started to *muchar* [worship] *huacas,* idols.[69] Giving dowry to the Sun and the Moon, he married a woman who was his mother, Mama Huaco Coya, as ordered by the *huacas* and devils.


86
DE INGAS
MANGO CAPAC INGA
este ynga reyno solo el cuzco
acamama

86. *Drawing 25. The first Inca, Manco Capac Inca*

He died at 160 years of age in Cuzco. He was a very handsome man who knew many tricks and ruses, but he was very poor. His legitimate children were Cinche Roca Inca, Chimbo Urma Coya, Inca Yupanqui, Pachacuti Inca. He had many illegitimate sons and daughters, *auquicona* and *ñustacona* in Cuzco.[70]

[88]

Page 88, drawing 26. The second Inca, Cinche Roca Inca: He conquered up to Hatun Colla, Arequipa.

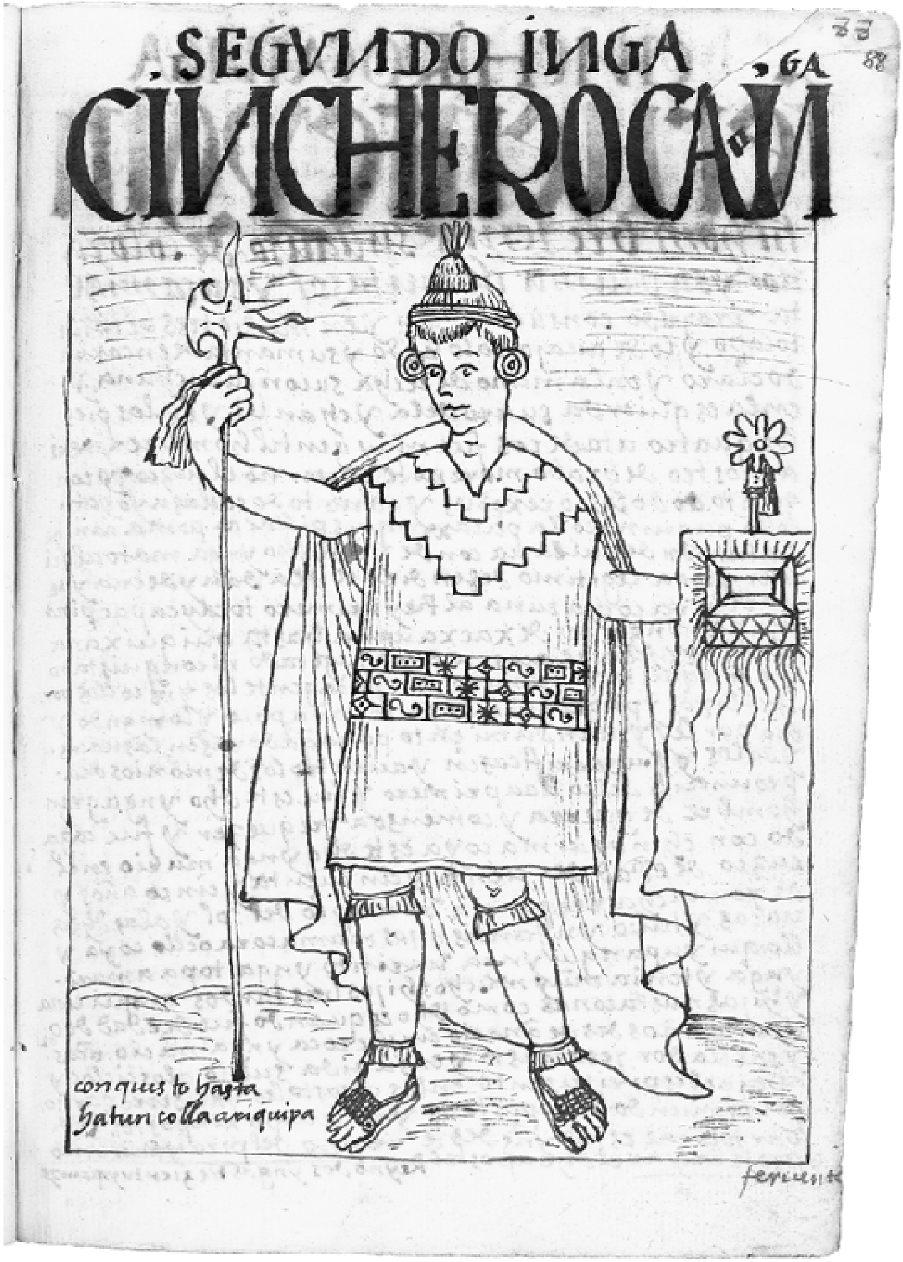
[89]

Cinche Roca

He was a fervent and handsome man. He wore a red *llauto,* a feather pompon, a pink tunic with its *ahuaqui* [weave] and in the middle three woven *tocapos,* the lower part red, and a light flesh-colored cloak; in his right hand he held the *conca cuchuna* and in the left his shield and *champi;* on his legs he had four cord fastenings. He was a very handsome man and had a brave, dark face. He governed Cuzco and conquered all the *orejon* lords, winning all of Collasuyo: Hatuncolla, Puquina, Pacaxi, Quispillacta, Pomacancha, Hatunconde, Collaga.[71]

This Inca killed the first legitimate Inca, the descendant of Adam and Eve and Vari Viracocha Runa, the first king Tocay Capac, Pinau Capac Inca. From Jaquijauana to Quiquijana he had not conquered the Chilque Indians, nor the Aco Indians.[72] He first went out to conquer the Colla Indians because they were lazy and pusillanimous, weak people. He gave the order and made it law that they worship the *huacas,* idols, and make sacrifices. This is how the demons first entered the province of Collao.

This Inca was a great warrior, and he started to accumulate riches. He married Chimbo Urma Coya. This Inca died in Cuzco at 155 years of age. He left much wealth to the temple of the Sun and to the *huacas,* shrines. His children were Mama Cora Ocllo Coya, and Lloque Yupanqui Inca, Uari Tito Inca, Topa Amaro Inca. And he had many other illegitimate children, *auquicona,* boys, and *ñustacona,* girls.


SEGVNDO INGA ,GA
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88
conquisto hasta
hatun colla arequipa

88. *Drawing 26. The second Inca, Cinche Roca Inca*

As has been stated, when Cinche Roca Inca was eighty years old, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ was born. During his life Jesus Christ went up into the heavens and sent the Holy Spirit down to the apostles. For that reason the apostles spread throughout the world. Thus it befell the apostle Saint Bartholomew to visit the Indies of this kingdom of Peru, and this apostle did come to this kingdom.[73]

These two Incas ruled for 315 years.[74]

[90]

Page 90, drawing 27. The birth of Jesus Christ in Bethlehem: Saint Joseph / Saint Mary / Jesus / He was born in Bethlehem.

[91]

Jesus Christ

Of the birth of our Lord and Savior of the world, Jesus Christ: Christ was born when Inca Cinche Roca was eighty years old. During the time of Cinche Roca, Jesus was martyred, crucified, died, buried, resurrected and rose to heaven and sat at the right of God the Father.[75] He sent the Holy Sprit to give his grace to the apostles so they could spread throughout the world to preach his gospel. Thus the apostle Saint Bartholomew came to Collao. By virtue of his holy miracles, he left the Holy Cross of Carabuco.[76]

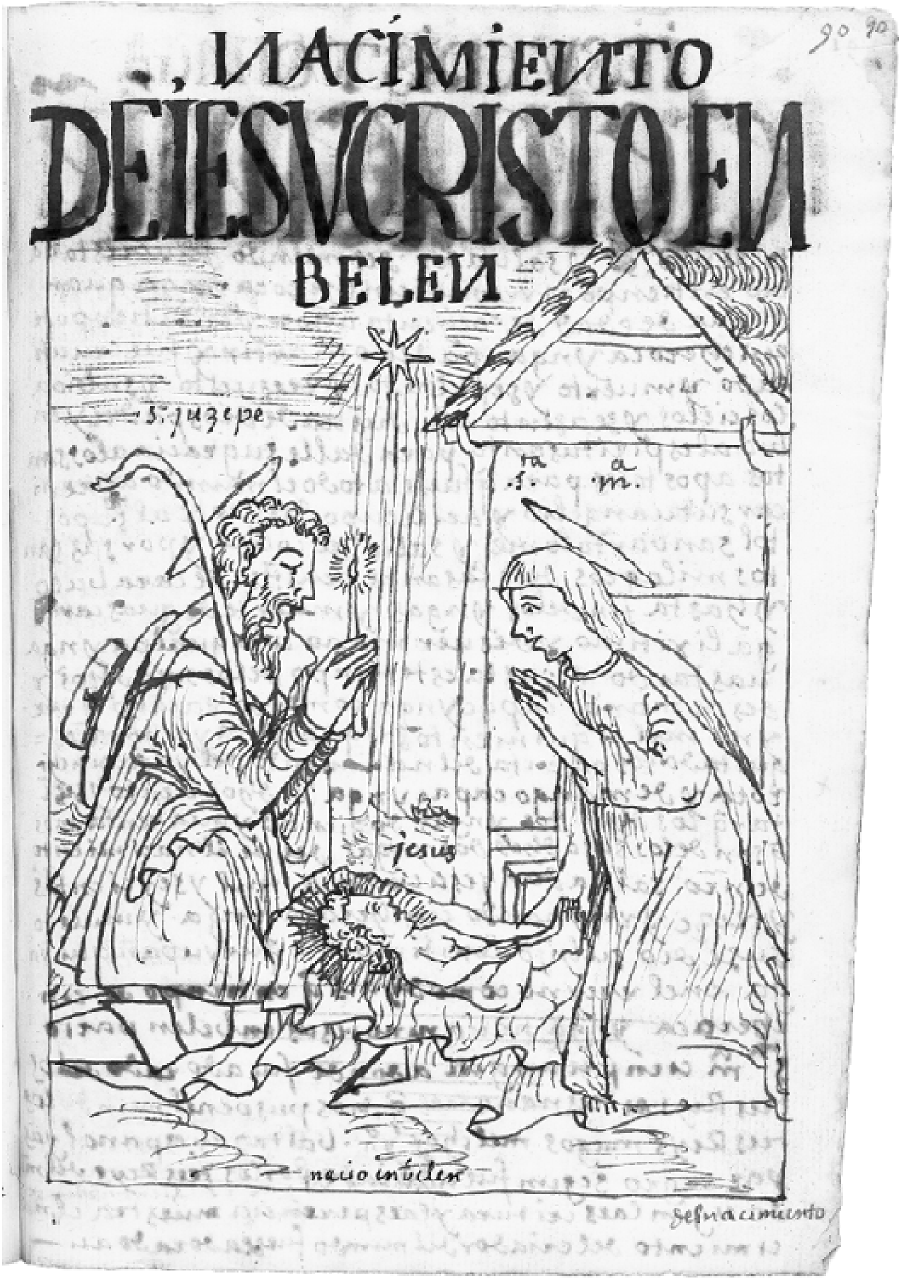
Up to the end of the Incas and the death of the legitimate Huascar Inca and the bastard Atahualpa, that is from the beginning with Manco Capac Inca, to the end, the Incas ruled for 1,548 years, not counting the eighty years after the birth of Cinche Roca Inca and of Manco Capac Inca the 160 years, which makes 240 years. From the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ to 1613.[77]

After Cinche Roca Inca's death, he was succeeded by his legitimate son Lloque Yupanqui Inca in the kingdom.

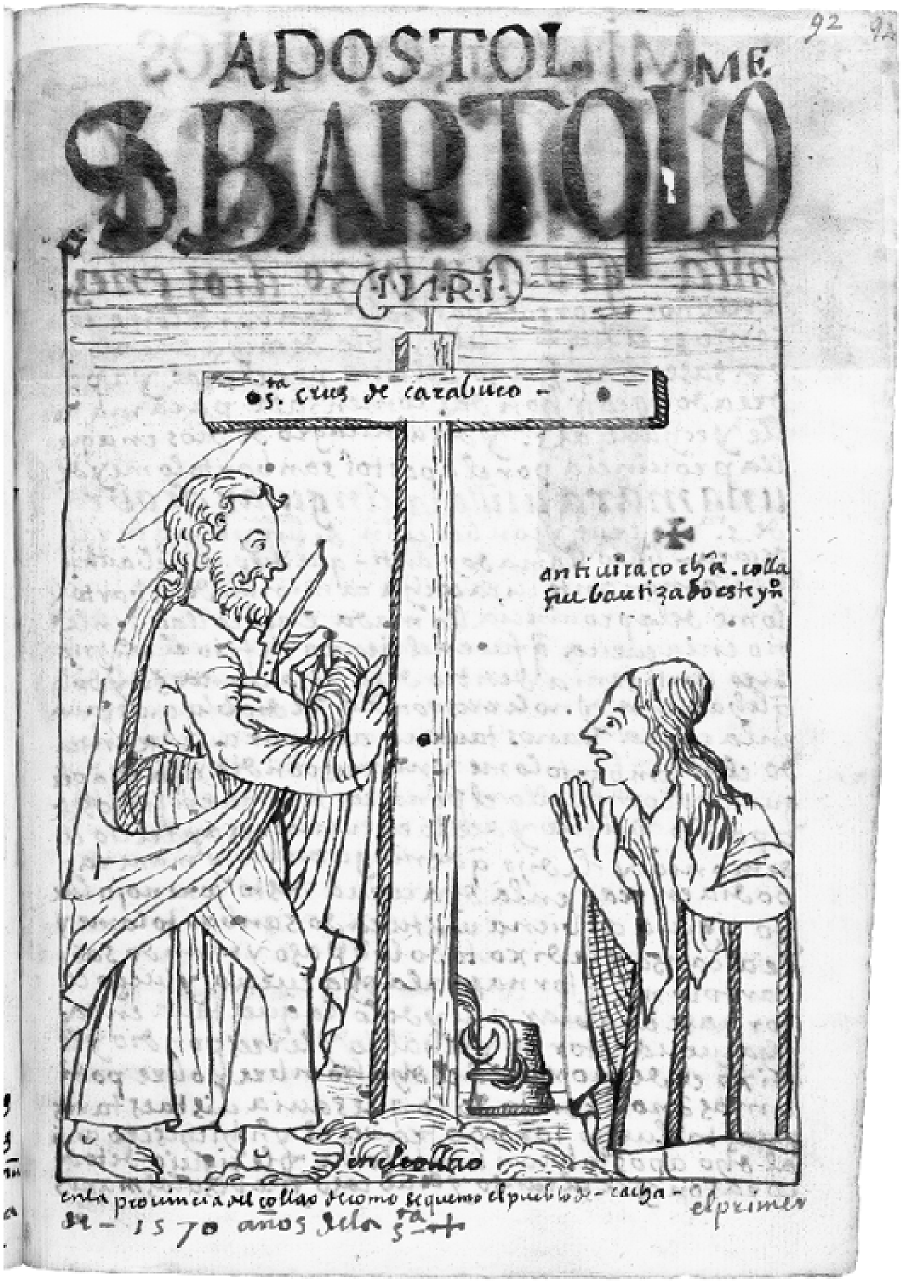
As has been stated, during the time of Cinche Roca Inca Jesus was born in Bethlehem; Saint Mary gave birth as a virgin. Jesus was worshipped by the three kings of the three nations that God put in the world; the three wise kings, Melchior, Indian; Baltazar, Spaniard; and Gaspar, Negro. Jesus was worshipped by the three kings of the world, as shown by scripture and experience. Thus was worshipped the birth of the creator of the world.

[92]

Page 92, drawing 28. Apostle Saint Bartholomew: Inri / the Holy Cross of Carabuco / Anti Viracocha, Colla / This Indian was baptized / in the province of Collao, concerning the burning Cacha / of the 1,570 years of the Holy Cross[78]


90
NACIMIENTO DE IESVCRISTO EN BELEN
S. juzepe
S.ta M.a
jesus
nacio en belen
de su nacimiento

90. *Drawing 27. The birth of Jesus Christ in Bethlehem*


92
APOSTOL
S. BARTOLOME
I.N.R.I.
sta. cruz de carabuco
anticuiracocha. colla fue bautizado este yn
en el collao
en la provincia del collao de como se quemo el pueblo de - cacha - el primer
- 1570 años de la sta. +

92. *Drawing 28. Saint Bartholomew in the province of Collao*

[93]

Miracles of God by the Apostle Saint Bartholomew

The first miracle of God in this kingdom by his apostle Saint Bartholomew is as follows:

The town of Cacha was burned with the fire of heaven for evil;[79]

the saint was stoned with slings, to kill him and drive him out; the apostle Saint Bartholomew would bring the miracle of God to that province and the marvelously singular work of the Holy Cross and conversion of an Indian named Anti from the town of Carabuco, later baptized and named Anti Viracocha.

As Saint Bartholomew was walking across the province of Collao, since the weather was cold, he entered a cave. The Indian sorcerer Anti had in this cave an idol that spoke, but the demon that was in the cave did not answer. The demon was gone because Saint Bartholomew had entered. There was no answer to the question, and since the crag of sacrifices remained silent, the Indian was frightened and left. Then the devil appeared to him in dreams and told him that there was no way for him to enter the cave; this was said in anger. Then the Indian followed the blessed Saint Bartholomew, overtook him and told him what had happened. Saint Bartholomew told him to return to the cave and speak to the idol that was in the cave. The Indian returned, spoke, and the demon answered that the poor man [the saint] was more powerful than him, with all he knew. After hearing this answer, the Indian sorcerer Anti went right away to Saint Bartholomew, followed him willingly, overtook him, hugged him and kissed his hands

[94]

and holy feet, asking for mercy and restitution, that the poor man and his God were the most powerful.

As a sign of the holy miracle and baptism, the saint left the cross of Carabuco, which remains as proof of the holy miracle and the arrival of Saint Bartholomew, the blessed apostle of Jesus Christ. The fiesta of the holy apostle and of the Holy Cross will be like Easter; God provided for these two holy miracles in this kingdom.

In this kingdom among the Indians there were also a great many miracles which were not recorded by these Incas. They say that the poor hermits and Franciscan monks were sent to them by God to tempt them and find out if they were charitable to their neighbors. No record was left of this because there was no one to write it down, but it is said they were sent by God in the form of poor friars who wanted alms for God and asked for food and drink. When these very poor ones came, the Indians had fiestas and *taquis*. And if the Indians did not give them alms, God would punish the Indians. The friars would ask God to punish the Indians by burning them with flames from heaven, and in some places it covered the hills. Some of the towns were covered with lakes and the earth would swallow them, as did happen in the case of the great punishment by God in the world and the miracles from the beginning.

A great judgment was the fall of that angel with his followers so important and so beautiful; the fall of all mankind for the fault of one; the punishment of the whole world with the waters of the Flood. Great judgment was the election of Jacob, the rejection of Esau, and the betrayal of Judas Iscariot and the calling of Saint Paul, the denunciation of the Jewish people, the election of the gentiles along with other miracles and punishments that happened to the children of the men of the world.

There have been many other miracles and punishments during the time of the Incas. This is not written except for the witnesses of the fall of the hills and crags that were knocked down. Thus it is written in summary. For that reason the punishment of God is called *pachacuti* [cataclysm], *pacha ticra* [world upside-down]. That is why some kings were named Pachacuti. And in this life

[95]

we have seen the eruption of volcanoes and the rain of fire from the inferno and solar sand over a city and its district. Also said to be miracles are earthquakes and the death of many people and a priest, Prior of the Order of Saint Dominic, leveling the waves of the sea for more than a league and restoring another league of sea water, something that happened since God ordered it. Also called a miracle is the pestilence that God sent of measles, smallpox, croup and mumps, of which many people have died.

Also called a miracle is the great mass of snow and hail that fell from the sky and covered the hills with one *estado* [five and a half feet], in some places two *estados;* a great many people and livestock died. Also called a miracle of God is the punishment and pestilence of mice on the plains and the great damage done by birds in the fields throughout the cordillera of the North Sea,[80] as well as the death of many people of hunger and pestilence of mosquitoes, flies, skeeters, lice, fleas, *pique, niua.*[81] Also a pestilence, punishment of God, is the freezing of the maize and potatoes, and hail falling on the crops. Another pestilence that God sends is the bad Christians to rob the possessions of the poor and take their wives and daughters and use them. Also called a miracle and pestilence is the way the Indians of this kingdom depopulate and leave their towns.[82] Another punishment of God is the death of many Indians in the mercury and silver mines; others die from mercury poisoning and from being very sick, suffering excessive work, five and six years without dying and then die, leaving women and orphan children without support.[83] With all that God tells us that we remember and call him; to every man and every house God sends to the world his punishment so that we will call him and give thanks so that he will take us to this Glory where the Holy Trinity lives.

[96]

Page 96, drawing 29. The third Inca, Lloque Yupanqui Inca: He conquered Mara.

[97]

The third Inca, Lloque Yupanqui Inca

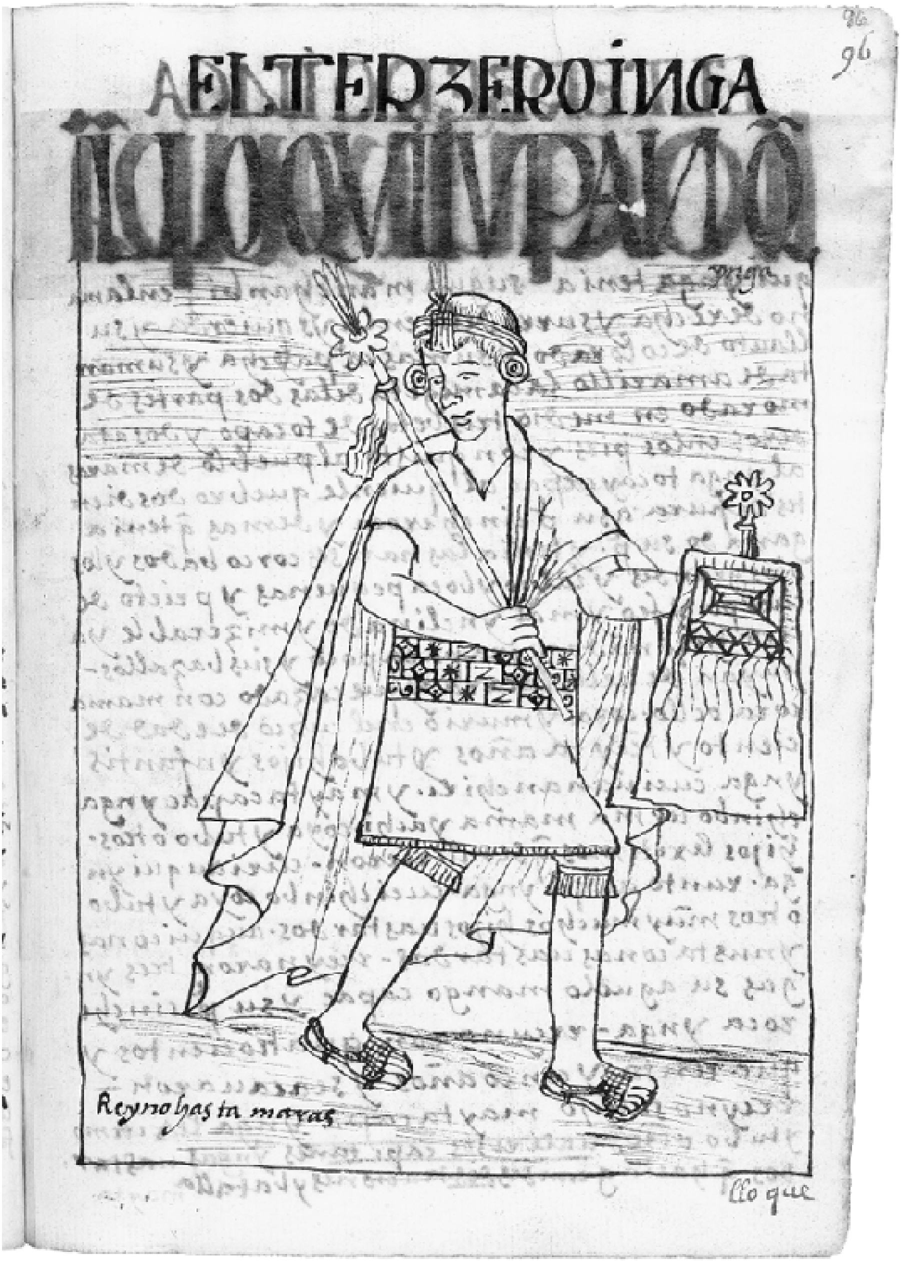
He had a *uaman champi* [hawk club] in his right hand and the shield in his left hand; the *llauto* was red and the *mascapaycha* and cloak were yellow; the tunic purple above and below the three *tocapos* and two fastenings on his feet. He conquered the town of Mara[84] from Inca Tocay Capac. Cinche Roca did break two of this man's front teeth and defeated him.

Lloque Yupanqui had a crooked nose, big eyes, a small mouth and lips, dark skin, was ugly, hunched and a wretch. Thus he did not do anything; he was weak, and his vassals avoided looking at his face. He married Mama Cora Ocllo Coya. He died in Cuzco at 130 years of age. His legitimate children were Inca Cusi Huaman Chiri and Mayta Capac Inca, Chimbo Urma Mama Yachi Coya. He also had many other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñuscacona.*

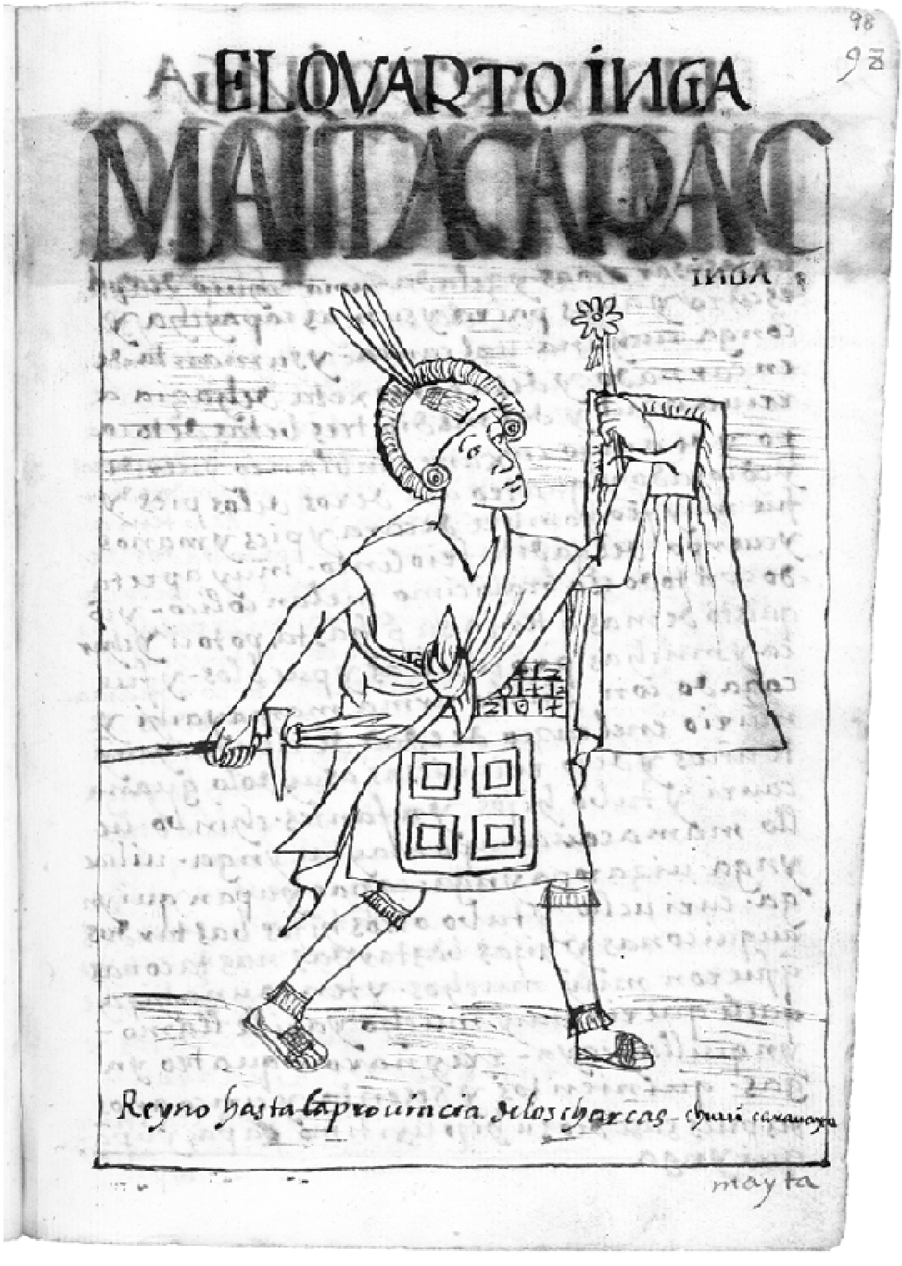
Three Incas, Lloque Yupanqui, his grandfather Manco Capac and his father Cinche Roca Inca, ruled 445 years and no more. After him Lloque Yupanqui's legitimate son Mayta Capac ruled. He had other Inca captains, bastards, who had great battles.

[98]

Page 98, drawing 30. The fourth Inca, Mayta Capac Inca: He conquered the province of Charcas, Chuui Callavaya.[85]


96
96
EL TERZERO INGA
LLOQVIIVPANQVI
ynga
Reyno hasta mayas
Lloque

96. *Drawing 29. The third Inca, Lloque Yupanqui Inca*


98
93
EL QVARTO INGA
MAITACAPAC
INGA
Reyno hasta la prouincia de los charcas - chuui cacamarca
mayta

98. *Drawing 30. The fourth Inca, Mayta Capac Inca*

[99]

The fourth Inca, Mayta Capac

He had a coat of arms and dark blue helmet, *uma chuco anas pacra;* the *mascapaycha,* the *conca cuchuna,* the *uallcanca* [shield], a red cloak, the tunic blue above and in the middle three *tocapos* and below *casana* [tunic of fine wool] with white, green and red and four fastenings for his feet. He had a very ugly face and thin feet, hands and body; he was sensitive to cold and very tightfisted. Moreover, he had a bad temper and was melancholy. Besides what his father had won, he conquered up to Potosi and Charcas. He married Chimbo Urma Mama Yachi. He died in Cuzco at 120 years of age, leaving riches to his idol, Huanacauri. His legitimate children were Chimbo Ucllo Mama Caua, Apo Maytac Inca, Vilcac Inca, Uisa Topa Inca, Capac Yupanqui Inca, Curi Ocllo. He had many other illegitimate *auquicona* and *ñustacona.* He had one daughter that he loved very much, and for that reason he named her Inquillay Coya.

The four Incas ruled for 565 years. After that the legitimate son Capac Yupanqui Inca succeeded his father.

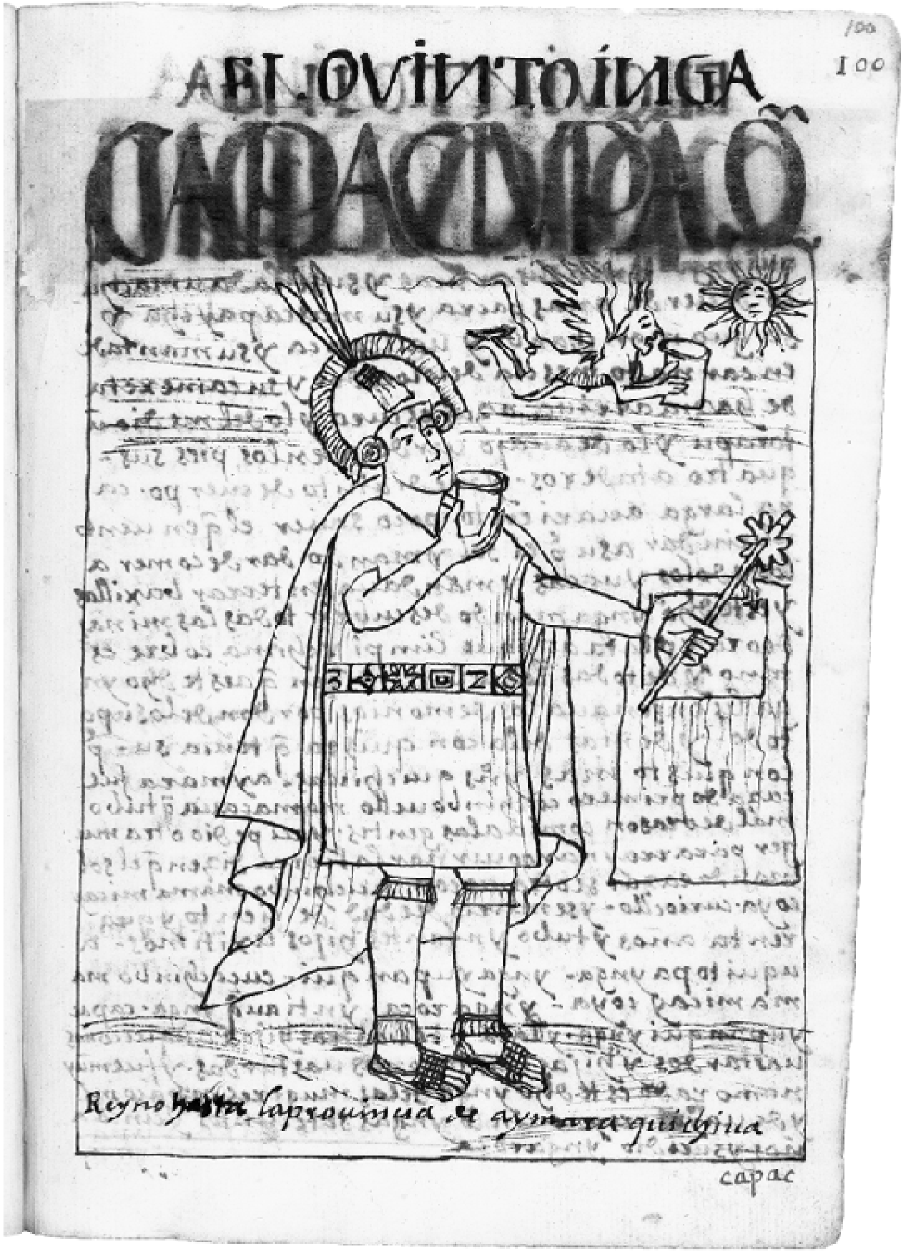
[100]

Page 100, drawing 31. The fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui: He conquered the province of Aymara, Quichua.

[101]

The fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui Inca

He had a coat of arms and a dark green helmet, *uma chuco anas pacra;* the *mascapaycha,* the *uaman champi,* the *uallcanca,* a cloak of flesh color mixed with red, the tunic dark blue above, one *tocapo* in the middle and green below, and four fastenings on his feet. He was of medium size and had a large face; he was avaricious, knew little. He invented the custom of toasting to his father the Sun, ordered that food be given to the idols and that table service be buried. This Inca ordered the discovery of all the mines of gold, silver, mercury, *llimpi* [vermillion pigment used as a varnish], *ychima* [a reddish mineral used as rouge], copper, tin and all dyes. His first wife was Chimbo Ocllo Mama Caua, who had a bad heart and ate people. Thus he asked for another wife to rule and govern the land. It is said that the Sun ordered that he marry Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay Coya Curi Ocllo. Capac Yupanqui died at 140 years of age. His legitimate children were Auqui Topa Inca, Inca Yupanqui, Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay Coya, Inca Roca, Inti Auqui Inca, Capac Yupanqui Inca Yllapa. He had other illegitimate *auquicona* and *ñustacona.* This Inca was very fond of the women from *capac ome* and *uayro.*[86]


100
EL QVINTO INGA
Reyno ~~hasta~~ la prouincia de aymara quichua
capac

100. *Drawing 31. The fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui Inca*

The five Incas ruled for 605 years. Inca Roca succeeded his father.

[102]

Page 102, drawing 32. The sixth Inca, Inca Roca, with his son: He conquered Antisuyo.

[103]

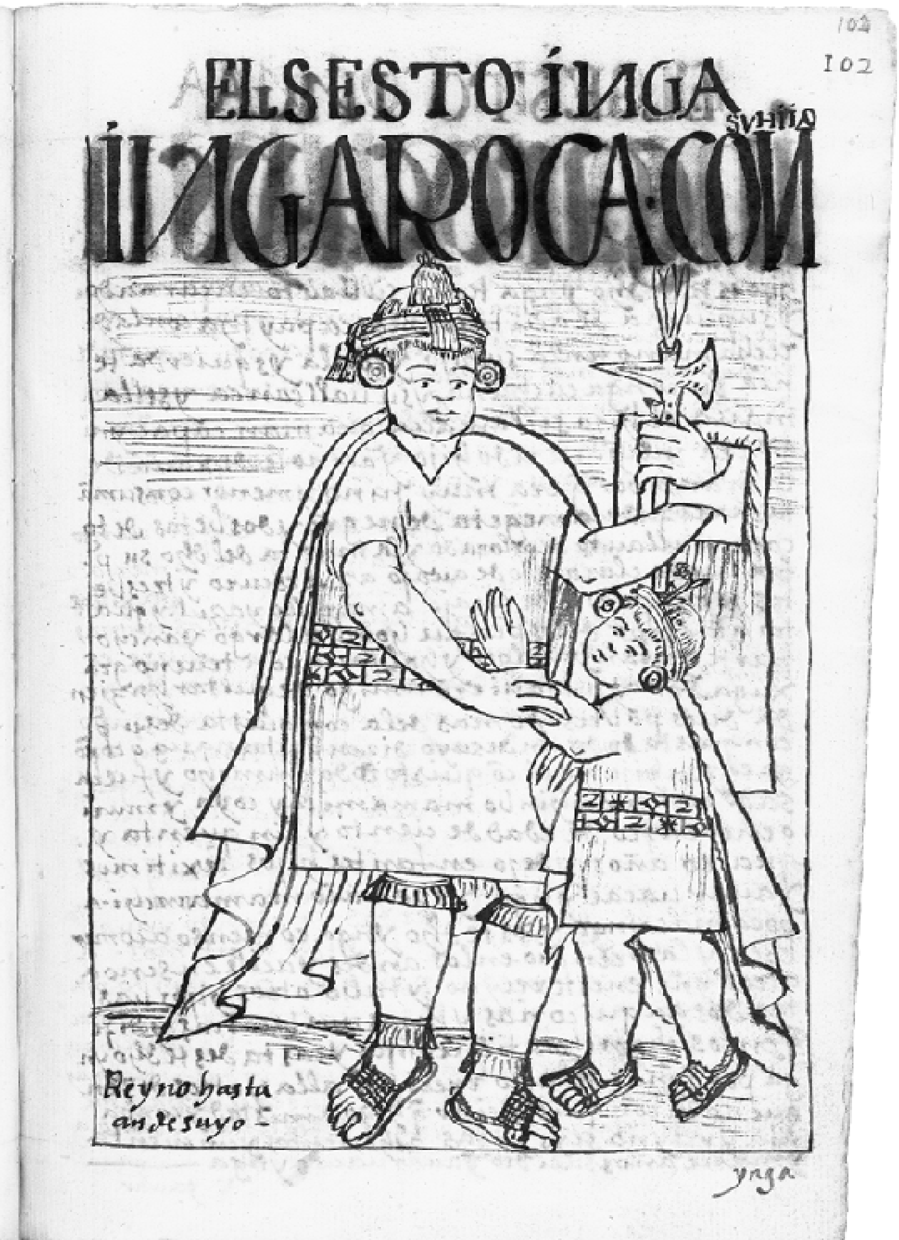
The sixth Inca, Inca Roca, and his son

This Inca had a flesh-colored *llauto,* a feather pompon, and the *mascapaycha.* He held his son with his right hand and with the left his *conca cuchuna* and *uallcanca.* His son was named Huaman Capac Inca. Inca Roca loved his son very much and kept him close because the boy was very young and used a pink cloak, a black tunic with two *tocapos* and a red *llauto.* The cloak of the father was light green, the tunic dark blue above with three *tocapos* in the middle and the bottom half yellow and blue; he had four fastenings on his feet. He was a tall, heavyset, strong man with a loud voice; he spoke with thunder, was a gambler and a dandy. He liked to take property from the poor. Besides the conquests of his father, Inca Roca conquered all of Antisuyo. It is said that he and his son turned into an *otoronco.* Thus he conquered all of Chuncho.[87] He married Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay Coya. He died in Cuzco at 154 years of age. His legitimate children were Yahuar Huacac Inca, Ipa Huaco Mama Machi, Apo Camac Inca. This Inca started to chew coca, which he got in the eastern provinces. He taught the other Indians of the kingdom to chew coca. He had other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.* They say that he left children and descendants in the province of Chuncho because he lived there for more than a year. Others say he did not conquer there but rather made friends.

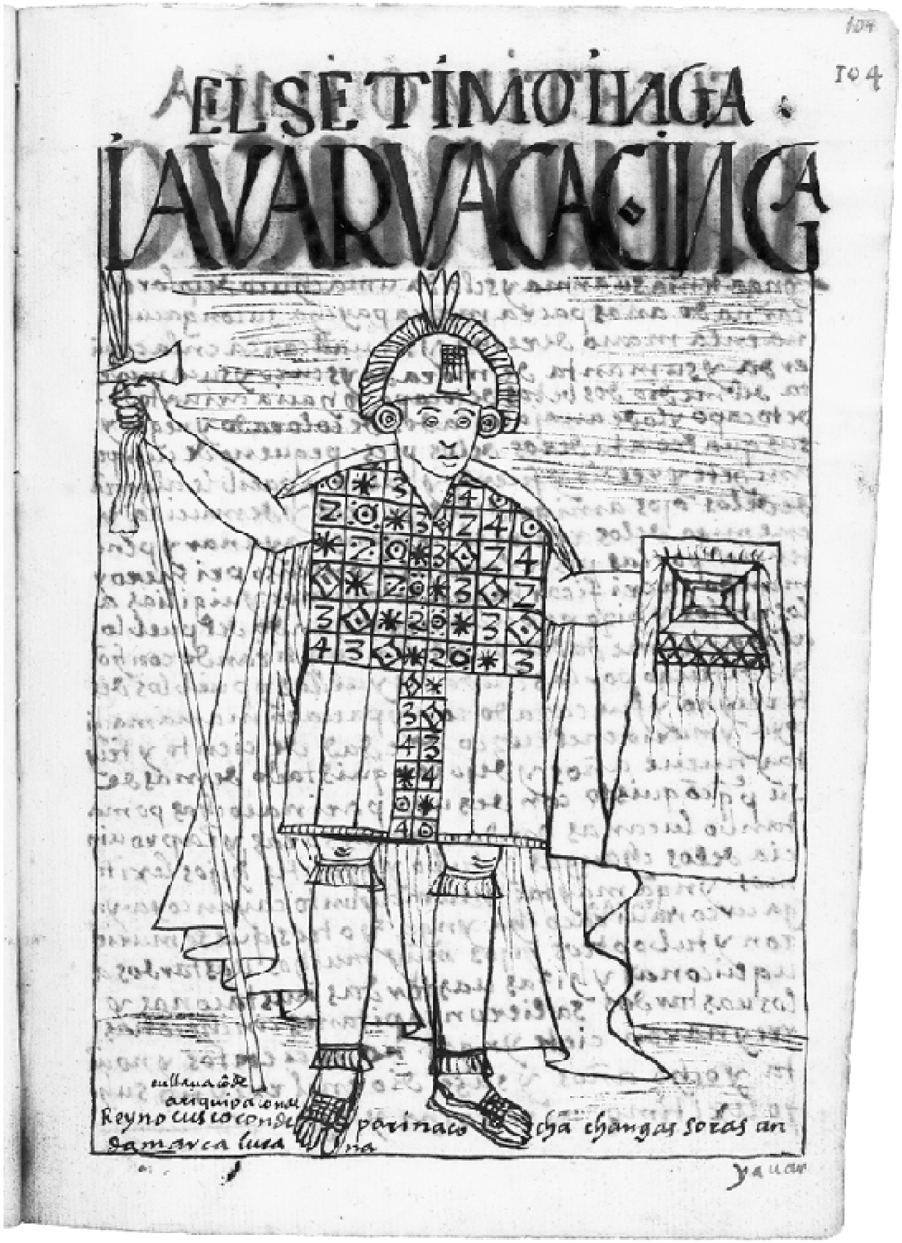
The six Incas ruled for 859 years. The sixth Inca was succeeded by Yahuar Huacac Inca.

[104]

Page 104, drawing 33. The seventh Inca, Yahuar Huacac Inca: He conquered Cullana Conde, Arequipa Conde, Cuzco Conde, Parinacocha, Chanca, Sora, Andamarca, Lucana.


102
EL SESTO INGA
INGA ROCA CON SV HIJO
Reyno hasta andesuyo
ynga

102. *Drawing 32. The sixth Inca, Inca Roca, with his son*


104
EL SETIMO INGA
IAVARVACAC INGA
Reyno cusco conde
damarca luca
parinaco
cha changas soras an
yauar

104. *Drawing 33. The seventh Inca, Yahuar Huacac Inca*

[105]

The seventh Inca, Yahuar Huacac Inca

He had a coat of arms and *uma chuco anas pacra* dark flesh-colored; he had the *mascapaycha,* the *conca cuchuna* in his right hand, and the *uallcanca* in his left; his cloak was dark purple and his tunic had two *tocapos* down the middle, above all *tocapos* and the bottom sides red and black; he wore four fastenings on his feet. He was small but heavyset and strong, wise and mild tempered; his eyes were somewhat large. He was a friend of the poor; he liked music. He disliked the rich. He started fasting and penitence in times of pestilence. He ordered sacrifice be accompanied by fasting and vigils of the idols; he arranged processions, casting off from the people sickness and pestilence, throwing slings of fire through the cities and towns of this kingdom. He married Ypa Huaco Mama Machi, Coya. He died in Cuzco at 139 years of age. Apart from what his father had taken, he conquered Condesuyo, Parinacocha, Pomatambo, Lucana, Andamarca, Sora and the provinces of the Chanca.[88] His legitimate children were Inca Maytac, Mama Yunto Cayan, Coya; Inca Urcon Ranga, Viracocha Inca and others who died. He had many other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona;* the illegitimate boys became captains, *sinchicona.*

The seven Incas ruled for 998 years. This Inca was succeeded by his legitimate son Viracocha Inca.

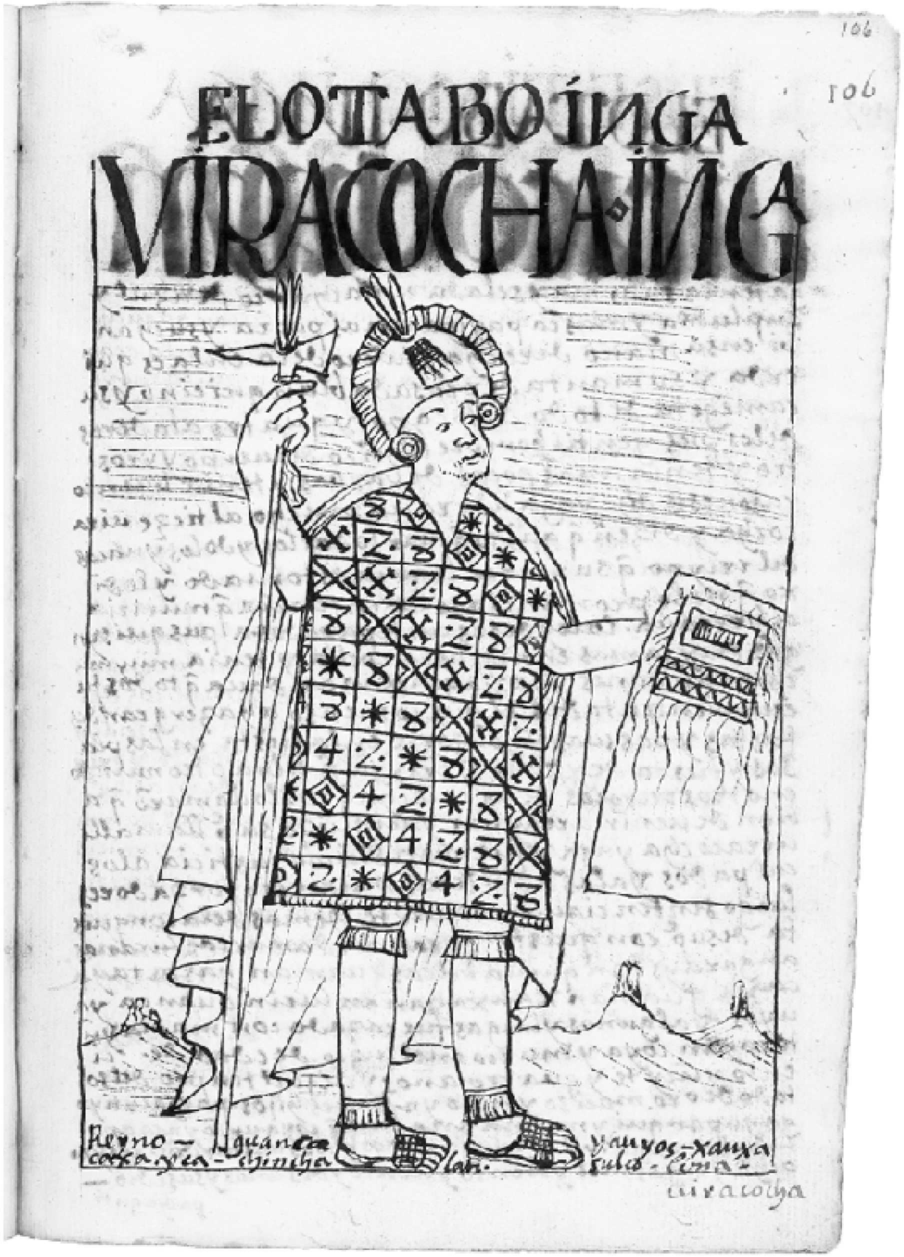
[106]

Page 106, drawing 34. The eighth Inca, Viracocha Inca: He conquered Huanca, Yauyo, Jauja, Caja, Ica, Cincha, Lati, Sulco, Lima.

[107]

The eighth Inca, Viracocha Inca

He had coat of arms and *uma chuco,* blue helmet; a feather pompon, a *masca-paycha anas pacra* [dark-colored]; a *champi* in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.[89] His cloak was a very light pink and his tunic all covered with *tocapos;* he had four fastenings on his feet. He was a handsome man, light complexion of body and face and a few whiskers on his face. He was kind hearted. This Inca especially worshipped the god Ticci Viracocha. It is said that he wanted to burn all the idols and *huacas,* but his wife interfered, warning him not to give the order because he would die if he broke the law of his ancestors, *apusquis* Inca. Still he believed more in Ticci Viracocha. He had many captains and recruited soldiers. He ordered that everyone be well treated. He started having great fiestas, religious holidays, and enjoyed himself during the fiestas in the town plaza with the idols. He believed in another world in other kingdoms of the god Viracocha, which is the name of the one who was to come to rule. For that reason his father decided to name him Viracocha. He was a severe judge of those guilty of crimes; adulterous women and rapists he immediately sentenced to death.


106
106
EL OTAVO INGA
VIRACOCHA INGA
Reyno — guanca
cotta yca - chincha
lan.
yauyos - xauxa
sulco - lima -
uiracocha

106. *Drawing 34. The eighth Inca, Viracocha Inca*

In addition to the provinces taken by his father, he conquered the provinces of Sora, Andamarca, Lucana, Angara, Tanquina, Vilcas, up to Tayacaja, Jauja, Hanan, Hurin, Huanca, Yauyo and into Yunca land.[90] This Inca married Mama Yunto Cayan, Coya. He died at 124 years of age. He left all the solid gold in the Temple of the Sun. His legitimate children were Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui and Mama Ana

Huarque, Coya, Urco Inca, Apo Mayta Inca, Vilcac Inca and other illegitimate children.

The eight Incas ruled for 1,122 years. Viracocha Inca was succeeded by Pachacuti.

[108]

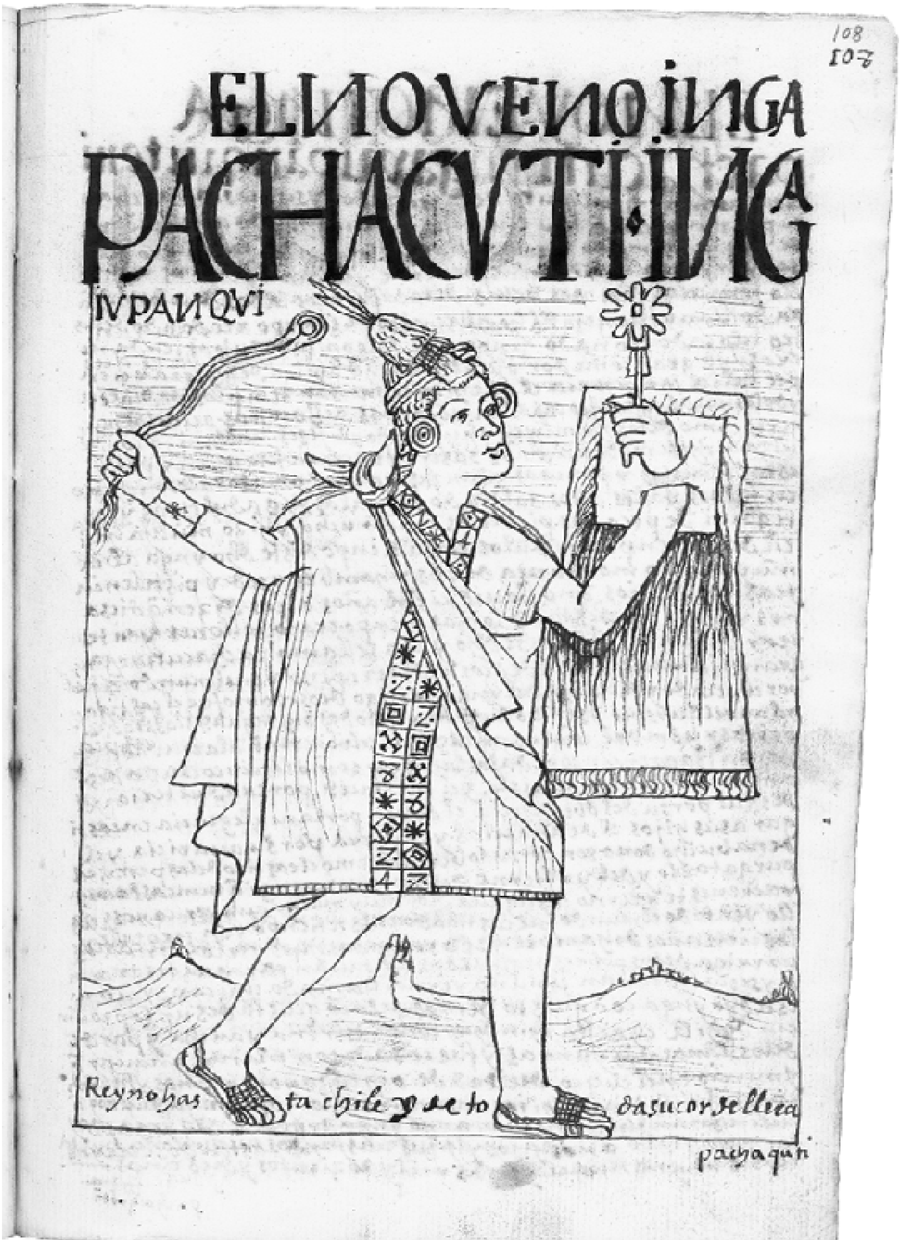
Page 108, drawing 35. The ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui: He conquered Chile and all of the cordillera.

[109]

The ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui

He had a pink coat of arms and *llauto,* headband, the *mascapaycha* and pompon. With his right hand he threw a stone of gold in his sling at his enemy and defended himself with the shield in his left hand. He had a green cloak and his tunic had two *tocopos* from the neck down toward his feet; the sides were solid orange. He was a handsome man, tall, round faced, wild, fierce, with eyes like a lion. All of his property was not his. He was a big eater, and he drank a lot. He liked going to war and always won. He had temples built to the gods, idols, *huacas.* He built houses for the *acllacona* [chosen women]; there were some for women and others for men.[91] He established high priests, *huaylla uisa, conde uisa* [priests/sorcerers from Huaylla and Condesuyo]; *laycacona,* warlocks; priests and confessors. He created many fiestas, monthly celebrations, religious holidays and dances. He gave the death sentence to false sorcerers, robbers and adulterers; he also punished severely for public sins. He created many temples and idols.

During the time of this Inca many Indians died. There was hunger, thirst and pestilence, punishments given by God. It did not rain for seven years; some say ten years. There were storms. Most of the time people cried and buried the dead. This Inca was named Pachacuti Inca.[92] There were great punishments given by God in this kingdom and in the world for the sin of adultery committed by this Inca. The punishment was done by the angel Lucifer and all of his followers; the punishment of the first man by the waters of the Flood; like the city of Sodom, which was swallowed in five pieces of earth; like the five cities burned in flames sent from heaven and the punishment of David for adultery and Saul for disobedience; that of Eli for negligence in not punishing his sons; that of Ananias and Saphira for avarice; that of Nebuchadnezzar for arrogance; like the punishment of purgatory and the inferno, which is the greatest punishment because it never ends.[93]



108
107
EL NOVENO INGA
PACHACVTI INGA
IVPANQVI
Reyno has ta chile y se to da su cor sellica
pachaquti

108. *Drawing 35. The ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca*

This kingdom was severely punished by God; there was not even grass. And the whole world was punished at this time, and in Jerusalem there were seven years of hunger; people ate their children and opened the bellies of the poor who had food to see what they ate. And they lived on the grass called *chucan* and *pinau.*

Besides what his father had taken, this Inca conquered the province of Chile, Chaclla, Chinchaycocha, Tarma, Yaucha and part of the coastal planes of the Yunca Indians.[94] He married Mama Ana Huarque. He died in Cuzco at 88 years of age, and he was rich. His legitimate children were Mama Ocllo, Topa Inca Yupanqui, Cuci Huanan Chire Inca, Manco Inca, Topa Amaro Inca and Maytac Inca. He had other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*

The nine Incas ruled for 1,210 years.

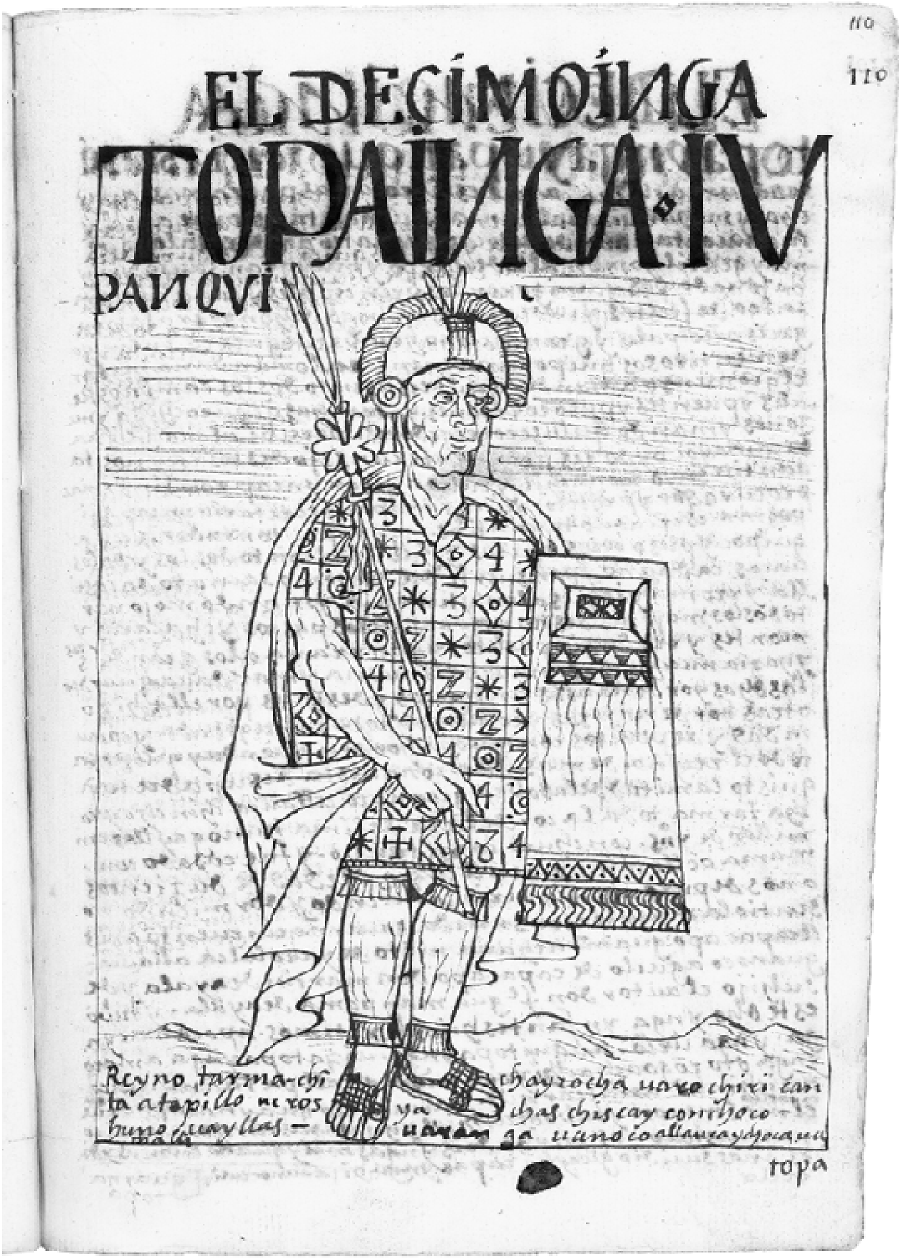
[110]

Page 110, drawing 36. The tenth Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui: He conquered Tarma, Chinchaycocha, Huarochiri, Canta, Atapilla, Urcos, Yachis, Chiscay, Conchoco, Huno Huayllas, Huaranga, Huanuco Allauca, Ychoca, Huamilli.

[111]

The tenth Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui

He had a helmet of *anas pacra,* dark color; the fringe, a club, and a shield; his cloak blue and tunic all of *tocapos* and four fastenings on his feet. He was handsome, tall, very wise and formal. He was at peace with and friends of the most important leaders. He liked fiestas and banquets; he honored the important women. He was a great warrior. He hated liars; anyone who lied he would have killed. He was the one who ordered all the royal roads and bridges be kept in good repair. He established the runners, *hatun chasque* [principal messengers], and the *churo chasque* [shell trumpet messengers] and the lodgings. He ordered that there be *tocricocs* [royal officials], a sheriff, *uatay camayoc;* judges, president, a council of these kingdoms; *Tahuantinsuyo camachicoc* [imperial official]; he had a counselor, *incap rantin rimac;* a deputy and protector, *runa yanapac;* a secretary, *incap quipocnin* [the Inca's *quipo* interpreter]; *Tahuantinsuyo quipoc,* accountant; *hucha quipoc* [crime official]; and he organized other offices. He spoke with the *huacas* every year. By a trick of the devil he knew about Castile, Rome, Jerusalem and Turkey. He ordered the replacement of all the boundary stones of this kingdom for pastures and *chacras* and woodlands and for settlement in towns. He honored the great lords and did many favors and aided the poor. He ordered the ancient ordinances be obeyed and later made other ordinances. He started organizing his property and the community property and the storehouses with much order, accounting and *quipo* officials throughout the kingdom.


110
110
EL DECIMO INGA
TOPA INGA IV
PANQVI
Reyno tarma-chinta atapillo
huno huayllas
chaycocha uaro chiri cam
chas chiscay conchoco
uano co allauca y guanu
topa

110. *Drawing 36. The tenth Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui*

Besides what his father took, he conquered half of Huanuco Allauca, Chinchaycocha, Tarma, all the mountain regions of Lima; Huno Huaylla, ten thousand Indians; Conchuco, Cajatambo.[95] Topa Inca married Mama Ocllo. He died of old age in Cuzco at two hundred years of age. He was still eating and sleeping at death. He did not suffer in dying. During his life he governed for fifty years over the *capac apo* Guaman Chaua, grandson of Yarovilca, Allauca Guanoco, grandfather of *capac apo* Don Martin de Ayala and his son, the author Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.96 Topa Inca's legitimate children were Apo Camac Inca, Inca Urcon, Auqui Topa Inca, Uisa Topa Inca, Amaro Inca, Otoronco Achachi Inca, Topa Hualpa, Mama Huaco, Cuci Chimbo, Ana Huarque, Raua Ocllo, Huayna Capac; Juana Curi Ocllo was the youngest. He had other illegitimate sons and daughters, *auquicona* and *ñuscacona.*

The ten Incas ruled for 1,410 years. Topa Inca was succeeded by Huayna Capac.

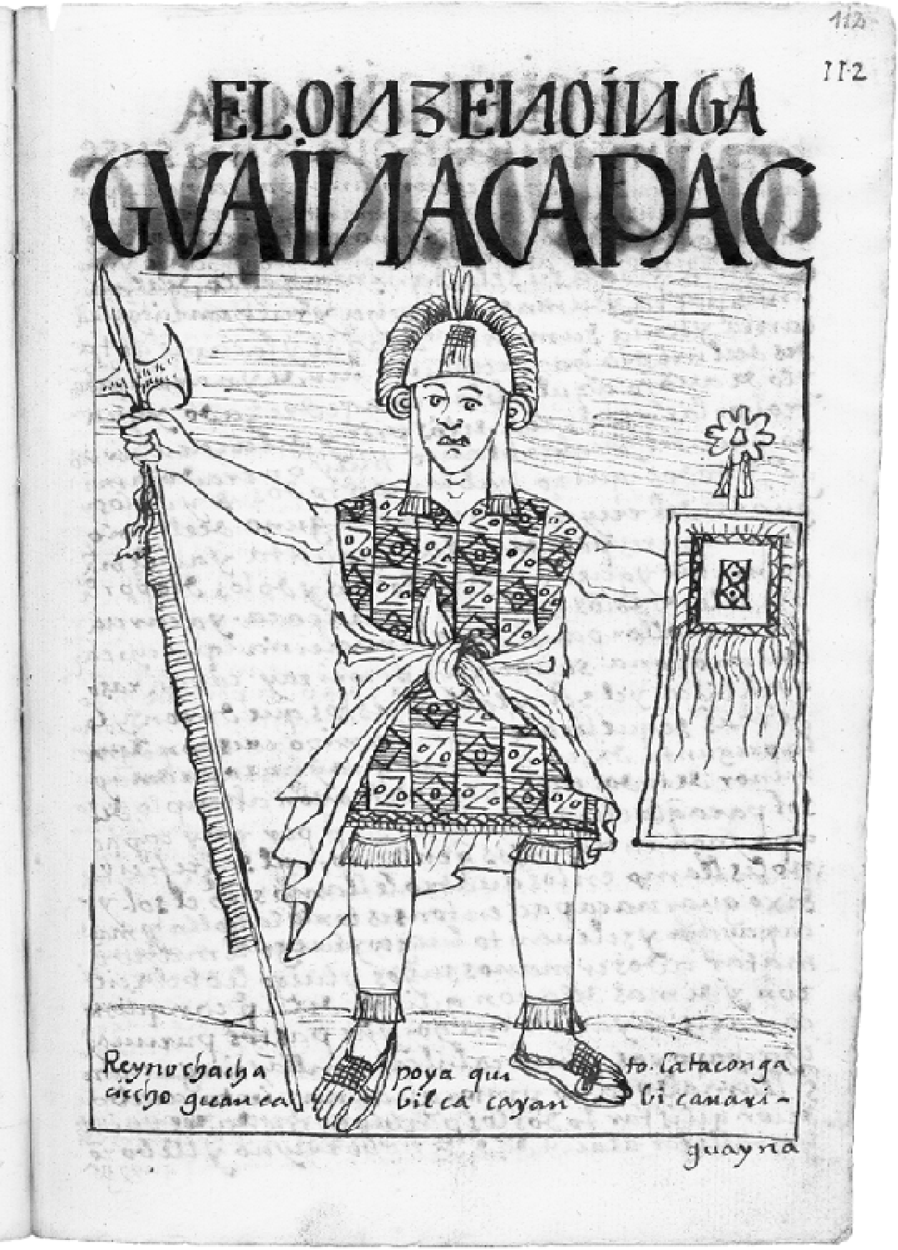
[112]

Page 112, drawing 37. The eleventh Inca, Huayna Capac: He conquered Chachapoya, Quito, Lataconga, Ciccho, Huancavilca, Cañari.

[113]

The eleventh Inca, Huayna Capac

He had an *uma chuco,* helmet, of *anas pacra,* dark color, the *mascapaycha,* a *champi,* and a *uallcana.* He had a blue cloak, and the upper half of his tunic was green and orange, and the bottom half blue and white checks. He had four fastenings on his feet. His face was pleasing and he was handsome with a light complexion. He was much honored and a friend to all. He wished to speak to all the *huacas,* idols, of his kingdom. It is said that they all refused to answer him. For that reason he had all the idols killed and broken. He made an exception of the major idols of Pariacaca, Caruancho Vallollo, Paucar Colla, Puquina, Quichacalla, Coropuna, Sauasiray, Pitosiray, Carva Raso, Ayzavilca and the Sun and the Moon. These remained and the rest were broken because they refused to answer the question. It is said that Huayna Capac was younger than any of the others.


112
112
EL.OINZEIAOINGA
GVAINACAPAC
Reyno chacha
cicho guanca
poya quis
bilca cayan
to. Cattaconga
bi cañari -
guayna

112. *Drawing 37. The eleventh Inca, Huayna Capac Inca*

They entered into the Temple of the Sun so that his father the Sun could name Huayna Capac king, Capac Apo Inca. The first three times offered sacrifice, he was not called. The fourth time, his father the Sun called him, saying Huayna Capac. Then he took up the *mascapaycha* and immediately stood up. Then he ordered that two of his brothers be killed, and he was obeyed.

In addition to the lands taken by his father, he conquered the provinces of Cañari, Cayambe, Ciccho, Pasto, Puruha, Chachapoya, Huancavilca, Quillacinca. Huayna Capac defeated other lords, Apo Pinto, Huayan Pinto, conquering all the towns and cities up to New Granada.[97] He took

[114]

fifty thousand armed Indians with him and many captains. He built many cities, villages and towns of Indians. He ordered boundary stones set in the lands left to him by his father. It is said that by a trick of the demons he knew that the Spaniards would come to rule as in fact King Philip III ruled [1598–1621].

Huayna Capac married Mama Ocllo Coya. He died in the city of Tumibamba [Cuenca, Ecuador] of the pestilence of smallpox. In his fear of death he fled from the sight of his men and hid in a cave. There he died without anyone knowing. Before dying he ordered that his death be kept secret. It was said that he was still alive when they brought him to Cuzco so there would not be an uprising of the Indians. Huayna Capac had sons, but Huascar was the only legitimate heir to the throne. His mother was Raura Ocllo. Atahualpa was one of the illegitimate *auquicona,* sons. His mother was from Chachapoya. Other sons were Manco Inca and Ninan Cuyochi, whose mother was from Cuzco; Illescas Inca, whose mother was Chuqui Llanto; Paullo Topa, whose mother was Ozeca; Titu Atauchi, whose mother was Lari; Vari Titu, whose mother was Ana Huarque; Inquil Topa, whose mother was from Cañari; Huanca Auqui, whose mother was from Jauja; Quizo Yupanqui, whose mother was the sister of Capac Apo Guaman Chaua.

The eleven Incas ruled for 1,496 years. The next ruler was Huascar Inca, from the death of Huayna Capac Inca until the death of the captain generals of this kingdom who were Chalcochima Inca, Quisquis Inca, Avapante Inca, Quizo Yupanqui Inca, until the disturbances in this kingdom and rivalry of the two brothers born of the king, Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca, the legitimate successor and his bastard brother Atahualpa Inca, the fighting lasted to the death. During the hostilities of 1536 the kingdom was lost, all the wealth, and many died, captains and common Indians. Many Indians robbed from each other. There was no justice; the land was devastated and everything was lost. The Christian Spaniards came to this kingdom, conquered it, killing the Incas and their captains and took much gold.

[115]

Page 115, drawing 38. The twelfth Inca, Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca: His rule ended, he died in Andamarca. / Quisquis Inca /

Chalcochima Inca / Anadmarca / He began to rule, and he died.

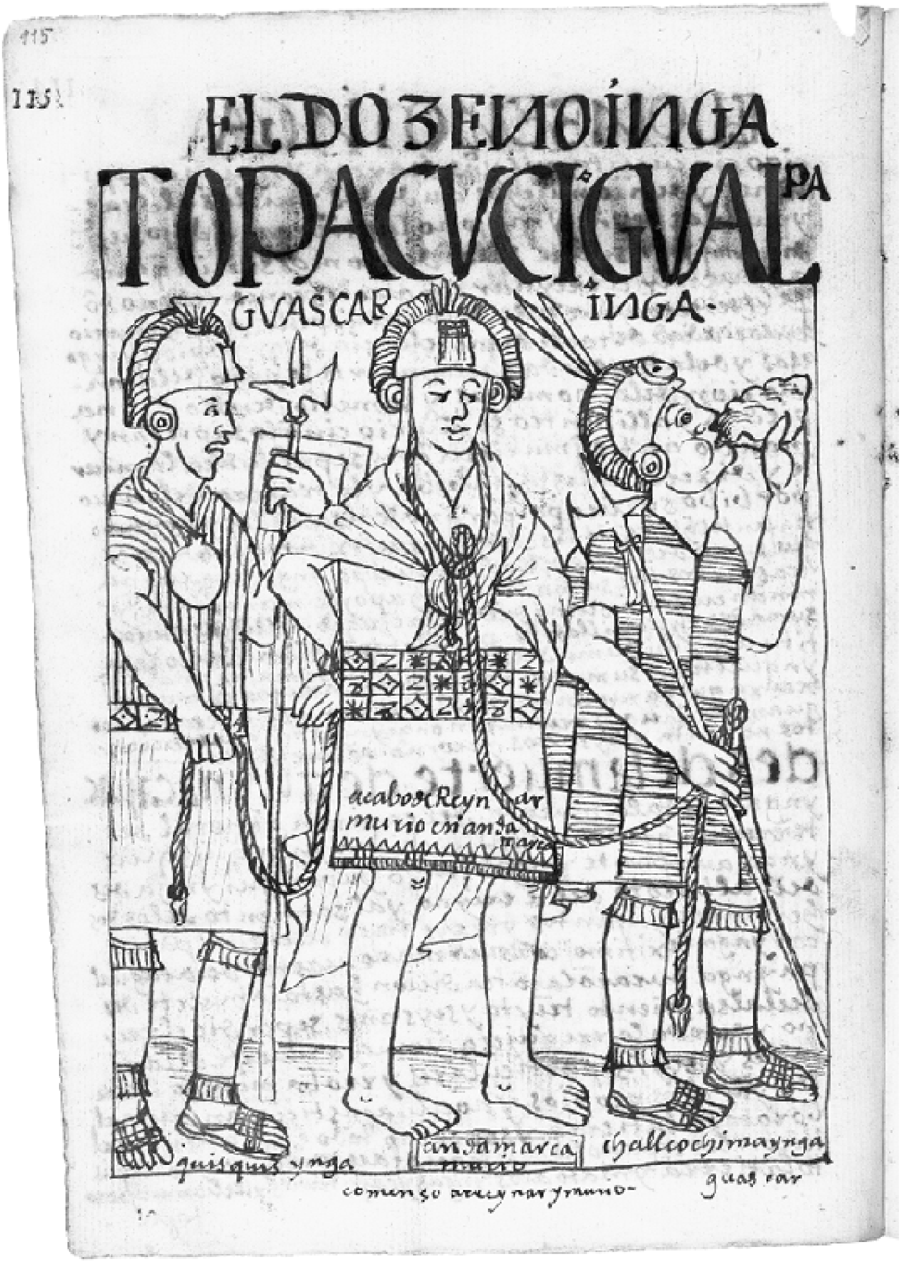
[116]

The twelfth Inca, Huascar Inca

This Inca was named Topa Cuci Hualpa. He was selected and named by his father the Sun, and he was the legitimate and rightful heir to this whole kingdom of Peru, Capac Apo Inca. This Inca had the *uma chuco anas pacra, mascapaycha,* the *champi,* and the *uallcanca.* He wore a light blue cloak and a blue tunic with three *tocapos* in the middle; the bottom half was green; he had four cord fastenings on his legs. He had a long, dark face, was gangling, ugly and malicious. From the valley of Jauja, province of the Huanca Indians, this Inca ruled. He was bad tempered and vile. He left no descendants, neither legitimate nor bastards, neither female nor male. He married Chuqui Llanto, Coya. Huascar Inca died at twenty-five years of age in the settlement of Andamarca by the hand of his enemy. The captains Chalcochima Inca and Quisquis Inca executed him on the orders of his bastard brother Atahualpa Inca. While Huascar Inca was prisoner, they scorned him. They made him eat the waste of people and dogs. Instead of *chicha* he was forced to drink the urine of llamas and people. Instead of coca he was given little bags of *chillca* [a paste of bitter leaves] and *llipta* [quinoa ash], the waste from a spear wound. They made fun of him. After Huascar Inca had died, they went to the city of Cuzco and killed all of his descendants of Inca lineage, *auquicona* and *ñuscacona,* even pregnant women.

[117]

Some fled and went into hiding. Thus some illegitimate princes and princesses from Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco remained.[98] As has been stated, Huascar died at twenty-five years of age and thus ended the line of Inca kings, the legitimate *capac apo* who ruled under the laws of this kingdom of Peru. The royal *mascapaycha* crown was left to our lord his holy Catholic majesty the king, who rules the whole world.


115
115
EL DOZENO INGA
TOPACVCIGVALPA
GVASCAR
INGA
acabo se Reynar
murio en anta marca
quisquis ynga
anta marca
challcochima ynga
comenzo a reynar y murio
guascar

115. *Drawing 38. The twelfth Inca, Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca*

Huascar Inca was hard-hearted and malicious. He was ill-fated. His bastard brother Atahualpa had shown him love and respect by sending his emissary with costly presents. Huascar replied by sending his brother Atahualpa women's clothing; *chamillcos,* pots; small gold jugs; *acsus* [women's skirts], *lliclla*s [women's mantles], *uinchas* [women's headbands], *topos, piñi* [jewelry], *lirpos* [mirrors], *ñacchas* [combs], *chumpis, ojotas* [sandals], all for women. For his arrogance Huascar ended up with a fight, a war and death. This caused the death of many major lords, captains, poor Indians and all the wealth of this kingdom. Even today the poor Indians still cannot find their way.

During this conflict, Spaniards came from Castile to this kingdom, and these Indians did not defend themselves like the Indians of Chile. The Indian lords of this kingdom gave themselves over to the service of God and of the royal crown of your Majesty. The law of the Incas required that to be king one must be *capac apo* Inca.

[118]

Inca does not mean king because some Incas are low people such as *chilque* Inca, potters; *acos* Inca, deceitful; *huaroc* Inca, *llullauaroc,* liars; *mayo* Inca, false witness; Quillescachi Equeco Inca, bearer of gossip and lies; *puquis colla, millma rinri* [imbeciles, “wool ears”]; these are Incas.[99] Thus the term Inca does not mean king, duke, count, marquis, nor knight; rather the Inca are low people and commoners.[100]

Capac apo is a true king, and the knights are *auquicona* and the ladies *ñustacona.*

When they say Viracocha they refer to a Castilian foreigner, a Jew, Moor, Turk, English, French, who are all Viracocha Spaniards for the Incas. To be king, *capac apo* Inca, one must be the legitimate son of the queen, *capac apo coya,* and one must be married to a sister or the mother. This king must call his father the Sun in the temple, who must name him in order for him to be king. It did not matter if he was the oldest or the youngest, but rather it must be the one chosen by the Sun to be legitimate and not the bastard *auquicona* called mestizos.[101] All of this has been stated in good faith and to explain how the *capac apo incacona* kings ended. And the last one was Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca. After him follows Viracocha King Philip III Inca; may God save him. Amen.

The twelve Incas ruled for 1,522 years. At this time Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, emissaries of Emperor King Charles V, entered this kingdom before the death of the kings Huascar Inca and Atahualpa Inca.[102] These Incas, lords, chiefs, and common Indians in ancient times were very healthy and lived

[119]

as long as 150 and 200 years. They lived so long because they had an orderly way of living and bringing up their children. They did not let the youth eat any fat, honey, *agi,* salt nor vinegar, nor did they let them drink *chicha* nor sleep with a woman until they were fifty years old. They were not subjected to bloodletting. They were given a purge every month with three pairs of *vilca tauri* [medicinal lupine] and the same amount of *maca;* half of it was taken by mouth and the other half as an enema. This improved their health and lengthened their lives. Until they were thirty years old, they had no woman nor husband nor any employment. Thus they were very strong.

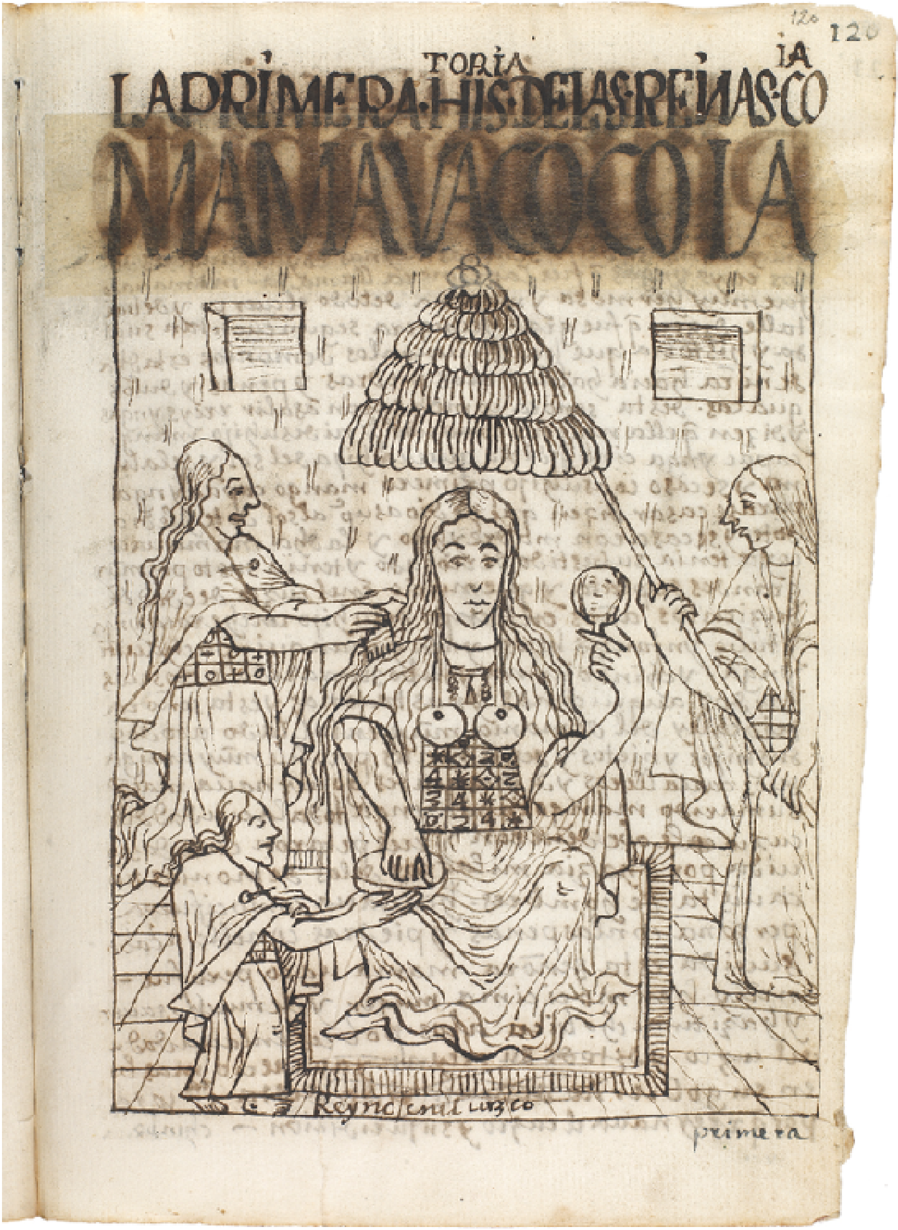
Inca Reader:

You will see what happened from the beginning of Manco Capac until the death of the legitimate Huascar Inca. Oh, lost Inca! I speak to you in this way because from the time you took power you were an idolater, enemy of God, creator of man and of the world, which is what the Indians of old called Pachacapac, Runa Rurac God. By these names they knew him and this is what he was called by the first *capac apo* Incas of old. In this way they called on God, which is what entered into your hearts and of your grandmother Mama Huaco, Coya, Manco Capac Inca. The demons entered, bad serpent, and they have made you a master and erroneous idolater, *huaca mucha* [idol worshiper], which made you forsake the Ten Commandments and the good works of mercy. Thus you must give up idolatry and embrace God as your own. Be great saints of the world. And from now on serve God, the Virgin Mary and the saints.

THE QUEENS

[120]

Page 120, drawing 39. The first account of the queens, *coyas,* Mama Huaco Coya: She ruled in Cuzco.


120
120
LA PRIMERA HIS TORIA DE LAS REINAS CO IA
MAMA VACO COIA
Reyno en el cuzco
primera

120. *Drawing 39. The first* coya, *Mama Huaco*

[121]

The first coya

The first account of the queens, wives of the Inca kings, begins with the one named Mama Huaco.[103] She was beautiful and her whole body was dark and well formed. They say she was a great sorceress, according to accounts of her life. It is said she spoke to devils. This lady made stones and boulders speak—*huacas,* idols. From this woman sprang Inca kings. They say that her father was not known nor was the father of her son, Manco Capac Inca, but rather she was the daughter of the sun and the moon, and she married her eldest son, Manco Capac Inca. For her marriage, they say she asked her father the sun for a dowry; he gave it to her, and mother and son were married.[104]

Mama Huaco, *coya,* had a pink garment and her *topos,* pins, were large and of silver. She died in Cuzco at two hundred years of age during the time of her son, Cinche Roca Inca.

She had children, sons Inca Yupanqui, Pachacuti Inca and Chimbo Urma. Her husband had other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*

This lady imbued all her children, grandchildren and descendants with the law of the devil. Still she was very friendly with gentlemen and other people. She governed more than her husband Manco Capac Inca; the whole city of Cuzco obeyed and respected her throughout her life because with the power of devils she worked miracles never seen by man. She spoke with boulders and stones as if they were people. With that this lady ended her days.

She was very beautiful, knowledgeable and did much good for the poor people of the city of Cuzco and the kingdom. For this reason the government of her husband grew rather well; he ruled in Cuzco and its vicinity.

[122]

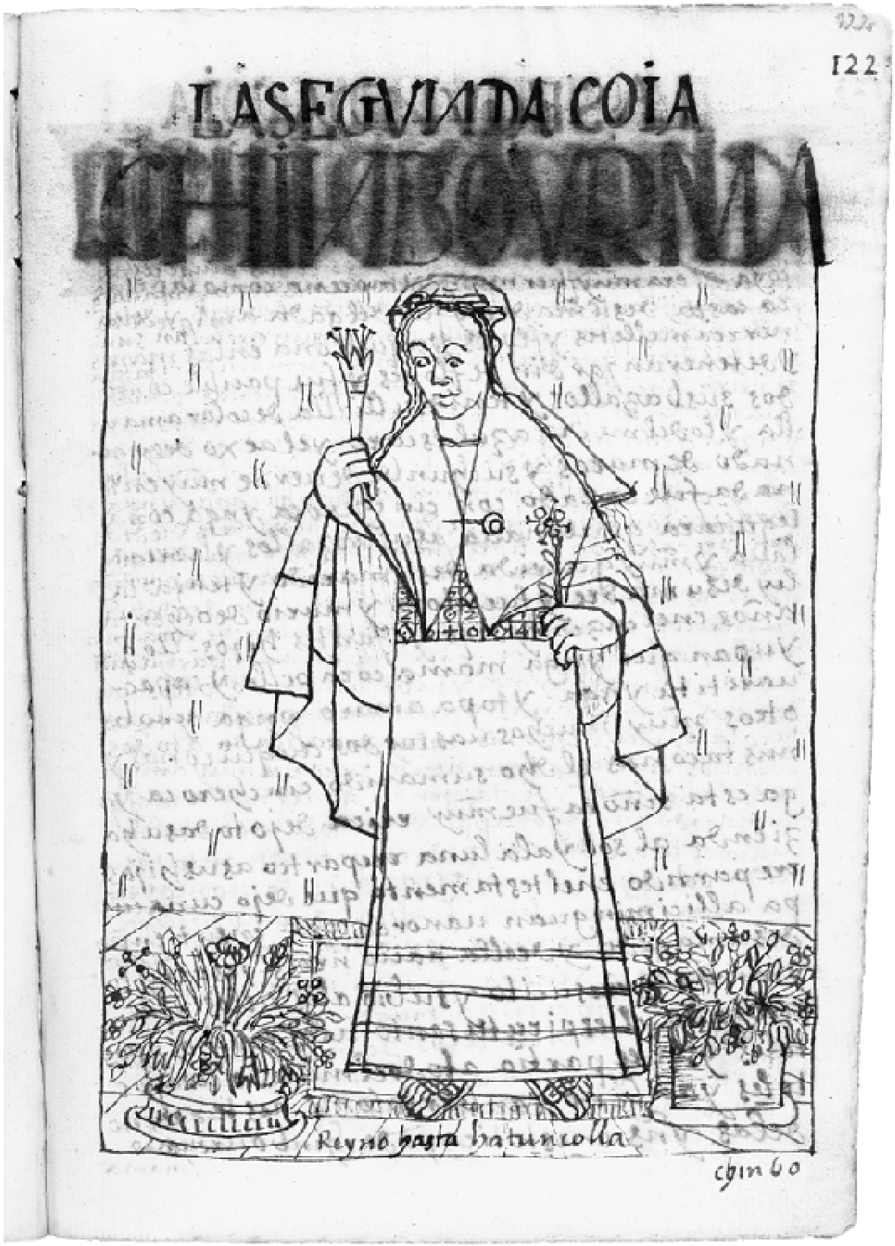
Page 122, drawing 40. The second *coya,* queen, Chimbo Urma: She ruled as far as Hatuncolla.[105]

[123]

The second coya, *Chimbo Urma*

She was very beautiful and dark like her mother. Chimbo Urma was trim. She enjoyed having flowers, *ynquilcona* in her hands and a flower garden. She was gentle with her vassals. Her *lliclla* was yellow and dark blue in the middle, her *acsu* was blood red of Maras,[106] and her *chumpi* very bright green.

She married Cinche Roca Inca. She governed her vassals with a smile. Her husband treated her very well and loved her. She was like her mother, and very jealous. She died at eighty years of age in Cuzco. The children she left were Lloque Yupanqui Inca, Mama Cora Ocllo, Capac Huari Titu Inca and Topa Amaro Inca. Her husband, Cinche Roca, had many illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*


122
LA SEGVNDA COIA
CHIMBOVRMA
Reyno hasta hatuncolla
chimbo

122. *Drawing 40. The second* coya, *Chimbo Urma*

This lady was very rich. She left all her property to the Sun and the Moon. In the will she left for her children, she said, "*Cuna cuspa alli ci minguan uanorca coya*" [Giving good counsel, the queen died].

During the time of her and her husband, our Lord Jesus Christ was born, died, was resurrected and went up to heaven. The Holy Spirit was sent to the Holy Apostles, who spread throughout the world. Thus Saint Bartholomew came to this kingdom of the Indies during the life of Chimbo Urma.

[124]

Page 124, drawing 41. The third *coya,* Mama Cora Ocllo: She ruled up to Maras.

[125]

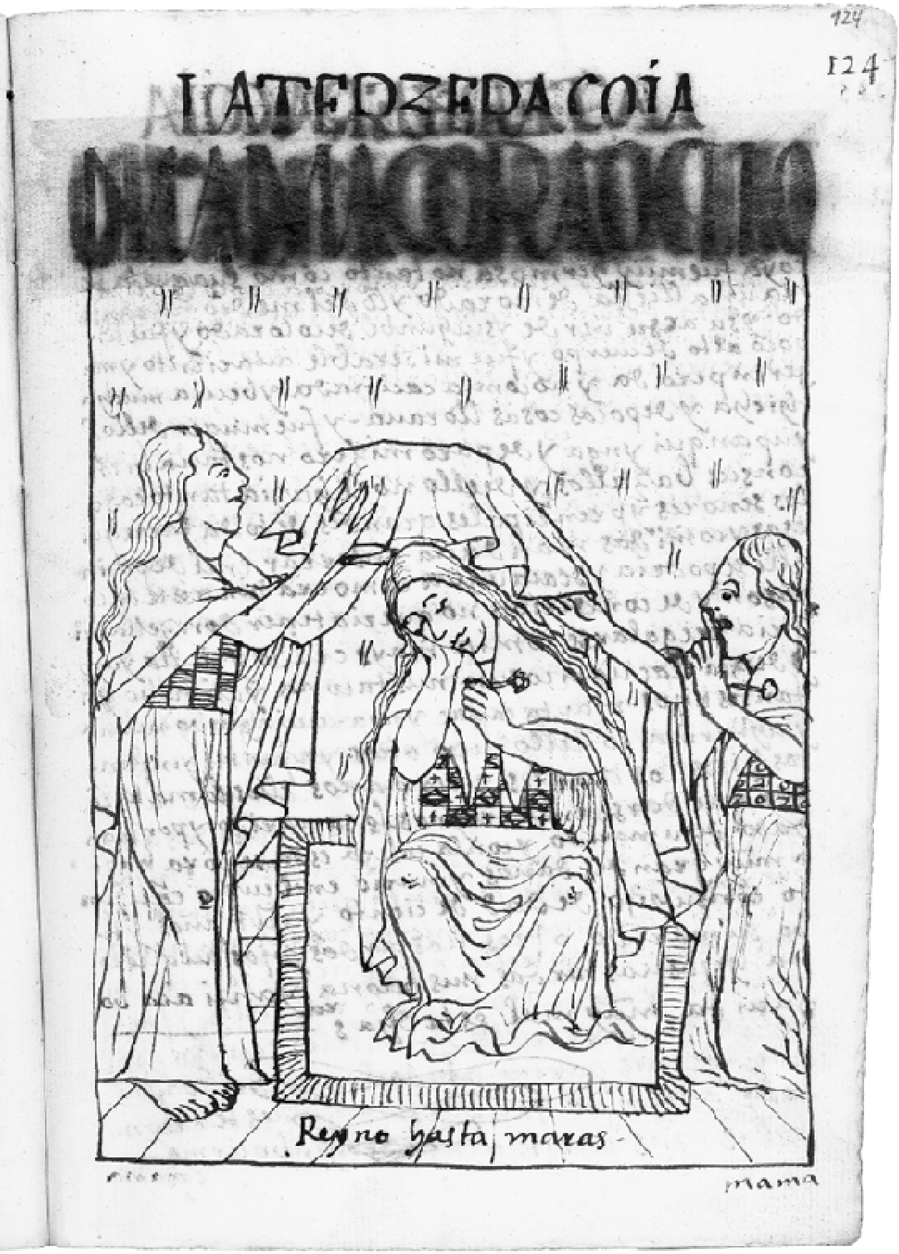
The third coya, *Mama Cora Ocllo*

She was very beautiful, though not as much as her grandmother. Her *lliclla* was purple and orange in the middle. Her *acsu* was green, and her *chumpi* was red. She was rather tall. She was also stingy, avaricious and obstinate. She hardly ate anything, but she drank a lot of *chicha* and hardly ever cried. She was the wife of Lloque Yupanqui Inca.

Since she was so stingy, she did not get along well with her vassals. For that reason the lords and great men did not pay much attention to her. She had all the wealth and food storehouses, where it rotted and was lost.[107] Since she had such a bad disposition, she did not want to have maidservants nor pamper herself. She ate raw maize and *ciclla yuyo* [herbs]. She would say, "*Llacuarico-sun, ñustacona!*" [Let's lick our lips, princesses!]

She had several children: Mayta Capac Inca, Cuci Chimbo Mama Yachi Urma and others which she killed so that only her husband would remain in charge of the kingdom. On the orders of her husband and in anger this lady did great damage.

She died in Cuzco at the age of 120 years; almost at the same time her son also died. Her husband had other illegitimate sons, *auquicona,* and daughters, *ñustacona.* Thus this lady ended her life badly.


124
124
LA TERZERA COIA
Reyno hasta maras
mama

124. *Drawing 41. The third* coya, *Mama Cora Ocllo*

[126]

Page 126, drawing 42. The fourth *coya,* Chimbo Mama Yachi Urma: She ruled as far as Charcas.

[127]

The fourth coya, *Chimbo Mama Yachi Urma*

She was rather ugly and dark complexioned. Her eyes were clear, and she had a very elegant body. She was very honorable, enjoyed visiting other prominent ladies, conversing with them, relaxing with music and dainties. She used to say: "*Llacuaricosun, ñustacona!*"

Her *lliclla,* mantle, was orange and red in the middle; it was very elaborate, *tocapo.* Her *acsu,* dress, was dark blue.

Her husband was Mayta Capac Inca. It is said that this woman always stole goods from her husband to give to the elderly and the poor. She favored the poor more than the nobles.

Her children were Chimbo Ucllo Mama Caua and Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay, Capac Yupanqui Inca, Apo Mayta Inca, Vilca Inca. Her husband Mayta Capac Inca had many illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*

This lady died in Cuzco at forty-five years of age. In her will she left everything to her mother, Mama Cora Ocllo. Thus this lady ended her days.

[128]

Page 128, drawing 43. The fifth *coya,* Chimbo Mama Caua: She ruled up to Quichua, Aymara.[108]

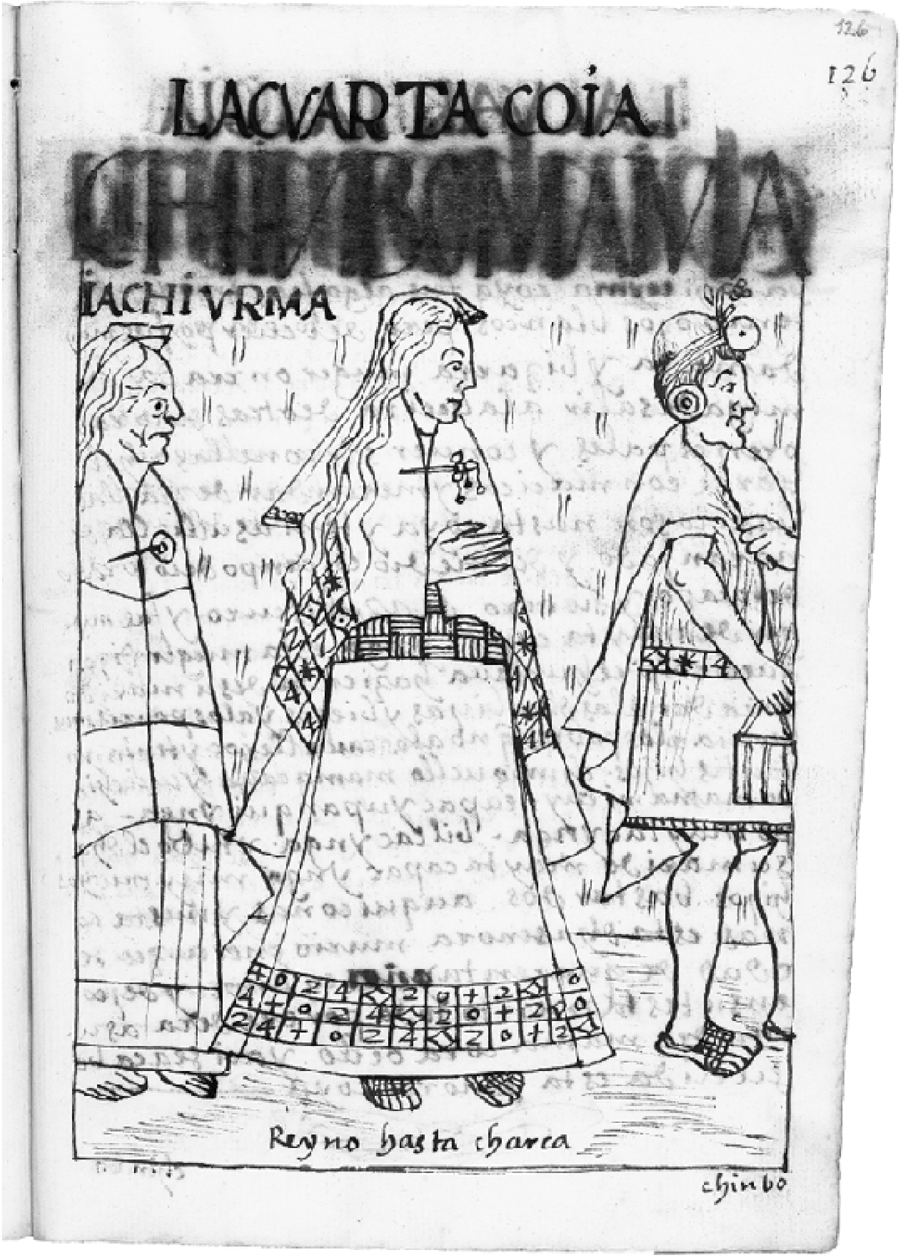
[129]

The fifth coya, *Chimbo Mama Caua*

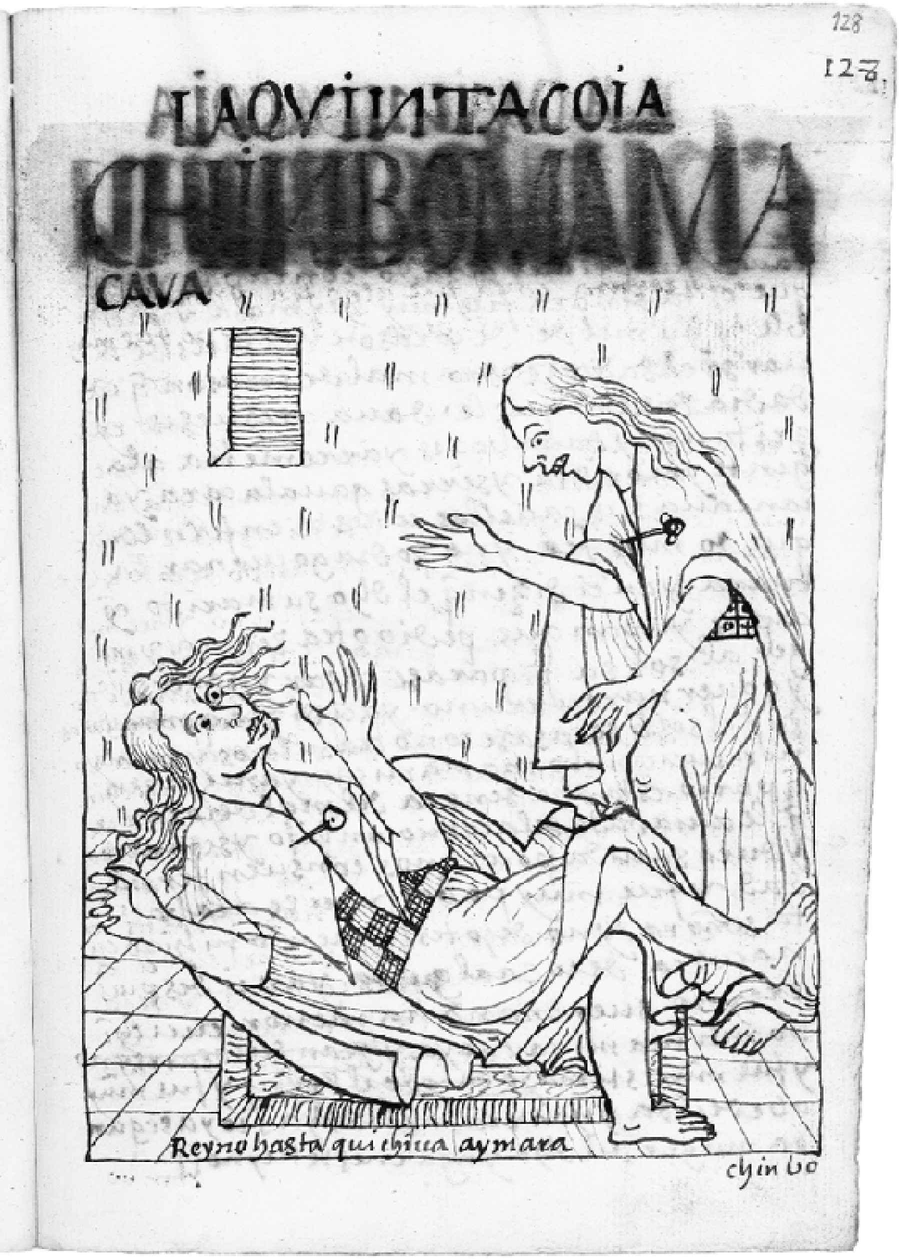
She was first married to Capac Yupanqui. This lady was very beautiful, gentle and had a humble heart. After she married, she had heart trouble. They say she had attacks three times; she screamed, shouted and charged those around her, biting, scratching her face and pulling out her hair. This sickness caused her to become very ugly and unable to govern the realm.

It is said that her husband, Capac Yupanqui, asked his father, the Sun, to give him another wife to marry, live with him and govern the realm. His father had him marry a younger sister, Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay.

They say that this lady with the bad heart left. One of her sons had a fight with her and she died. Her life was very short with her illness and she was poor. Thus this lady ended her days, and she left no will nor *cunacusca* [distribution] of anything. After she died, her younger sister, Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay, ruled. She enlarged the realm and was much esteemed in the whole kingdom. This *coya* lady was obeyed and honored. She was the second wife of said Inca in this kingdom.


126
126
LA QVARTA COIA
CHINBOMAMA
IACHI VRMA
Reyno hasta charca
chinbo

126. *Drawing 42. The fourth* coya*, Chimbo Mama Yachi Urma*


128
127
LA QVINTA COIA
CHIMBO MAMA
CAVA
Reyno hasta quichiua aymara
chinbo

128. *Drawing 43. The fifth* coya, *Chimbo Mama Caua*

[130]

Page 130, drawing 44. The sixth *coya,* Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay: She ruled up to Antisuyo.[109]

[131]

The sixth coya, *Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay*

She was very beautiful and light complexioned, with a very elegant body. Her *lliclla* was from Paraguay Suyo110 and her *acsu* from Cuzco and had a large white stripe below; her *chumpi* was green. She had a happy face and enjoyed singing and music as well as playing the drum and having parties and banquets. She liked to carry bouquets. She was a grand lady and a generous governor.

She married Inca Roca and thanks to her, Inca Roca was greatly respected by the important regional lords of the realm. She had several children, Ypa Huaco Mama Machi, *coya,* Yahuar Huacac Inca, Mayta Inca. Her husband had other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*

She died at 120 years of age. She left a great deal of wealth. In her will she divided it into three parts: first for the Sun; second for the Moon, third for her children. According to the elders who knew about this, it happened as stated.

She made elegant clothing, some of fine *cumbi* wool, other of ordinary *auasca.* She had wealth and dishes of gold and silver along with her other wealth.

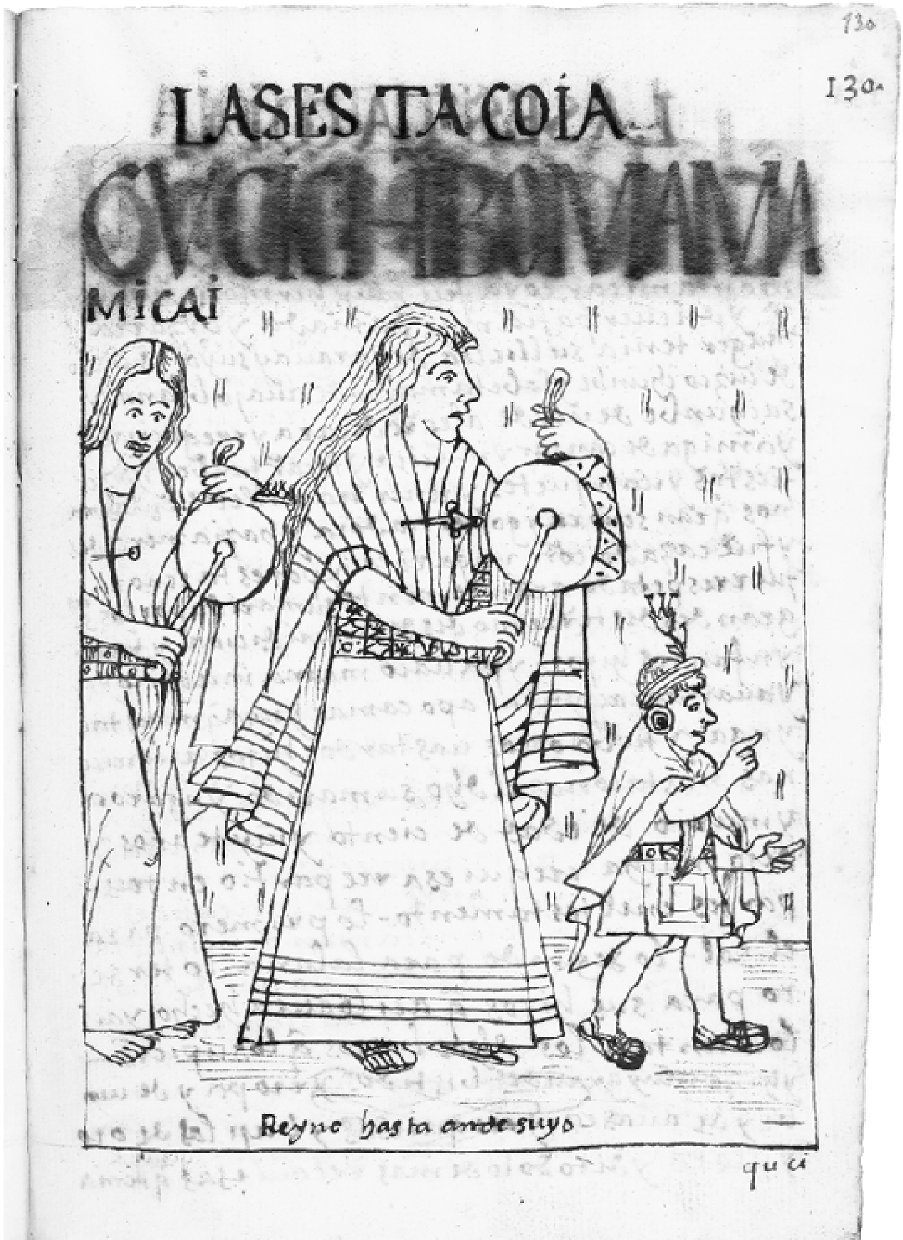
[132]

Page 132, drawing 45. The seventh *coya,* Ipa Huaco Mama Machi: She ruled over Condesuyo, Parinacocha, Lucana, Chanca.111

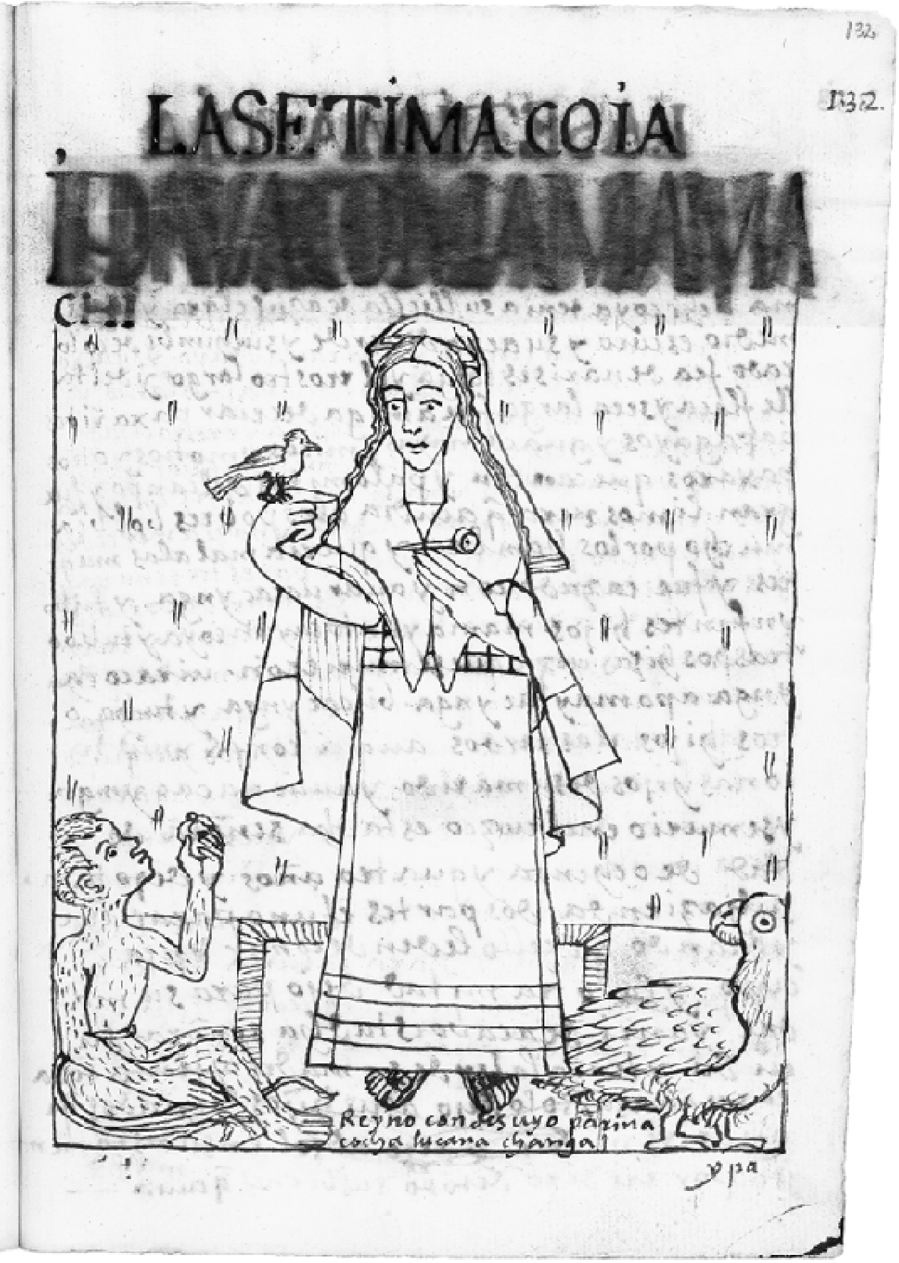
[133]

The seventh coya, *Ipa Huaco Mama Machi*

She had a blue *lliclla* that was dark in the middle. Her *acsu* was green and her *chumpi* red. She was ugly, had a long nose and face, was tall, thin and withered. She enjoyed taking care of little birds, parrots, and macaws, as well as singing birds and doves from the countryside. She also kept monkeys.


130
130.
LA SESTA COIA
CVCI CHIMBO MAMA
MICAI
Reyno hasta ande suyo
quci

130. *Drawing 44. The sixth* coya*, Cuci Chimbo Mama Micay*


132
132.
LA SETIMA COIA
CHI
Reyno condesuyo parina
cocha lucana changa
ypa

132. *Drawing 45. The seventh* coya*, Ipa Huaco Mama Machi*

She generously gave alms to the poor. She liked men and disliked women.

She married Yahuar Huacac Inca. She bore his children, Mama Yuto Cayan, and two other daughters, *uiza* [twins], who died, Viracocha Inca, Apo Mayta Inca, Vilcac Inca. Her husband Yahuar Huacac Inca had other illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*

This lady died in Cuzco at eighty-four years of age. She left her possessions in two parts. One part was for herself, and she ordered that she be given food from it every year. The other half she left for her mother. Thus this lady ended her days. She was devoted to her mother.[112]

[134]

Page 134, drawing 46. The eighth *coya,* Mama Yunto Cayan: She ruled up to Jauja, Chinchaycocha.[113]

[135]

The eighth coya, *Mama Yunto Cayan*

She had a sad heart, an elegant body and was very humble. She was so humble that she did not go to parties, nor *taquis.* She preferred to have very few servants. She enjoyed raising dwarf and hunchback girls and *ñustacona.* Her *lliclla* was orange and white in the middle, or *tocapos,* with *cuychis* [precious stones]. Her *acsu* was purple, and the fringe at the bottom all of *tocapos.*

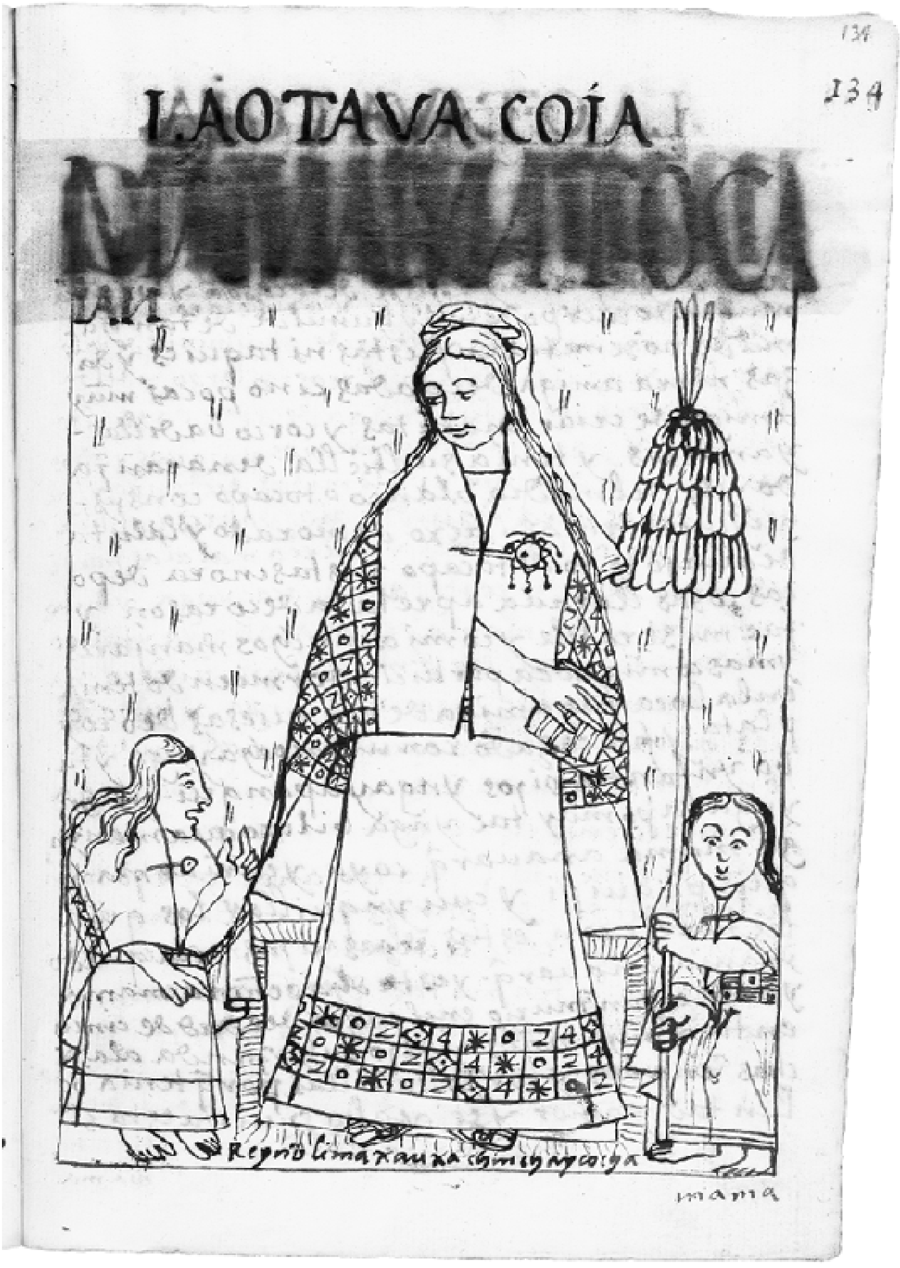
Very few things made this lady cry. She was very stingy, but she liked rich food. She was addicted to coca; she even kept it in her mouth when she slept. She enjoyed having wealth in gold and silver.

She married Viracocha Inca. She gave birth to Inca Yupanqui, Urcon Inca, Apo Mayta Inca, Vilcac Guaman Inca, Mama Ana Uarque, Curi Urma, Quispi Quipu and Cuci Inquillay; these daughters died, except for Mama Ana Uarque.

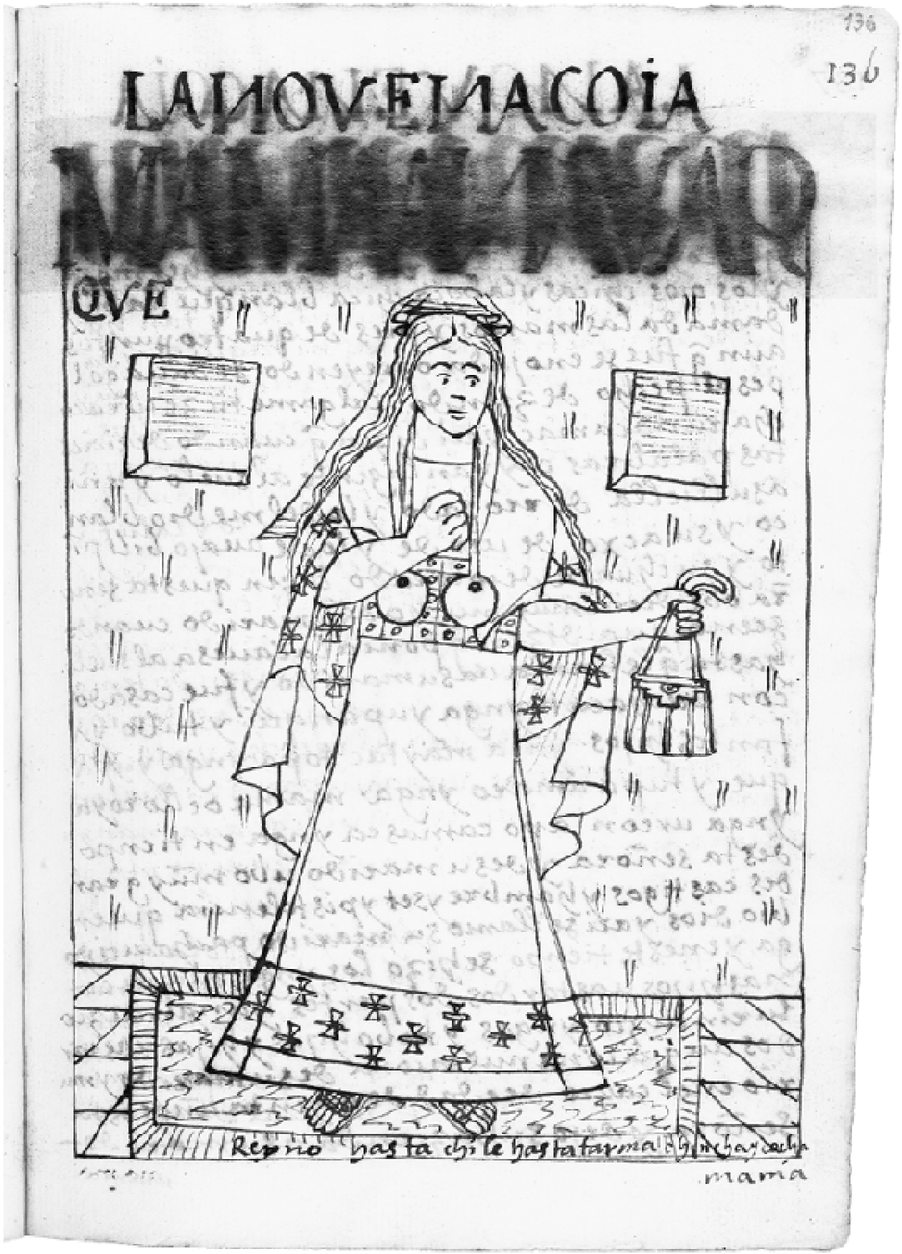
This lady, Mama Yunto Cayan, died in Cuzco at fifty-eight years of age. She left her possessions to the dwarf and hunchbacked girls mentioned above because she loved them. Thus this lady ended her days.

[136]

Page 136, drawing 47. The ninth *coya,* Mama Ana Uarque: She ruled up to Tarma, Chinchaycocha.[114]


134
134
LA OTAVA COÍA
Reyno lima xauxa chinchaycoiga
mama

134. *Drawing 46. The eighth* coya*, Mama Yunto Cayan*


136
LA NOVENA COIA
QVE
Reyno hasta chile hasta tarma
mama

136. *Drawing 47. The ninth* coya, *Mama Ana Uarque*

[137]

The ninth coya, *Mama Ana Uarque*

She had a round, beautiful face, small eyes and mouth. She had a fair complexion with lovely hands and feet.115 When she was angry or laughing, she would beat her chest, saying, “Bless my soul, Ticci

Viracocha Runa Camac [Lord Creator of the People].” They say that when she spoke these words, people would fall on the ground.

Her *lliclla* was pink and white in the middle; her *acsu* was green and spotted below. Her *chumpi* was red.

They say that this lady was very obedient to her husband. When she got angry, she would put her head on the ground until her husband called her.

She married Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. She gave birth to Inca Mayta, Topa Inca Yupanqui, Topa Amaro Inca, Mama Ocllo, Inca Urcon, Apo Camasca Inca. During the time of this lady and her husband there were great punishments, hunger, thirst and pestilence sent by God. For this reason, her husband was named Pachacuti Inca.

At this time the illegitimate *auquicona* Incas divided the city in two parts: Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco.[116] Her husband had many illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.* This lady died in Cuzco at eighty years of age. She left her possessions to her husband.

[138]

Page 138, drawing 48. The tenth *coya,* Mama Ocllo: She ruled up to Huanuco, Huaylla, Atavillo.[117]

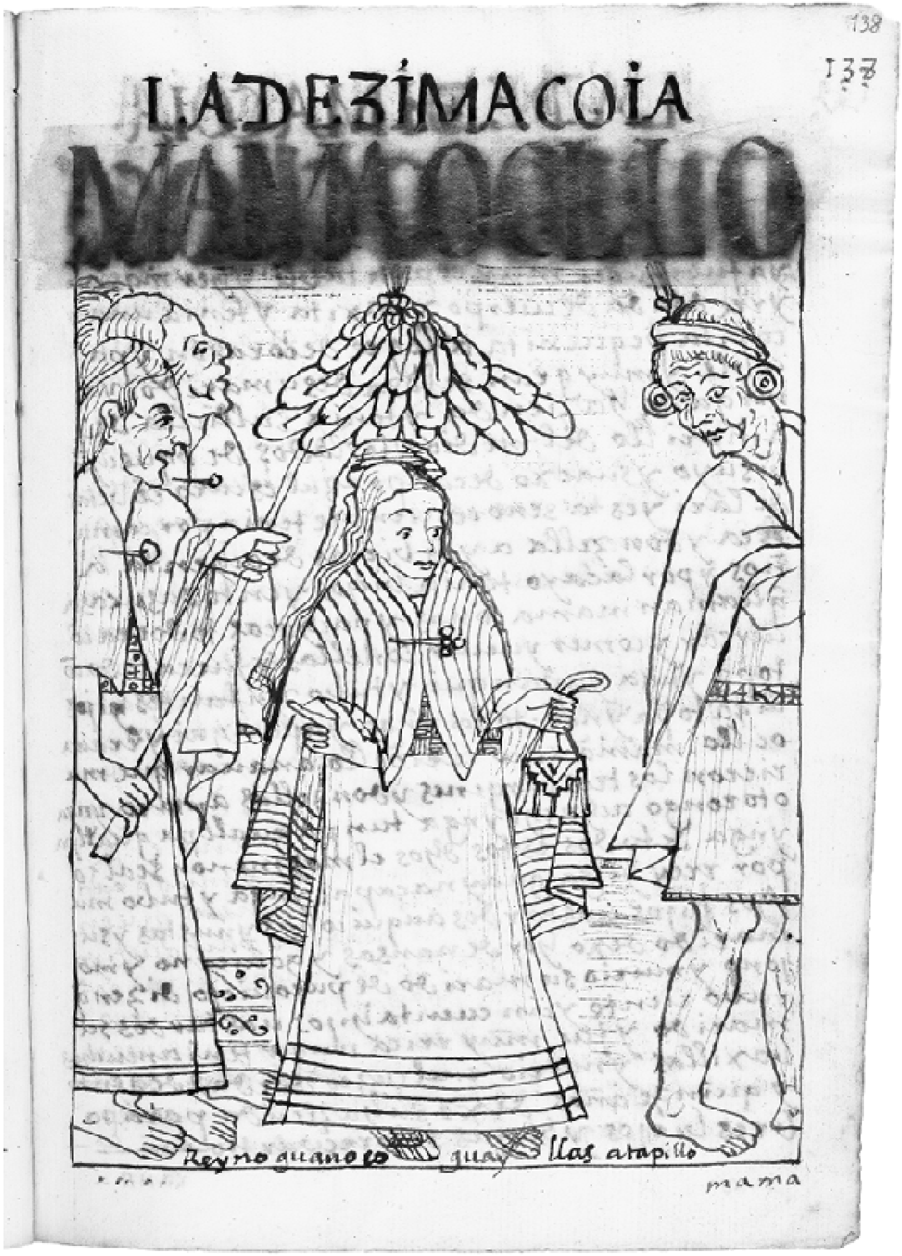
[139]

The tenth coya, *Mama Ocllo*

She was a shocking and beautiful woman; she was short with a round body and a small face. She had a good disposition, a light heart and was gentle. She was also very jealous about her husband. She enjoyed having property. Her *lliclla* was yellow in the middle and the sides, her *chumpi oque* [ash-gray], her *acsu* dark blue with stripes.

This lady always had old Indian women eighty years old for chambermaids and old men for servants. She also had in her house women called *mamaconas* and *pachacas* [servants]. She conversed, ate and drank with them.[118]

She married Topa Inca Yupanqui. Her children were Uisa Topa Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui and Arua Ocllo, Mama Huaco, Curi Ocllo, Ana Uarque. The three girls died virgins. She also had Amaro Inca, Otoronco Achachi Inca, Topa Hualpa Inca; the youngest, Inca Huayna Capac Inca, became king. Her husband had many illegitimate children, *auquicona* and *ñustacona.*


138
137
LA DEZIMA COIA
MAMA OCLLO
Reyno guanoco
guay
llas atapillo
mama

138. *Drawing 48. The tenth* coya*, Mama Ocllo*

Her husband left ordinances, management rules and marked boundaries. He died of old age. They say he had 150 illegitimate children. She was a rich woman. She had many sets of dishes. She died in Cuzco at 115 years of age. She left her possessions for poor elderly people, which were distributed among them.

Page 140, drawing 49. The eleventh *coya,* Raua Ocllo: She ruled up to Quito, Cayambe, Huancavilca, Chacapoyas.[119]

[141]

The eleventh coya, *Raua Ocllo*

She was very beautiful, well built, had abundant hair. She was discreet, very charitable to the poor and Indians, for whom she did many favors. She had great wealth, property, *chacras,* houses, livestock, many maidservants and plates of gold and silver.

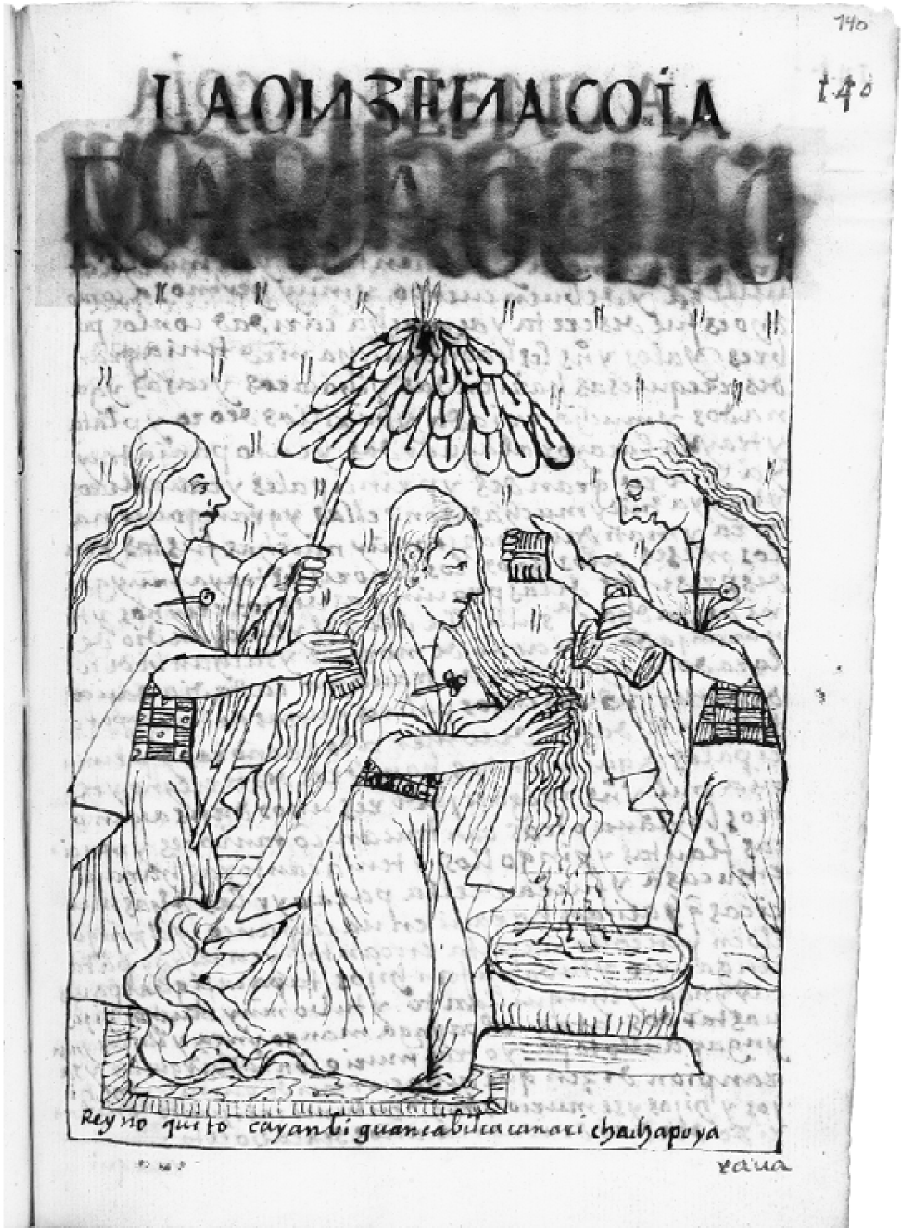
She had servants who acted as guards. She also associated with great lords, gentlemen, many maidens. She was a great governor who had many parties. Over the years lords brought her valuable gifts from the provinces of these lands.

Her *lliclla* was blue and orange in the middle, her *acsu* purple, her *chumpi* red. She liked to work every day. She gave food to two hundred poor people. She also fed five hundred lords of this land. She had a thousand Indian entertainers: some danced, others sang with drums, flutes, *pincollos* [panpipes]. She also had female singers of *haraui* [love songs]. This took place in her house and outside to hear the music of the *haraui*. . . .[120]

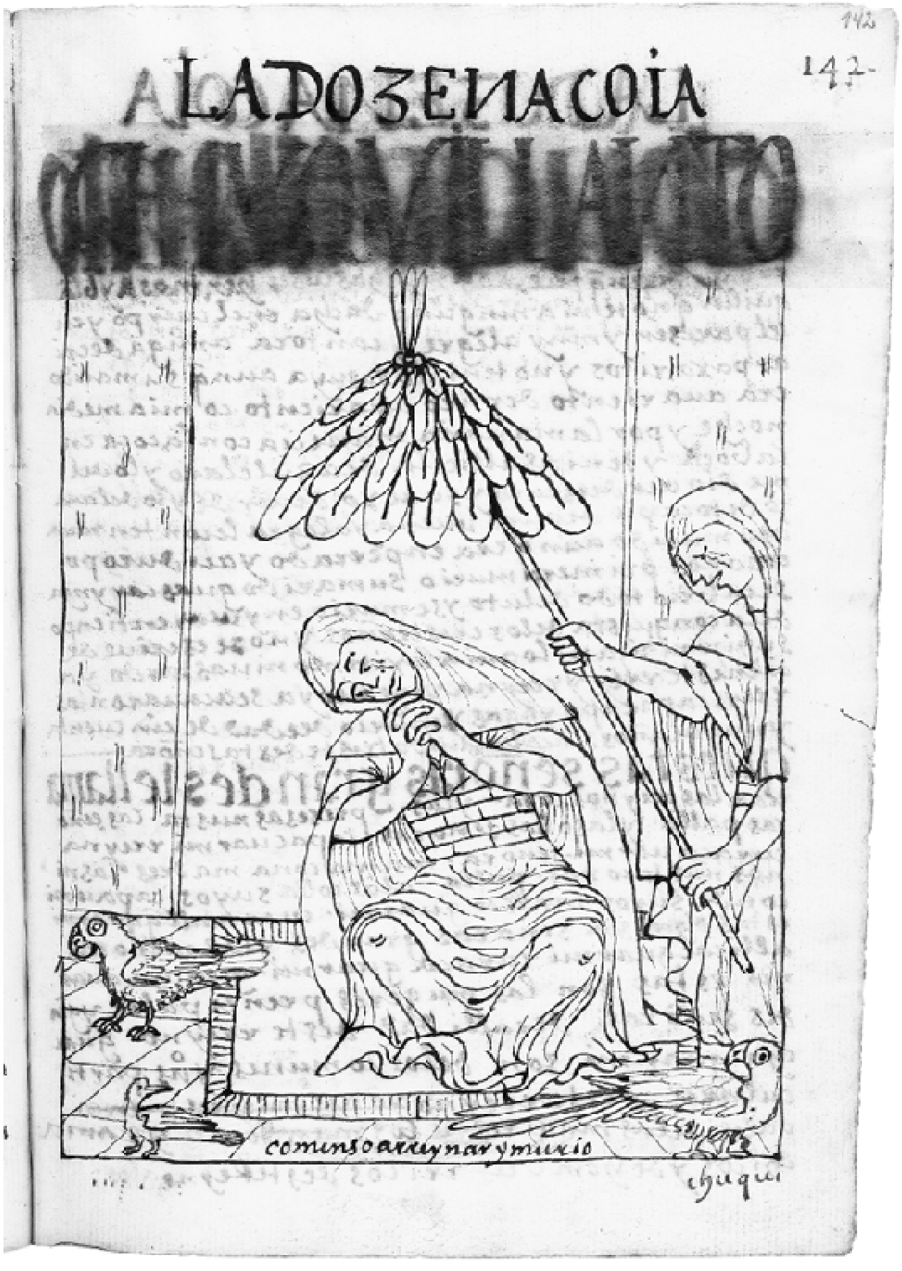
She had sons: Topa Cuci Hualpa Huascar Inca, Chuqui Llanto. Her husband [Huayna Capac] had many illegitimate sons: Atahualpa Inca, Manco Inca, Yllescas Inca, Inca Paulo and others. She died of smallpox and measles. They say that her husband had five hundred children. This lady died in Tumibamba,121 almost at the same time as her husband. She was ninety years old when she ended her days.

[142]

Page 142, drawing 50. The twelfth *coya,* Chuqui Llanto: She started to rule and died.


140
140
LA ONZE ENA COIA
RAUA OCLLO
Reyno quito cayanbi guancabilca canari chachapoya
raua

140. *Drawing 49. The eleventh* coya*, Raua Ocllo*


142
142-
A LA DOZENA COIA
CHUQUI LLANTO
comenso a rreynar y murio
chuqui

142. *Drawing 50. The twelfth* coya, *Chuqui Llanto*

[143]

The twelfth coya, *Chuqui Llanto*

They say she was very beautiful and light complexioned, that she had no blemish on her body. She had a happy disposition and was a singer. She liked to keep little birds. She had nothing of her own; her husband was such a miser that he ate at midnight and in the morning woke up with coca in his mouth.

Her *lliclla* was light blue and dark green in the middle. Her *acsu* was green with *tocapo* below. She was so good and happy that she kept her husband contented, although he had a bad temper, and thus he lasted only a few years.

First her husband, Huascar Inca, died. She covered herself with mourning clothes. She died in Yucay during the time of the conquest by the Christians. No one speaks about her children; she had none. Thus this king and queen, Inca and Coya, ended the line of kings, *capac apo* Incas. She died at fifty-nine years of age. Thus ended the sad life of this lady.

These great ladies were called queens, *coyas;* the princesses, *ñustas;* the ladies, *pallas;* the other ladies, *capac huarmi* [great ladies], queen; *curaca huarmi* [wife of a chief]; *mamacona,* mothers; the girls, *ñustacona, pallas.* Ladies from Collasuyo, *capac omi;* Condesuyo, *mallco huarmi* [lady of authority], *coca mallque huarmi;* these are great ladies. The lesser ones, *allicac huarmi* [wives of appointed officials]; *uaccha huarmi* [poor women]. These are the great, upper-class women of this land. *Uaccha huarmi* are the common Indian women of this land. Other important women were the wives of *camachicocs* and rich men in this kingdom.

[144]

Prologue to the female readers, coya, capac huarmi, curaca huarmi, allicac huarmi, uaccha huarmi

Do not be frightened, women. The first sin was committed by a woman. Eve sinned by eating the apple. She broke God's commandment. Thus you committed the first idolatry, woman, and you served devils. All of this is a mockery and a lie. Put it all aside and have faith in the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, one God, and the Mother of God, Saint Mary, always virgin. She will favor you and plead to heaven for you in order that we enjoy and gather in heaven and in this world, so that Satan will not tempt us. Defend yourselves with the cross and recite the Lord's Prayer. As we remember the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, we recite the Creed in order for us to be with the Holy Trinity, with Jesus Christ, with his mother Saint Mary, with the saints and the angels of heaven.

For this let us prepare ourselves with the sign of the Holy Cross. Free us from our enemies, Lord, from all evil in the world, of the flesh and the devil.

THE CAPTAINS

[145]

Page 145, drawing 51. Chapter [of] the first captain, Inca Yupanqui: sleepy head, lazy captain, *puñuy camayoc, quilla sinchicona* / in Cuzco / Without conquering, he died.

[146]

The first captain, son of Manco Capac, the first Inca

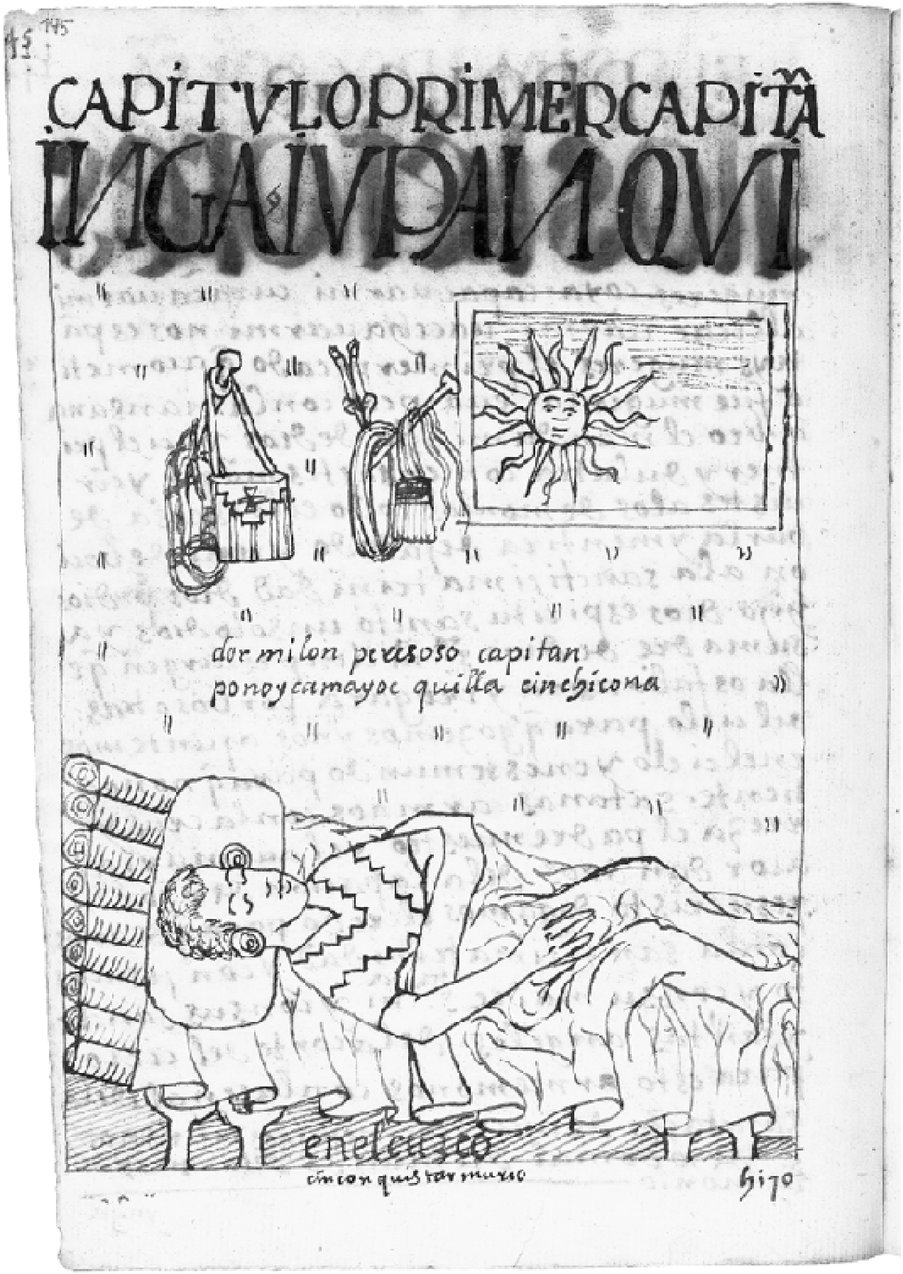
In ancient times there were many brave and famous captains before the Incas, but here nothing will be written about them, but rather about Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti Inca, the first son of Manco Capac Inca. They made no conquests, nor did they do anything. They just slept, ate, went whoring, enjoyed themselves, had parties and banquets and strolled through the city of Cuzco with the other nobles, *auquicona* and Incacona [Incas]. They ended their days in Cuzco during the time of Manco Capac.

The captains who were princes, sons of past Inca kings and of their famous acts and of other captains, sons and grandsons of the great lords of this land, those of Chinchaysuyo, of Antisuyo, Collasuyo, Condesuyo, brave men in war and battle, will not be written about here because it would require too much detail. These men were more esteemed than hawks, lions, tigers, foxes and vultures. It is said that they could jump over a very big boulder; they could fly like a hawk. Thus they were called *acapana* [whirlwind]. They defeated all of Chile and subjugated it.

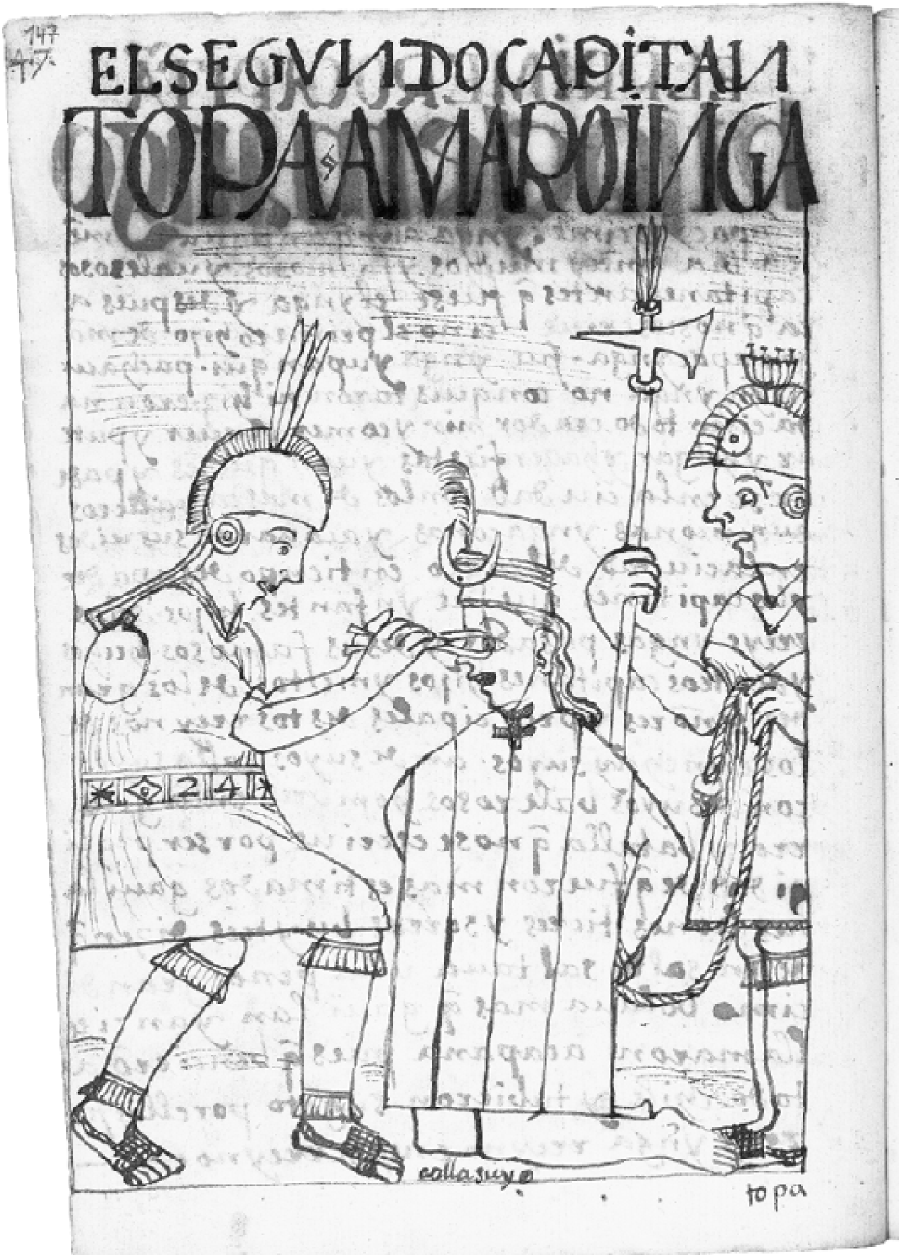
Manco Capac was the Inca king; he ruled in this land.[122]

[147]

Page 147, drawing 52. The second captain, Topa Amaro Inca: Collasuyo


145
CAPITVLO PRIMER CAPITĀ
INGA IVPANQVI
dormilon perezoso capitan
ponoycamayoc quilla cinchicona
enel cuzco
cin conquistar murio
hizo

145. *Drawing 51. The first captain, Inca Yupanqui*


147
47
EL SEGVNDO CAPITAN
TOPA AMARO INGA
collasuyo
topa

147. *Drawing 52. The second captain, Topa Amaro Inca*

[148]

The second captain, Topa Amaro Inca, and the rest

He was son of Inca Cinche Roca Inca. He was a brave captain. He conquered and killed, pulling out the eyes of his enemies, the important Indians of Collasuyo. He conquered all of the provinces of

Colla, Puquina, Cana, Quispicanchi, Pomacanchi. He destroyed much and conquered from Jaquijahuana to Quiquijana, the Chilque and Acos Indians.[123] He died in battle.

His brother, Uari Tito Inca, a brave captain, prince, fought the Cavina Indians,124 Yuto Curi and Uarco Conga Churi, Queuar Inca, Anta Inca, Tambo Inca, Quilliscachi Inca, Mayo Inca, Lari Inca. Topa Amaro Inca and Uari Tito Inca fought the first Inca Tocay Capac and Pinau Capac Inca, who killed the brothers Topa Amaro Inca and Uari Tito Inca. These captains died without conquering any more Indians. They placed boundary stones to mark the places they won. The rest of the provinces defended themselves bravely and did not let the Inca kings enter into their lands.

[149]

Page 149, drawing 53. The third captain, Cuci Uan[an][125] Chire: up to Tambo Inca

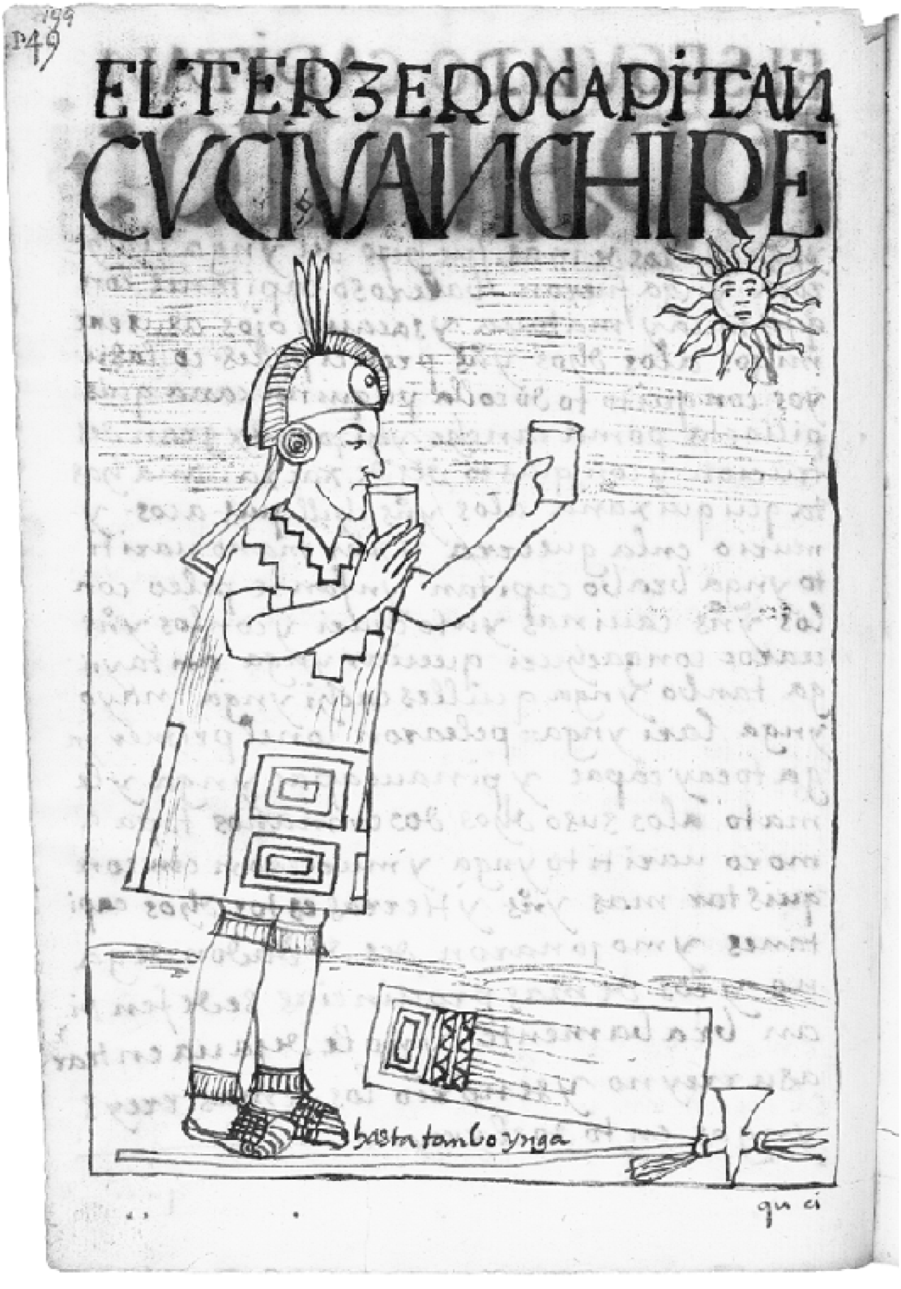
[150]

The third captain, Cuci Uanan Chire Inca

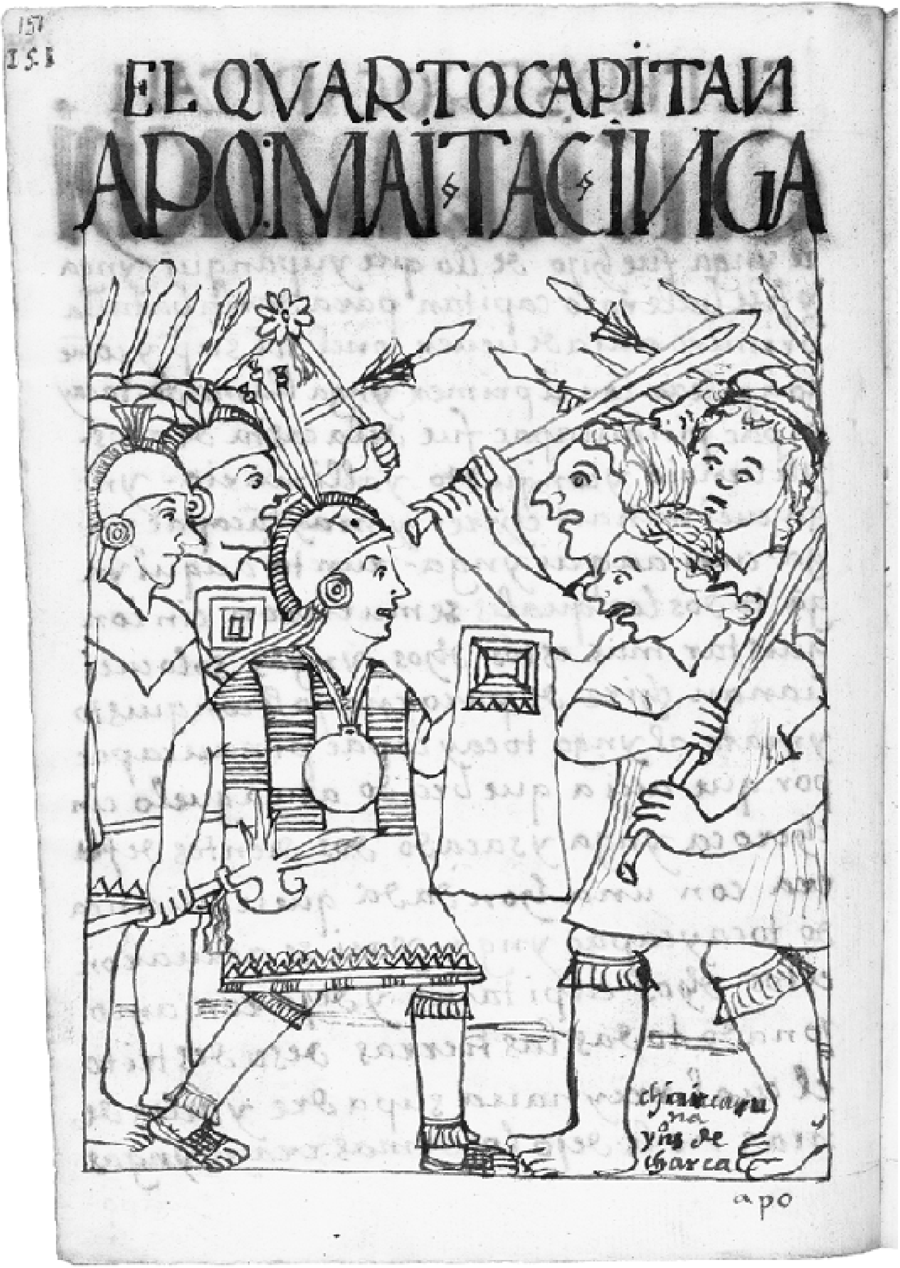
He was the son of Lloque Yupanqui. Cuci Uanan was a brave warrior in battle. First he had to drink with his father the Sun. He started to fight with the first Inca named Tocay Capac and Pinau Capac, who were descended from the people of Acos. Tocay Capac and Pinau Capac won and there died Mayta Capac Inca, Curi Auqui Inca, Runot Auqui Inca; all of them died without conquering anymore. Only Cuci Uanan Chire, full of anger, conquered and killed Inca Tocay Capac and Pinau Capac, because they had fought Cuci Uanan's grandfather and knocked out two of his teeth with a shot from a sling.[126] And thus these captains ended their days. They placed boundary stones on all the lands in their district, over which his father ruled and the rest.[127]

[151]

Page 151, drawing 54. The fourth captain, Apo Mayta Inca: *charcacuna,* Indians from Charcas[128]


149
EL TERZERO CAPITAN
CVCIVANANCHIRE
hasta tanbo ynga
qu ci

149. *Drawing 53. The third captain, Cuci Uanan Chire Inca*


157
151
EL QVARTO CAPITAN
APO MAITACINGA
chiaicayu
na
yng de
charca
apo

151. *Drawing 54. The fourth captain, Apo Mayta Inca*

[152]

The fourth captain, Apo Mayta Inca, and Vilcac Inca

They were great, brave captains who conquered on the orders of their father, Mayta Capca Inca, all the province of Charcas, Chuquiabo, Chuquisaca and Potosi, the silver mines and gold mines, Caravaya, twenty carat gold, very fine gold.[129]

Apo Mayta destroyed and killed many people. He set up great *huacas,* made sacrifices, had temples built to honor the gods and idols. From the city of Cuzco he subjugated and placed boundary stones on all the land of Collao. These captains ended their days. The kings of Chinchaysuyo resisted, and thus this land could not be entered nor conquered.[130]

[153]

Page 153, drawing 55. The fifth captain, Auqui Topa Inca Yupanqui: Capac Yupanqui Inca / up to Quichua, Aymara

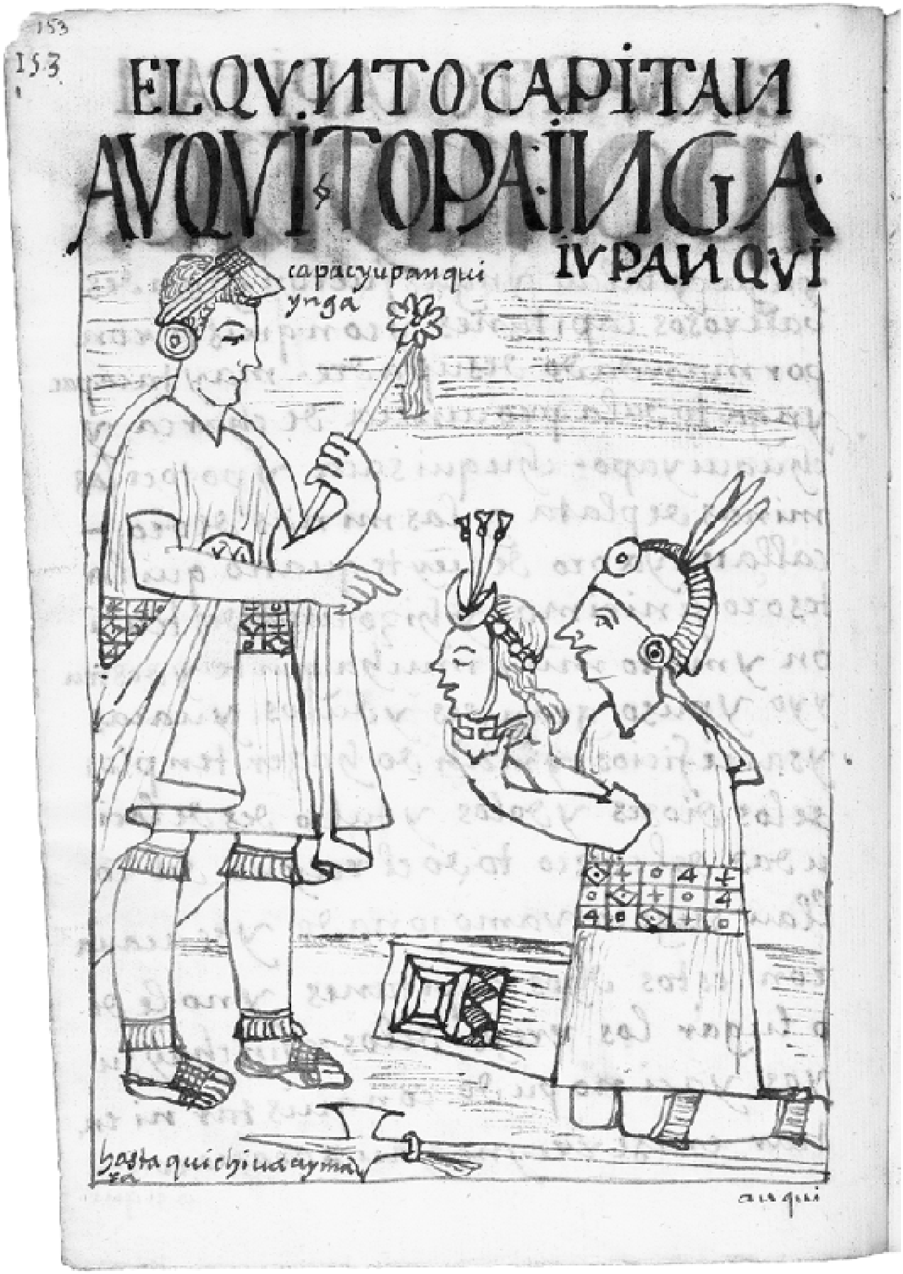
[154]

The fifth captain, Auqui Topa Inca Yupanqui

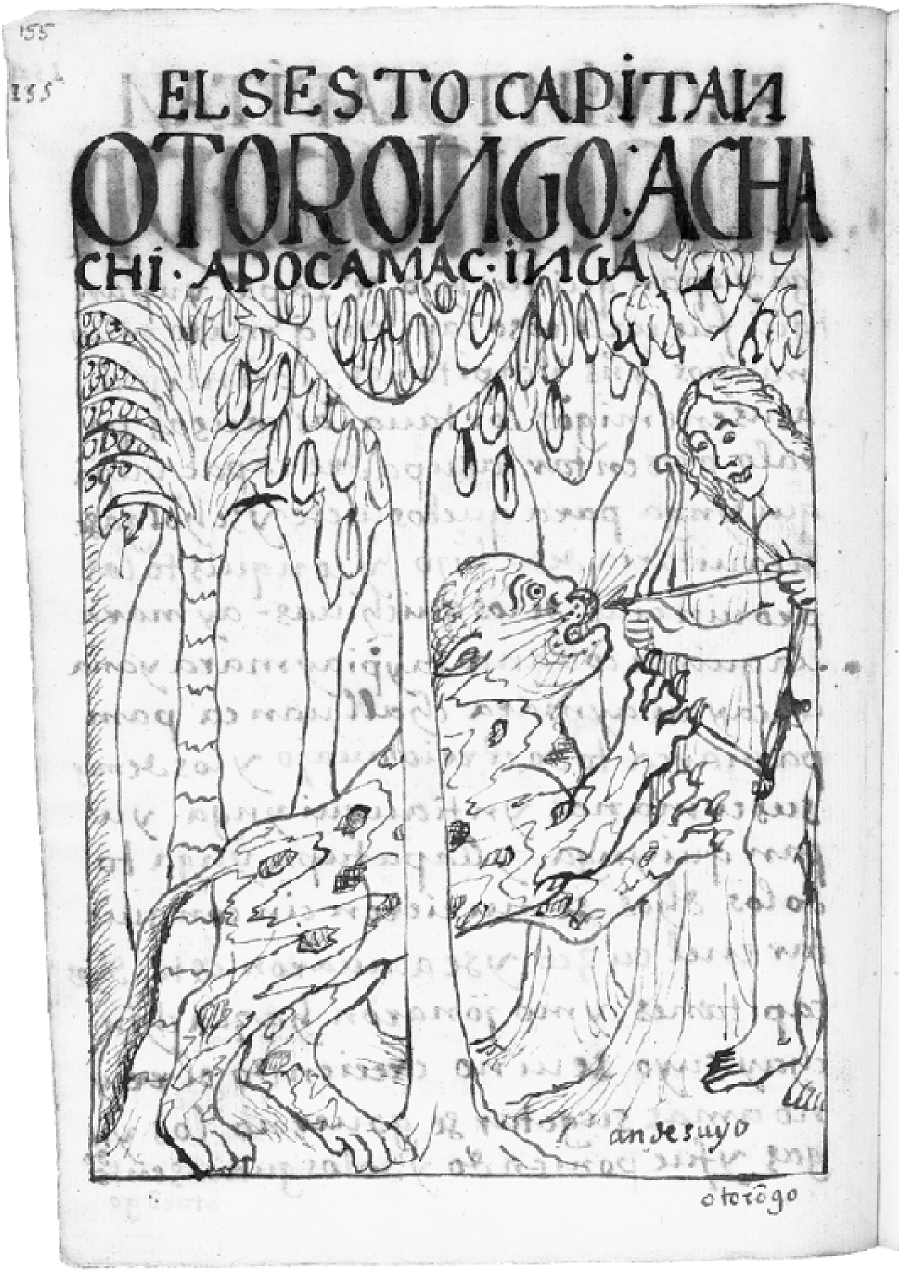
He was the son of Capac Yupanqui. Auqui Topa was a brave captain who killed many Indians, captains and leaders. He cut off the heads of his enemies in order to show them to his father, Capac Yupanqui Inca, so that his father could see them and rejoice in the victory of his son. Auqui Topa conquered the provinces of the Quichua, Aimara, Uaquirca, Collana, Taypi Aimara, Cayao Aimara, Challuanca, Pampa Marca, all the way down river.[131] His brothers, Inti Auqui Inca, Yupanqui Inca, Yllapa Topa Inca, all died in Cuzco without conquering. These captains ended their days. They placed boundary stones around Chinchaysuyo. The realm of the Incas was growing. They governed and placed *huacas* all over.

[155]

Page 155, drawing 56. The sixth captain, Otoronco Achachi, Apo Camac Inca: Antisuyo / *otoronco* [jaguar]


153
153
EL QVINTO CAPITAN
AVQVI TOPA INGA
IVPANQVI
capacyupanqui
ynga
hasta quichiuacymaiyra
auqui

153. *Drawing 55. The fifth captain, Auqui Topa Inca Yupanqui*


155
EL SESTO CAPITAN
OTORONGO ACHA
CHI · APOCAMAC · INGA
andesuyo
otorõgo

155. *Drawing 56. The sixth captain, Otoronco Achachi Inca, or Apo Camac Inca*

[154 (156)] 132

The sixth captain, Otoronco

He was also called Apo Camac Inca. He was the son of Inca Roca. This captain Otoronco conquered Antisuyo, Chuncho, all of the eastern slopes of the Andes. It is said that in order to prepare for conquests he turned into an *otoronco.* The father and son returned. They say the son died in the Andes and that he has a son in the Andes whose mother was of the Chuncho tribe.[133] For that reason these Incas used the names Otoronco Achachi and Amaro Inca, and they had their painted coat of arms.[134] These Incas brought coca, used it and introduced it to the other Indians of this land. In the highlands coca is not grown, and there is none there, but it is brought from the eastern slopes. They do not give up this vice and bad custom without benefit because whoever uses it just keeps it in the mouth without swallowing or eating it. It is like chewing tobacco. Though the body does not need it, they use it anyway.

[155 (157)]

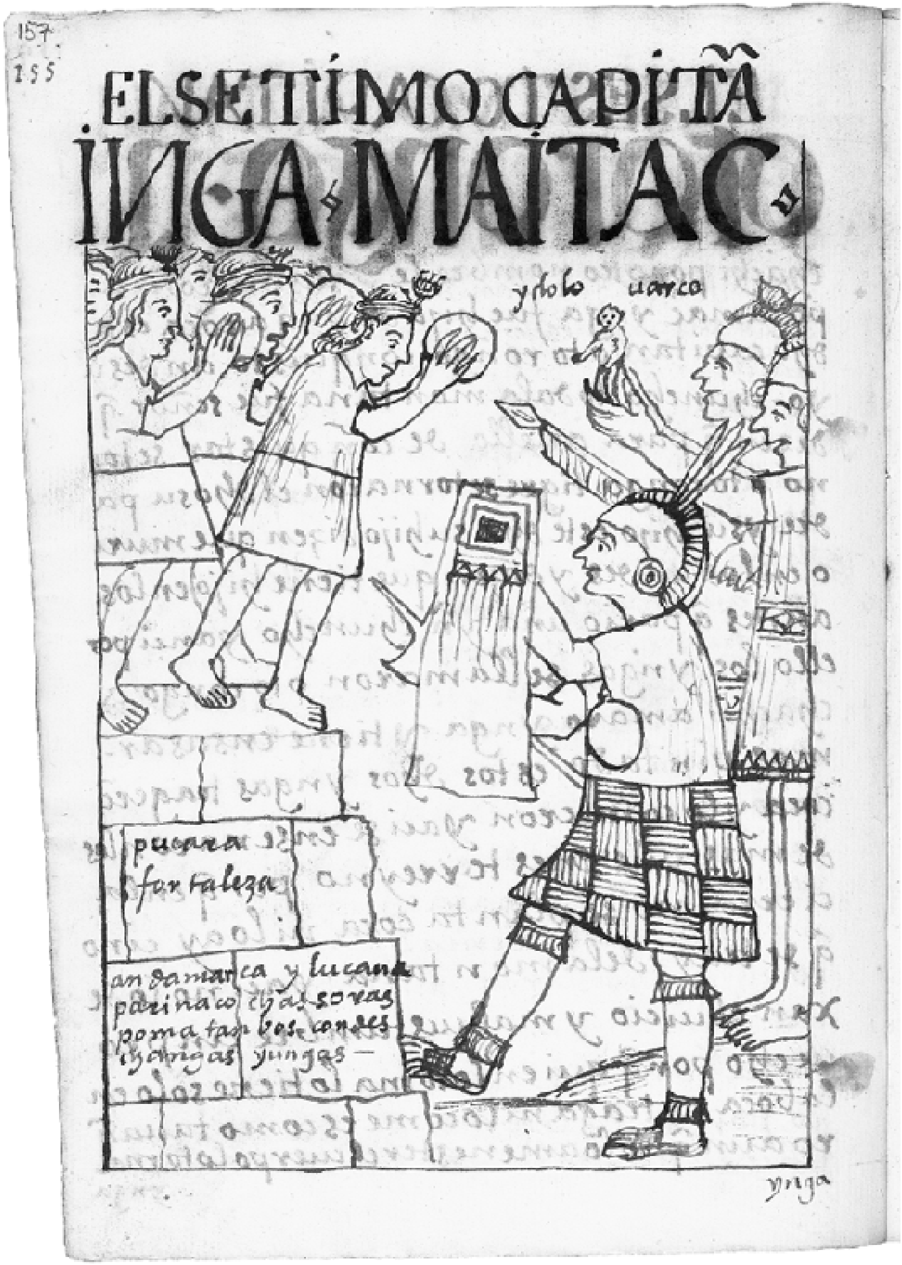
Page 155/157, drawing 57. The seventh captain, Inca Mayta: Huarco idol / *pucara,* fort / Andamarca and Lucana, Parinacocha, Sora, Pomatambo, Conde, Chanca, Yunca[135]

[156 (158)]

The seventh captain, Inca Mayta, [and] Inca Urcon

They were great, valiant, strong captains. They were the sons of Yahuar Huacac Inca. They conquered the provinces of Condesuyo, Collagua, Coropuna up to Arequipa, Arica, Pomatambo, Huaynacota, Parinacocha, and Chanca in the province of Andahuaylla.[136] Urcon Inca and Apo Mayta Inca and Vilcac Inca died there. They conquered the provinces of Sora, Tanquihua, Vilcas, Pareja, Angara, Andamarca, Lucana, Chocorvo, Bilcancho up to Tayacaja and the province of Jauja, Hanan, Hurin, and the mountain range of the Yauyo, Upa Yauyo, Lacuas, Huarochiri, Chaclla, Secicaya, Yunca, Chincha, Mala, Pachacama, Chimo, Lati, Lima, Lunahuana, Sulco, Chinchay and *huacas,* idols, were put in Huarco.[137]

They all died in the city of Cuzco after the conquest. Their father was very saddened. They were buried with honors.


157
155
EL SETIMO CAPITÃ
INGA MAITAC
ydolo uanca
pucara
fortaleza
andamarca y lucana
parinacochas soras
pomatanbos condes
chanigas yungas
ynga

155/157. *Drawing 57. The seventh captain, Inca Mayta*

[157 (159)]

Page 157/159, drawing 58. The eighth captain, Apo Camac Inca: Indians of Chile

[158 (160)]

The eighth captain, Apo Camac Inca

He was a very brave captain, and he resembled a lion. He had fierce eyes. He could knock down a man with one punch and knock out a second. Thus this valiant captain went to conquer Chile with fifty thousand Indian soldiers. He was the son of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. They say he killed one hundred thousand Chileans. He took the following captains: Cuci Uanan Chire Inca, Manco Capac Inca, Topa Amaro Inca, Inca Mayta, and they conquered all of Chile, the province of Chaclla, Yaucha, Chinchaycocha, Tarma. They conquered and killed many Indians, including some from *yunca* plains.[138] They died during their conquests without returning to Cuzco. To conquer all of Chile, they waited until there was a plague and famine, which lasted ten years; that happened in this land. Since the Indians of Chile were suffering, they allowed themselves to be conquered, like the conquest of this realm. God saw fit for two kings to be killed and agitate the people. Thus was the conquest.[139]

[159 (161)]

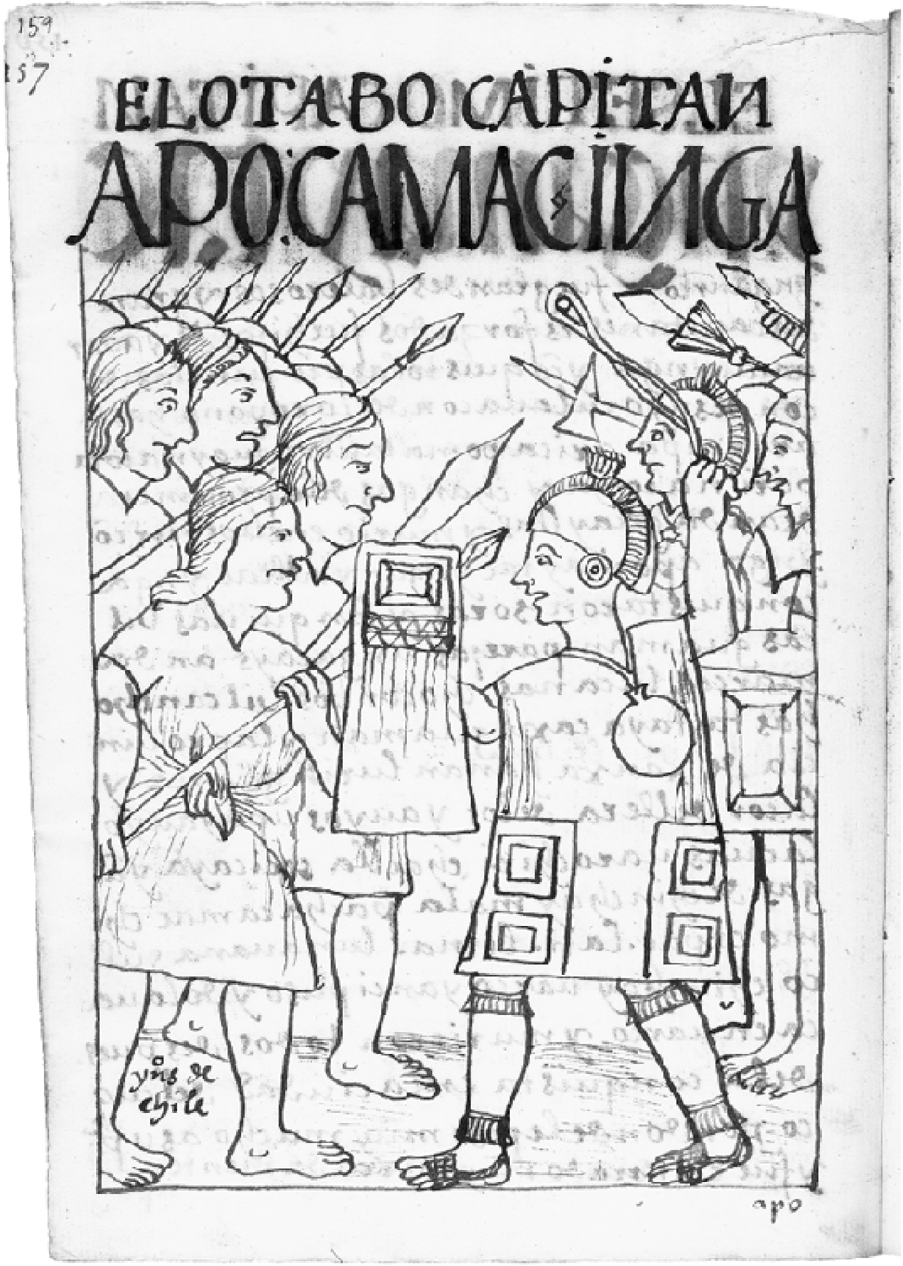
Page 159/161, drawing 59. The ninth captain, Inca Urcon: *chayapoma uiha* [arrival] / The stone wept blood. / up to Huanuco, Huayla[140]

[160 (162)]

The ninth captain, Inca Urcon

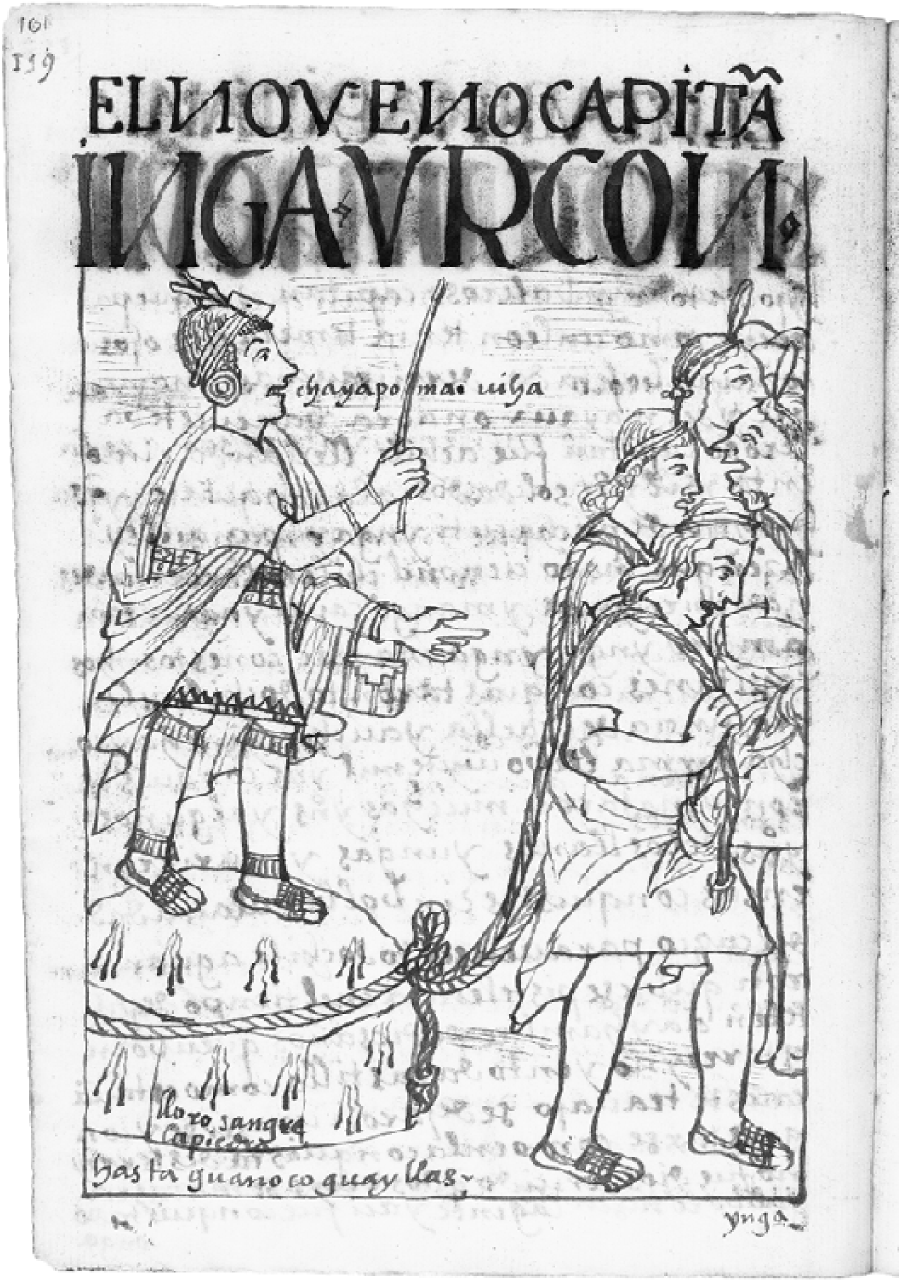
He was the son of Topa Inca Yupanqui. Inca Urcon had the job of bringing stones from Cuzco to Huanuco. They say one stone got tired, refused to move and wept blood. It remains there to this day. Topa Inca's son, Huayna Capac, had this stone taken to Quito, Tumibamba, from the city of Cuzco, Yucay, so many thousand leagues.[141]

Auqui Topa Inca with ten thousand Indians conquered all of the province of Huanuco, Cajatambo, Conchocos, Chinchay, Tarma, Canta Huno Hurin, Hanan Huayla. These princes, captains, were the sons of Topa Inca Yupanqui. The first one, Inca Urcon, died in Cuzco. The second captain, Auqui Topa Inca, died during the conquest. They died as brave captains. Their father ruled over many lands. Stone boundary markers were placed on the coastal plains as well as in the highlands of the Andes. Justice and care were served during the time of this captain and his father.



159
157
EL OTABO CAPITAN
APO CAMAC INGA
yngas de chile
apo

157/159. *Drawing 58. The eighth captain, Apo Camac Inca*


101
159
EL NOVENO CAPITĀ
INGA VRCON
chayapoma uiha
lloro sangua capicara
hasta guanoco guay llas
ynga

159/161. *Drawing 59. The ninth captain, Inca Urcon*

[161 (163)]

Page 161/163, drawing 60. The tenth captain, Chalcochima: Quito, Cayambe, Cañari, Chachapoya

[162 (164)]

The tenth captain, Chalcochima Inca, captain general of the realm, Quisquis Inca, Aua Panti Inca, Quiso Yupanqui Inca, Chalco Mayta Inca

These were generals. There were so many other captains, sergeants, and field marshals that I omit because it would be too much detail. These captains went with their father Huayna Capac Inca to conquer the provinces of Chachapoyas, Cañari, Ciccho, Puruuay, Chupyacho, Huancavilca.[142] They got up to New Granada, and they all died in battle, except for Atahualpa, Chalcochima and Quisquis Inca; they died at the hands of the Christians who came with Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro during the conquest. These Christians were sent by the glorious King Charles. These Indians, who did not defend themselves, were assaulted by the Christians. The Indians were then given to the royal crown of your Majesty.[143]

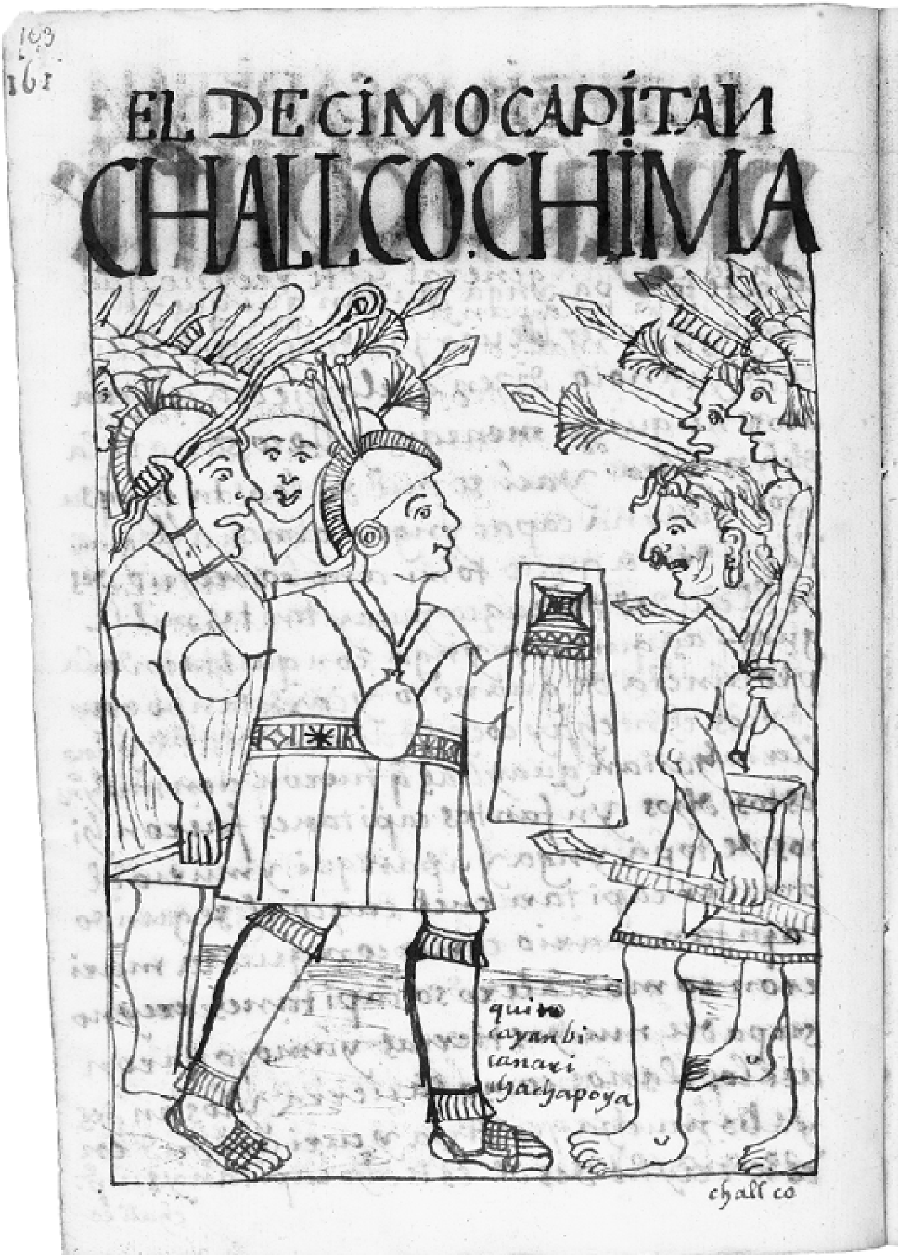
[163 (165)]

Page 163/165, drawing 61. The eleventh captain, Rumiñaui, traitor: In Quito he killed Inca Yllescas.

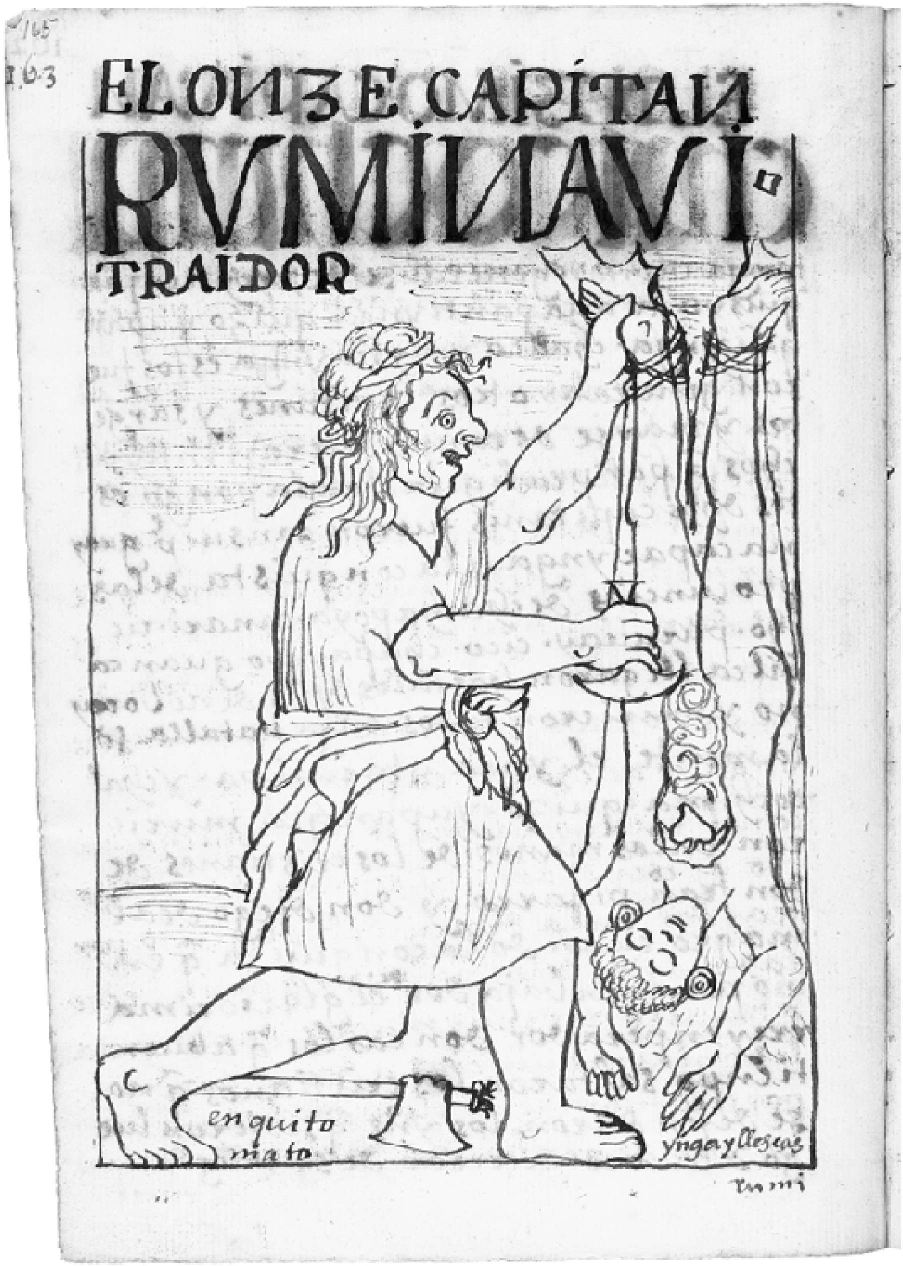
[164 (166)]

The eleventh captain, Rumiñaui, sinchicona auca, traitor

This captain was very brave. He was the son a plebian Indian from Chinchaysuyo, but Rumiñaui was a very valiant man. They say by treachery he killed prince Yllescas Inca. Rumiñaui made a drum out of the skin of this prince, a cup for drinking *chicha* out of his skull, an *antara* from his bones and from his teeth a *quiro uallca* [war trophy necklace]. This happened in the city of Quito where Huayna Capac Inca had left his son Yllescas. This captain wanted to take this kingdom, and when the prince was killed, he was only twenty years old. This traitorous captain Rumiñaui was killed in the city of Quito by the Indians there because the captain had committed many abuses on other occasions in other provinces where he went. For that reason he was killed. Thus this poor captain ended his days.


163
161
EL DECIMO CAPITAN
CHALLCOCHIMA
quito
cayanbi
canari
chachapoya
chall co

161/163. *Drawing 60. The tenth captain, Chalcochima Inca*


165
163
EL ONZE CAPITAN
RVMIÑAVI
TRAIDOR
en quito
mato
ynga y llescas
Tumi

163/165. *Drawing 61. The eleventh captain, Rumiñaui*

[165 (167)]

Page 165/167, drawing 62. The twelfth captain, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua: Chinchaysuyo

[166 (168)]

The twelfth captain, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua, second

person of the Inca, grandfather of the author of this book[144]

He was captain general of the people of Chinchaysuyo and of the whole realm, lord and prince, great and brave captain. He conquered all of the province of Quito up to New Granada. He ended his life with Huayna Capac Inca.

Huanbo Toma, Aruni, Chauay Guaman, Alanya, Chuqui Llanqui, and the rest of the captains not listed to avoid too much detail.[145] These captains went on the conquest of Tumibamba, Cayambe, Quito, Cañari, Lataconga, Puruuay, Chachapoya, Huancavilca.[146] These famous captains from Chinchaysuyo finished conquering and occupying these lands from the time of Topa Inca.

[167 (169)]

Page 167/169, drawing 63. The thirteenth captain, Capac Apo Ninarua: Antisuyo

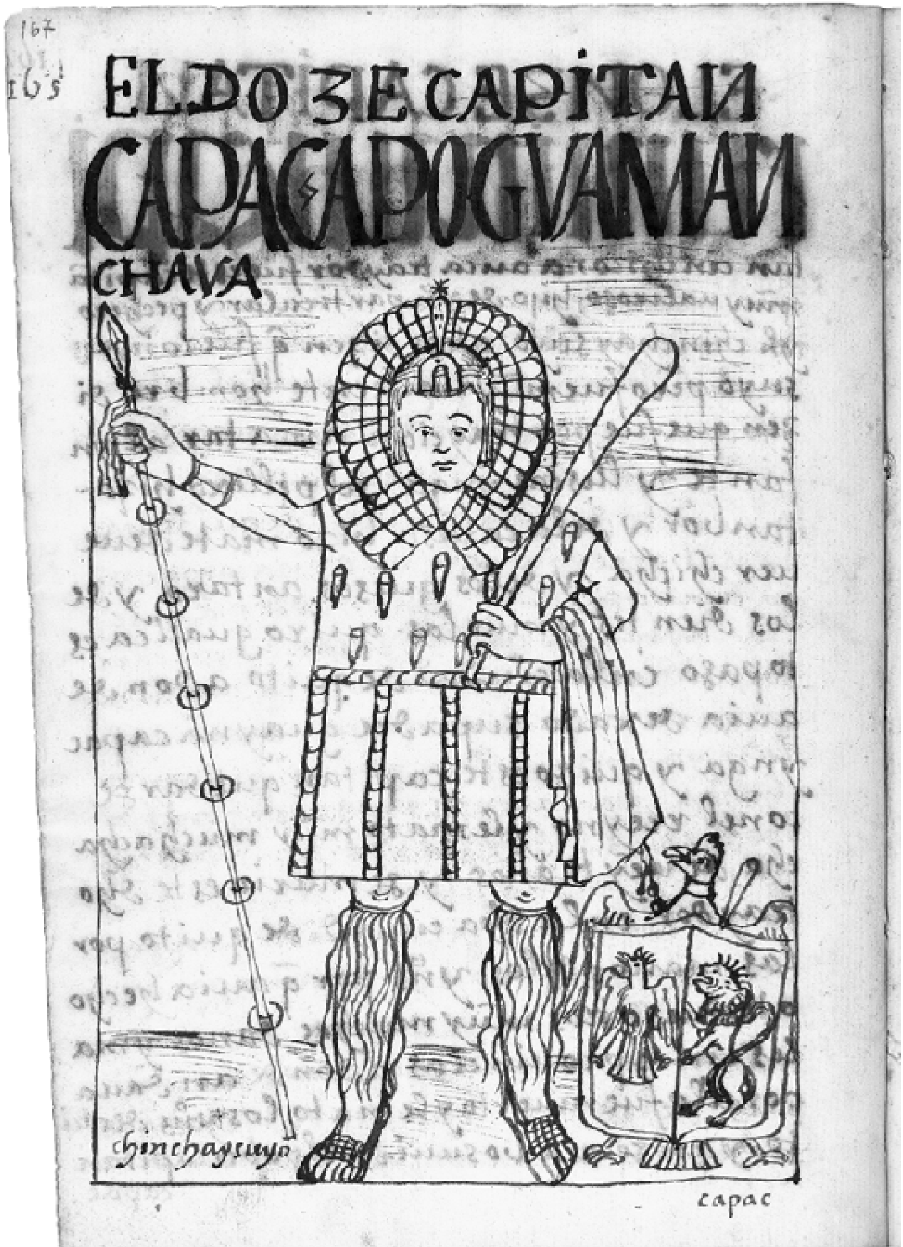
[168 (170)]

The thirteenth captain, Capac Apo Ninarua, Antisuyo

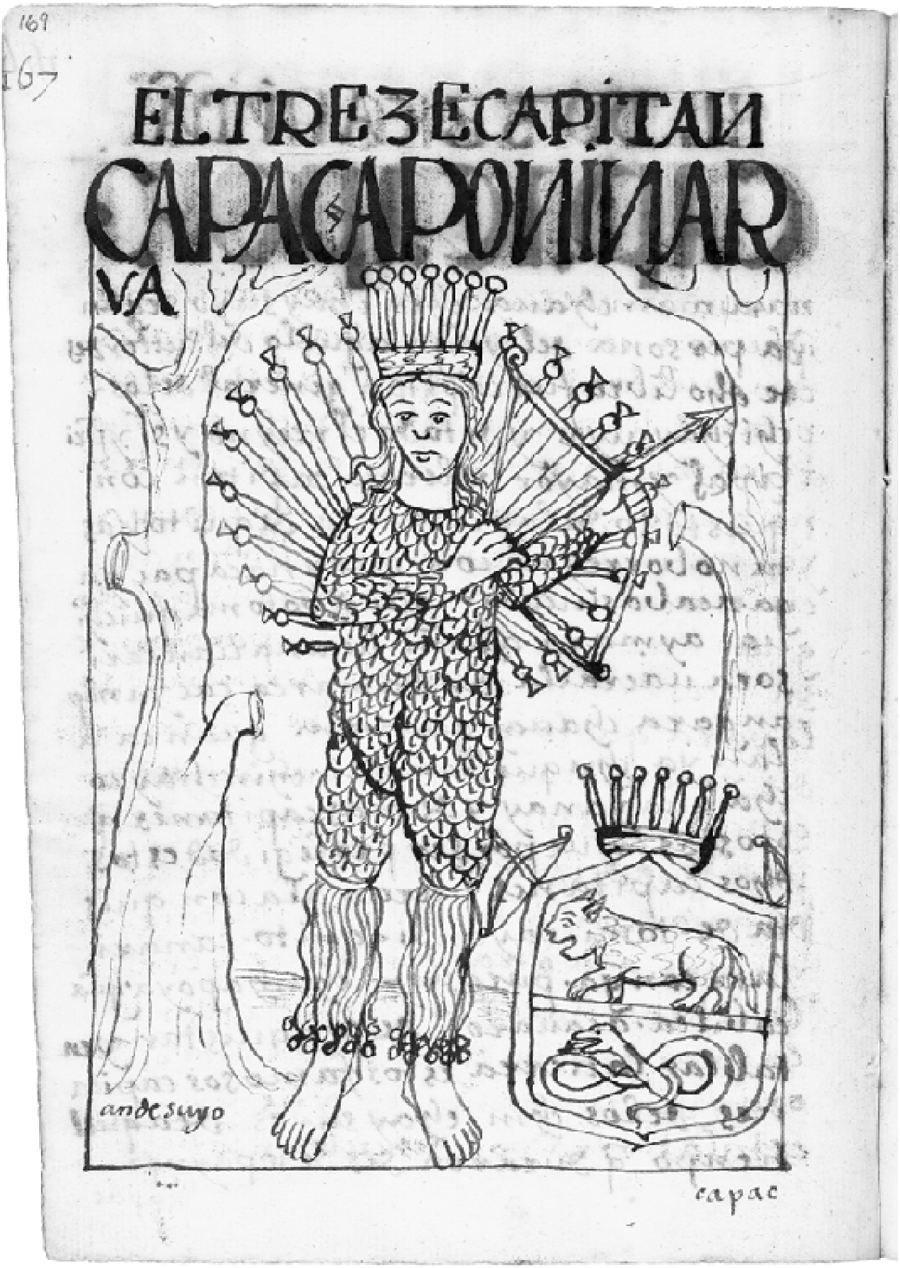
The above-mentioned captains went with Huayna Capac Inca to conquer Tumibamba, Quito. Other captains named Otoronco, Ucu Mari, Rumisonco, Anticuillo, Antinina, Quiro Amaro, Antizupa, Chupayoc Anti, Yscay Cinca Anti, Llatan Anti also went. Besides these other captains, Huayna Capac took other captains. He also took nude men who were to eat the rebellious Indians. Thus these men ate many important people. These pagan Indians remain in their mountain villages. There are many beyond Inca lands in the highlands in the direction of the North Sea and the island of Margarita. There are a great many Indians, gold, silver, livestock, pagan Indians. These lands have not been described.

[169 (171)]

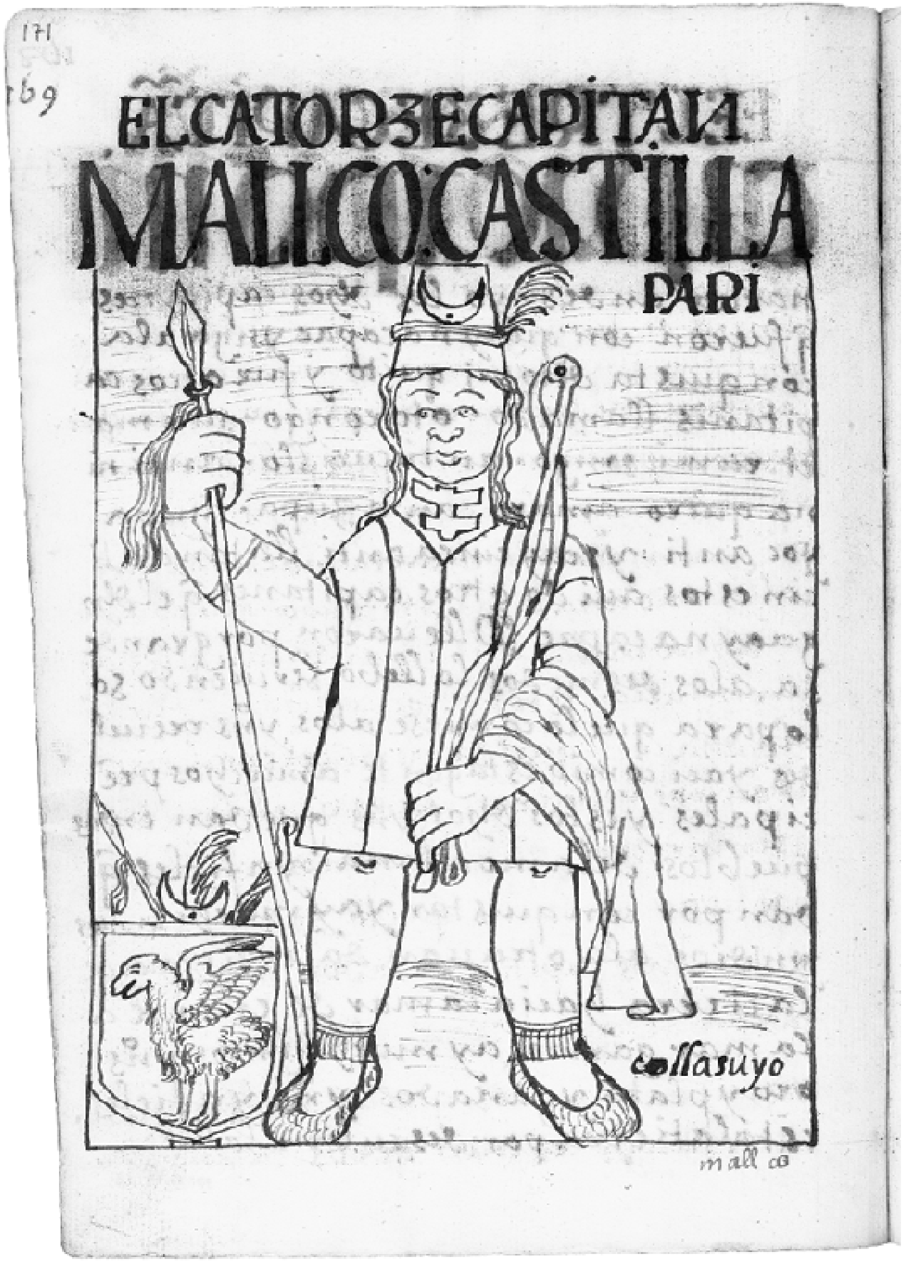
Page 169/171, drawing 64. The fourteenth captain, Mallco Castilla Pari: Collasuyo


167
165
EL DOZE CAPITAN
CAPACAPOGVAMAN
CHAVA
chinchaysuyo
capac

165/167. *Drawing 62. The twelfth captain, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua*


169
167
EL TREZE CAPITAN
CAPAC APO NINAR
VA
andesuyo
capac

167/169. *Drawing 63. The thirteenth captain, Capac Apo Ninarua*


171
169
EL CATORZE CAPITAN
MALLCO CASTILLA
PARI
collasuyo
mallco

169/171. *Drawing 64. The fourteenth captain, Mallco Castilla Pari*

[170 (172)]

The fourteenth captain, Mallco Castilla Pari, Collasuyo[147]

They went with Huayna Capac to conquer the provinces of Tumibamba, Huancavilca, Quillacinca; there went captains from Hatuncolla, Puquina, Charcas, Cana, Pomacanchi, Quispillacta, Cavina, Callavaya.[148] Captains Hila Supa, Chambi Mallco, Hatuncolla, Anocara Hila, Otoronco, Quiro Uallca, Sonco Mallco, Uila Chunta, Auqui Suri, Suri Mallco went on the said conquest and died there, except for some who returned to their villages and lands and died there. Others stayed in Tumibamba, Quito. Some of these captains' great-grandchildren remained for security where their ancestors had conquered; these Indians are called *mitimae,* settlers.

[171 (173)]

Page 171/173, drawing 65. The fifteenth captain, Mallco Mullo: Condesuyo

[172 (174)]

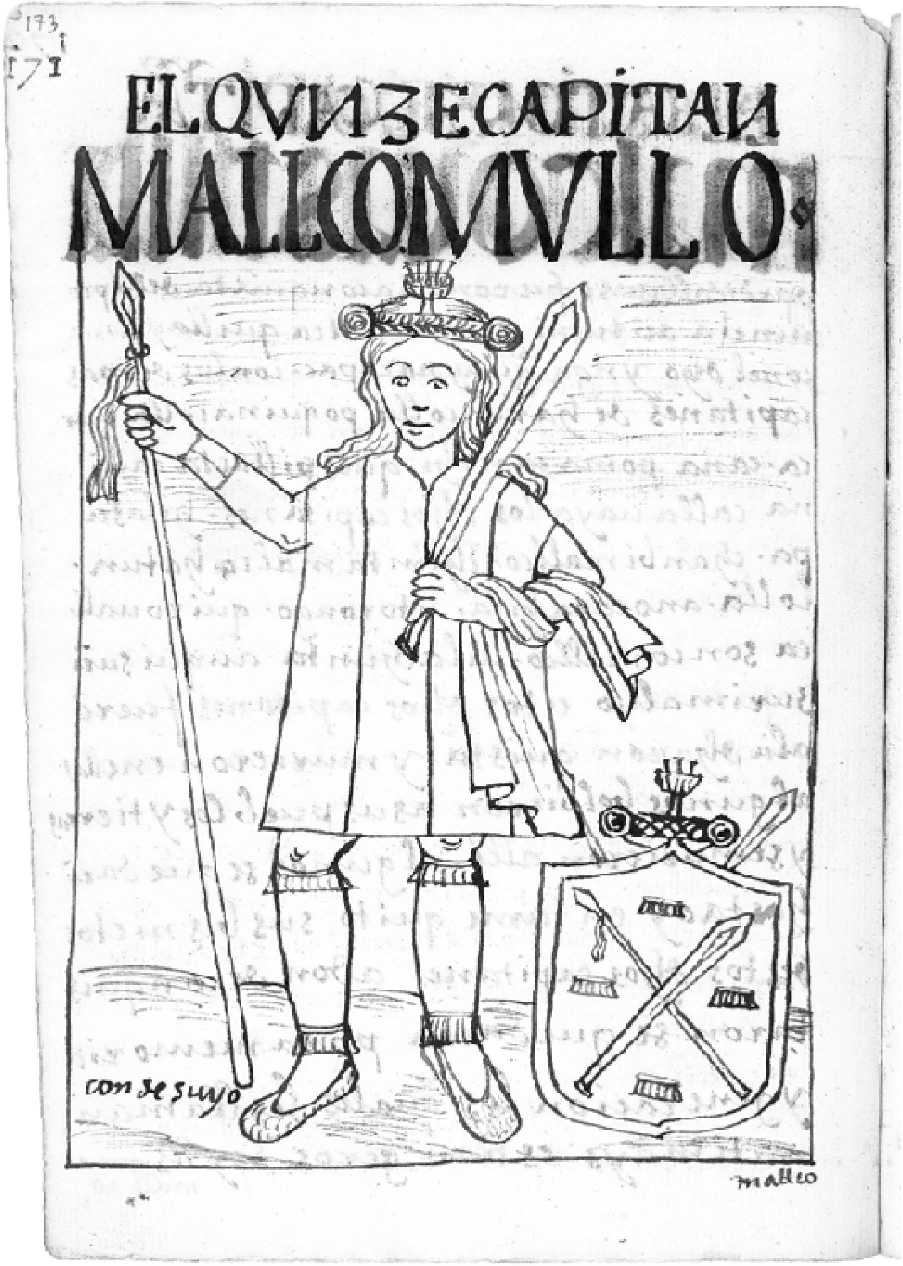
The fifteenth captain, Mallco Mullo, Condesuyo

This captain and others went on the conquest of Cajamarca, Quito, Tumibamba, Chachapoyas, Lataconga, Huancavilca up to the New Kingdom with Huayna Capac Inca. They conquered and laid waste to two great Inca kings, Apo Pinto, Huayna Pinto.[149] They killed all the enemy captains and those who went with the said Incas. The following famous and brave captains went on the conquest: Nina Quiro Mallco, Rumisonco Mallco, Rumiñaui Mallco, Mana Cutana Mallco. . . . Many died in battle, and others returned to their homes and villages; the children of the latter are important caciques, though some are poor.

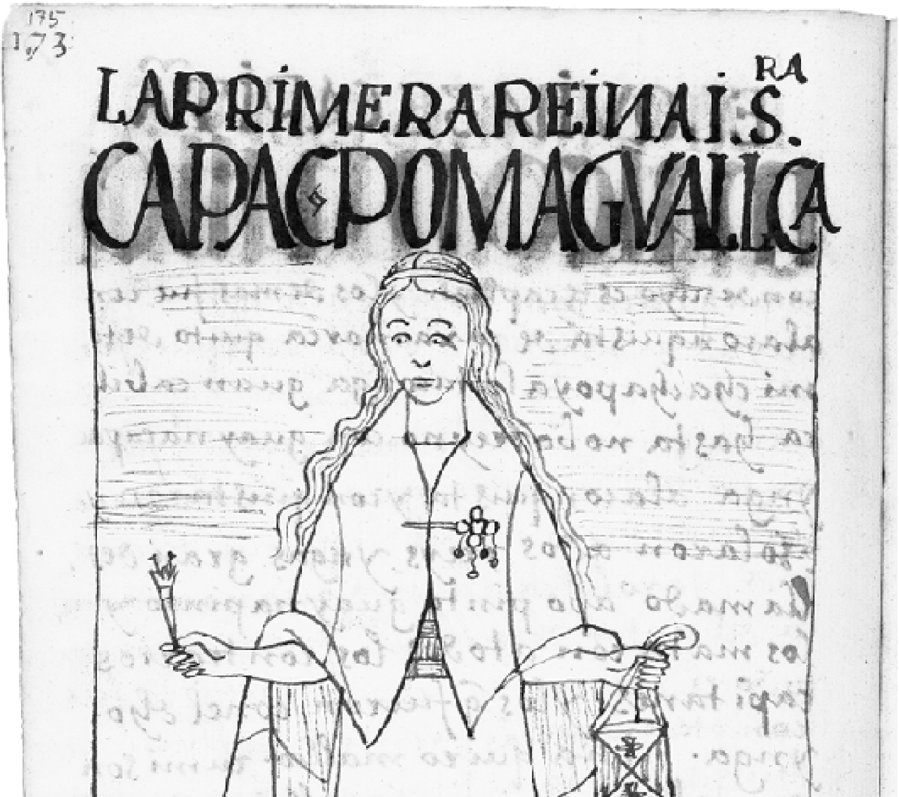
THE LADIES

[173 (175)]

Page 173/175, drawing 66. The first queen and lady, Capac Poma Hualca: Chinchaysuyo150


173
171
EL QVINZE CAPITAN
MALLCO MVLLO.
con de suyo
mallco

171/173. *Drawing 65. The fifteenth captain, Malco Mullo*


175
173
LA PRIMERA REINA I S.RA
CAPAC POMA GVALLCA
Chinchaysuyo
capac

173/175. *Drawing 66. The first queen and lady, Capac Huarmi Poma Hualca*

[174 (176)]

The first lady, Capac Huarmi Poma Hualca, Chinchaysuyo

Before and after becoming an Inca, this lady and queen was very elegant and beautiful. She governed the whole realm very well. She was the wife of Apo Guaman Chaua, the second person of the Inca. She was of the lineage of Yarovilca, Allauca Huanoco, grandmother of the author.[151] And after this lady there were other important ladies named Chuqui Timta. . . .[152] Besides these there were other important ladies that your Majesty should reward in this land.

[175 (177)]

Page 175/177, drawing 67. The second lady, Capac Mallquima: Antisuyo

[176 (178)]

The second lady, Capac Mallquima, Antisuyo

These ladies, although they had good figures and were very beautiful, their skin more fair than a Spanish woman, they used scanty apparel and some were nude. Their people, both men and women, are of the type that eats human flesh. They all smeared themselves all over their bodies with *mantor* [a red pigment]. They live in the forest, and they are Indians that should be conquered, but the forest is so dense, they cannot be conquered. The names of other ladies: Auar Mana, Cucar Mana. . . .[153] There are many other ladies from each village in the forest. On the other hand, there are many people and land abounding in riches where the pagan Indians are called Anca Huallo, Huarmi Auca; in that place, they say there is much gold and silver.

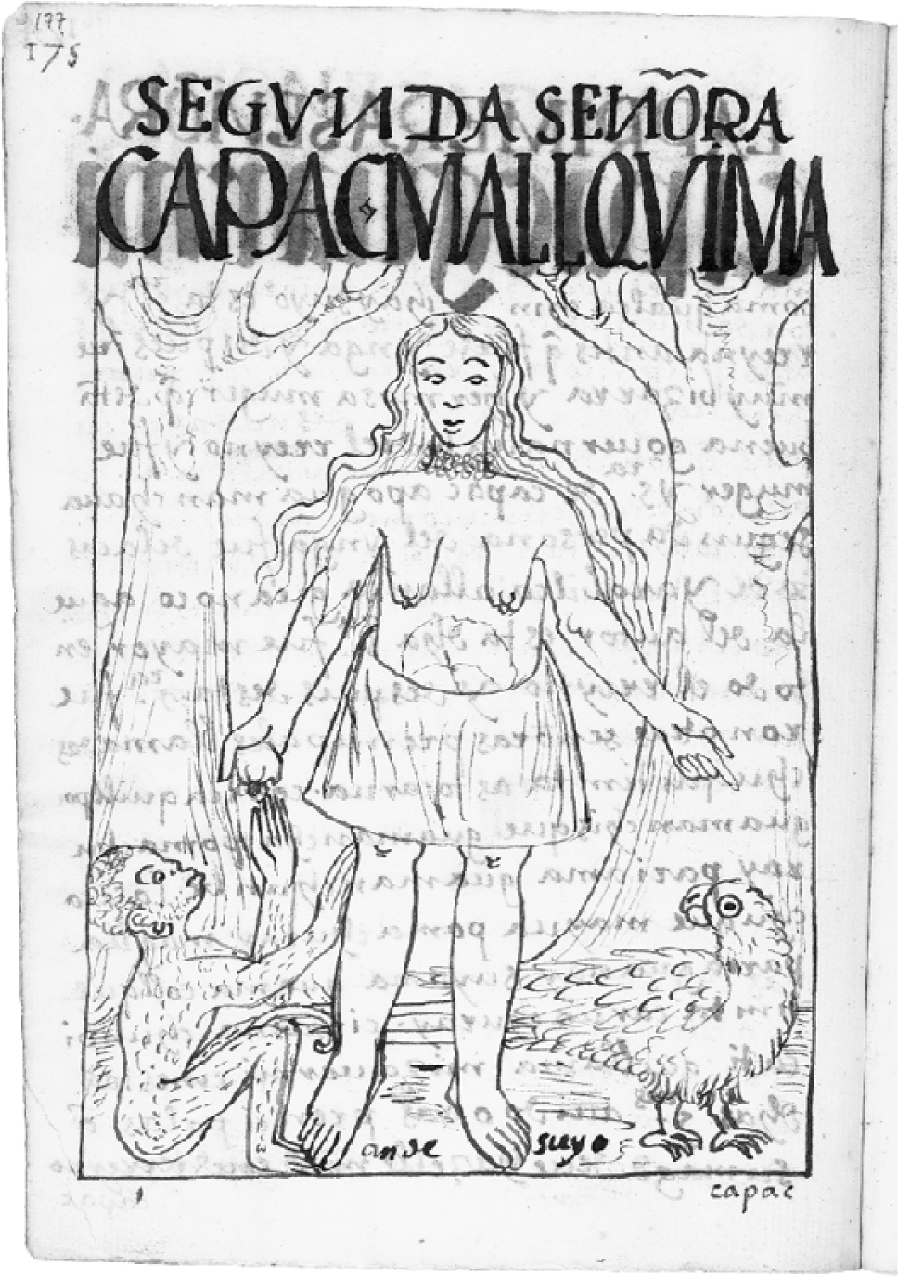
[177 (179)]

Page 177/179, drawing 68. The third lady, Capac Umita Llama: Collasuyo

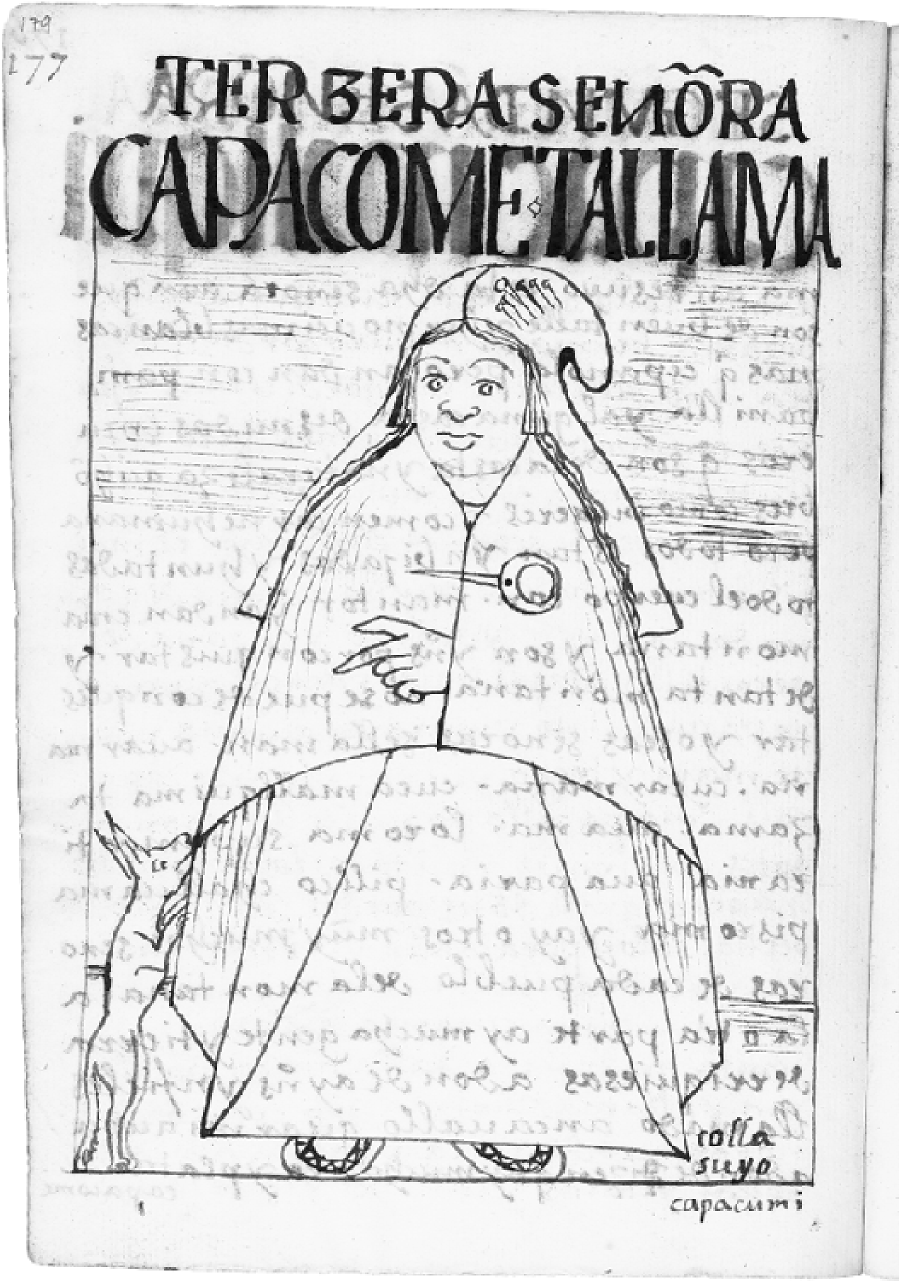
[178 (180)]

The third lady, Capac Umita Llama, Collasuyo

This lady was very elegant and beautiful, but she got so fat she became ugly. All the women of this lineage are very fat and lazy, incompetent, pusillanimous, but rich. She is called Colla Capac [powerful Colla lady]. She had silver from Potosi and gold from Caravaya, the finest gold in the realm. She also had wealth in livestock, *uacay,* alpaca, and Castilian livestock, sheep, cows, pigs. She also had *papas, chuño, moraya* [white chuño], *quinoa* and not much maize, wheat or wine.


177
175
SEGVNDA SEÑORA
CAPAC MALLQVIMA
anse suyo
capac

175/177. *Drawing 67. The second lady, Mallquima,* qhapaq*, powerful*


179
177
TERBERA SEÑORA
CAPACOMETALLAMA
colla
suyo
capacumi

177/179. *Drawing 68. The third lady, Capac Umita Llama*

They say *capac colla, mapa colla, puquis colla* [powerful, dirty, stupid]. They are big like animals. Thus all the men and women are very big, fat, greasy, lazy, like beasts that live only to eat and sleep. And there were other ladies: Talla Huarmi, Cayuma Uizama. . . .[154]

Besides these ladies there are others in the provinces of Colla, Cana, Canchi and Charcas.

[179 (181)]

Page 179/181, drawing 69. The fourth lady, Mallco Huarmi Timtama: Condesuyo

[180 (182)]

The fourth lady, Mallco Huarmi Timtama, Condesuyo

This lady was very beautiful and worthy because she was from good stock. Her land of the district of Arequipa was very poor; it had no gold, nor silver, nor even livestock. Those of Coropuna Conde did have livestock. The others subsist with *agi* [chile pepper] and cotton, which is brought from the Yunca and coastal plains.155 And they are Palta Conde, Hatun Conde, Cuzco Conde, Alca Toro, Huayna Cota, Pomatambo. These ladies are from Condesuyo, and there are other ladies named Timta Carua, Timta Churay. . . .156 There are other wives of important men of the Condesuyo province which have been omitted. They should be honored for they are daughters of grandees of the realm.

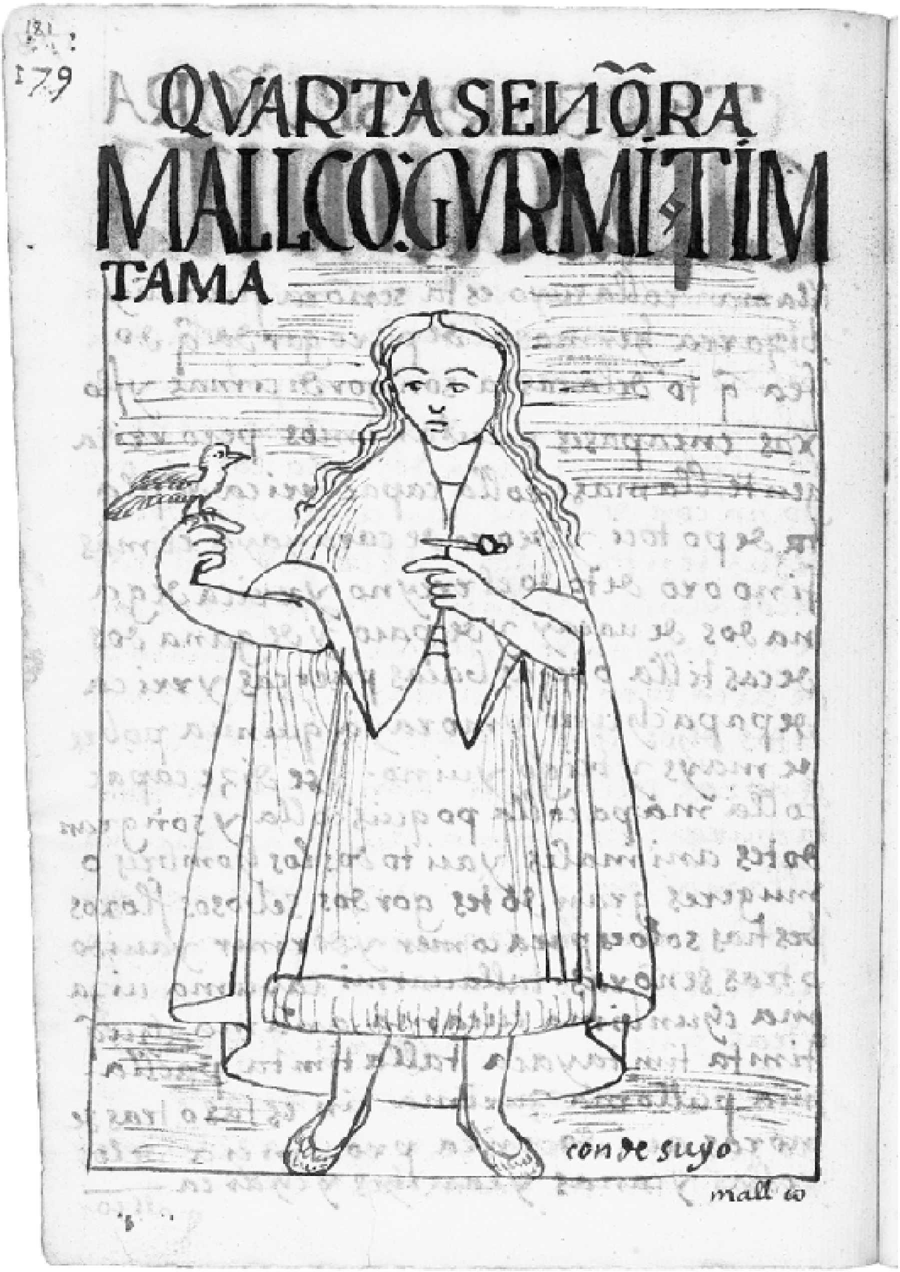
[181 (183)]

Captains paid by Your Majesty

Auqui, lord, Don Carlos Paullo Topa Inca, was the illegitimate son of Huayna Capac Inca; Paullo's mother was an Ozeca.157 Paullo Topa married Doña Maria Esquivel. This Inca served Don Diego de Almagro, the elder, conquistador, as far as Chile.158 For that reason Paullo destined income for him from the Cana Indians. Paullo had a legitimate son, Don Melchor Inca Viracocha, from Hanan Cuzco, illegitimate grandson of Huayna Capac Inca. In addition there are other Inca rulers paid by your Majesty: Don Cristobal Suna, *auqui,* noble, from Hurin Cuzco, of the Temple of the Sun . . . and there were many other illegitimate children.159

Captain Chalcochima was killed and others died of illnesses.

At that time there were legitimate children who were called Capac Apo Inca Huanacauri, which means king. The princes were called *auquicona,* and the nobles, Inca. The plebeians were called Incacona; the queen, *coya;* the princesses, *ñustas;* other ladies were called *palla,* noble, and the plebeian women, *aui.* As the Indians say, the legitimate, perfect Inca kings have died. Those who remain are *auquicona.* Thus the law of justice is served by our King Philip.160


181
179
QVARTA SEÑORA
MALLCO GVRMI TIM
TAMA
condesuyo
mallco

179/181. *Drawing 69. The fourth lady, Mallco Huarmi Timtama*

[182 (184)]

ORDINANCES OF THE INCA

The great government of the Incas of this realm and the rest of the lords and grandees of this kingdom present at that time ruled this empire. These Incas of Peru had laws and ordinances, starting with the first law. They added their idolatries and fiestas, like Easter, throughout the year, during each month, including fasting. They celebrated certain rites, *rotochico* [a boy's first haircut], *huarachico* [a boy's maturity rite], *pacarico* [all-night ritual], *huacachicu* [ritual lament], and made sacrifices in selecting virgins and storage places, as well as other ceremonies to honor the devil.161 Topa Inca Yupanqui and the rest of the *auquicona,* grandees, *capac apocona, curacaccona, allicac, camachicoccona, cama-chiconchic* [counselors] of the Tahuantinsuyo Empire say the following: "We command that in this kingdom our laws be obeyed

[183 (185)]

on penalty of death to those who disobey, the culprits, their children and descendants. They will be punished and sentenced to death. Their whole generation will be eliminated, their towns destroyed; salt will be spread there. Animals will live there: *lluycho, puma, atoc, usco,* condor, *uaman.*" These punishments were rigorously enforced in this kingdom. For this reason, there were never any legal disputes. These rules of conduct established the laws and system of justice in this kingdom. [The Inca says:] "I command that in this great city, capital of this kingdom, there will be a pontiff, head priest, called *hualla uisa, conde uisa* and others from Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo and Condesuyo." These were called *uisa layca camascacona.*162 Some of these were in the Temple of the Sun, and many others were in other temples and *huacas* of this kingdom, including Pariacaca, Caruancho Huallullo, Sauasiray, Pitosiray, Coropuna, Suriurco, Titicaca.163 In other temples there were priests acting as bishops, canons, sacristans, who served, took confessions and supervised burials. These were called *layacona, uisacona, camascacona.* These priests were in the temples and shrines of the whole kingdom. They knew this law of idolatry and ceremonies of the demons in this kingdom. [The Inca speaks:] "Item: I command that in this city there be a royal council, two Incas, one from Hanan Cuzco and the other from Hurin Cuzco, four grandees from Chinchaysuyo, two from Antisuyo, four from Collasuyo and two from Condesuyo."

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All together these were called Tahuantinsuyo *camachiconchic* [highest imperial officials]. "Item: I order that there be an adviser, *incap rantin rimaric capac apo* [a powerful lord who serves as an Inca's replacement and speaks for him]." This adviser was a very important man. "Item: I order that there be a viceroy who is my second in command." He did not permit any commoner to hold the post of viceroy, but rather a *capac apo,* Guaman Chaua. He sent this lord on a *chicche rampa* [brown litter]. He was carried like the Inca to the provinces and was called *incap rantin.* "Item: We order that there be in each province to administer justice a royal official who is called *tocricoc.*" This was one of the Incas with a torn earlobe, Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco. "Item: We order that there be court justices who were from Anta Inca to arrest important men, captains, grandees and nobles of this realm."[164] These men carried as a symbol of justice on a long staff the Inca's *mascapaycha.* These mayors were called *incap camachinan uatay camayoc* [an Inca official who made arrests]. "Item: We order that there be an ordinary justice for each settlement." These officials were called *incap simin oyaric* [an official who hears an Inca's orders] from Quilliscachi.[165] "Item: We order that there be officials called *surcococ* from Equeco Inca.[166] "Item: We order that there be major and minor peace officers." These were called *uatay camayoc* [constables] *llulla* [liars] from Huaroc.[167] "Item: We order that the Inca have a secretary." This official was called *incap quipoc camayocnin* [an Inca's official *quipo* interpreter] from Chillque Inca.[168] "Item: We order that the royal council have a secretary." These officials were called Tahuantinsuyo *quipoc* [imperial *quipo* interpreter]. "Item: We order

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that there be a public *quipo* official in each town." These were called *llactapi quipococ camachicoccona.*[169] "Item: We order that there be a royal official called *caroman cachasca quipococ* [*quipo* interpreter sent far away] from Papre Inca.[170] "Item: We order that there be chief accountants." These were called Tahuantinsuyo *hucho tasa yma hayca uata quillap tauan quipococ yupacoc curaca churicona* [imperial officials who keep track every year and month of unpaid taxes, *quipo* officials, sons of curaca chiefs].[171] "All that has been stated, I command to be obeyed for the governance, justice and well-being of this kingdom of Peru." "Item: We order that no one in our kingdom blaspheme my father, the Sun, nor my mother, the Moon, nor the stars, the bright star, Chasca Cuyllor [Venus], *huaca vilcacona* [local divinities], nor the *huaca* divinities, that no one blaspheme me, the Inca ruler, nor the *coya,* queen." He said as follows: "Ama nacaconquicho intiman quillaman chuqui illa huaca villcaconaman noca incay quitapas coya tauanpas unanchiquimanmi, tucochiquimanmi."[172] "Item: We order that no one blaspheme any person, any member of the council, nor any of the poor Indians." "*Ama nacaconquicho pitapas.*" "Item: We order that there be another city like Cuzco in Quito, Tumibamba, Huanuco, Hatuncolla, as well as one in the province of Charcas. The city of Cuzco shall be the capital, and the provincial capitals shall be represented on the council. This shall be the law." "Item: We order that no woman shall act as witness for women are deceitful and pusillanimous, *pisi sonco* [cowardly]."

[186 (188)]

"Item: We order that no poor person be a witness because he might be bribed." "Pacarasca runa llullamanta rimac runa [a sellout, liar]." "Item: We order that in this kingdom no fruit tree, lumber tree[173] nor straw be burned nor cut down without permission, on penalty of death or punishment. "Item: We order that no one kill or take *luycho, taruca* [deer], guanaco, *vicuña, uachiua* [Andean goose], so these animals will increase. However, lions and foxes can be killed to avoid the damage they do." "Item: We order that for six months a widow not show her face nor leave her house and for one year she should be in mourning, not to lie with a man, be chaste, withdrawn and care for her children on her property, houses and *chacras, lucri,*[174] and cry like a poor widow should." "Item: We order that everyone bury their deceased in a chamber, *pucullo* [stone tomb], that the dead not be buried in their houses and that the deceased's spindle, dining service, food, drink and garments be buried with them." "Item: We order that the children obey their parents, elders, grandees and elder sons throughout this kingdom. For the first disobedience the child will be given a whipping; for the second the child will be

[187 (189)]

banished to the silver and gold mines." "Item: We order that there be no thieves, *suua,* in this kingdom, nor robbers, *poma ranra,* that a thief will get five hundred lashes and a robber will be stoned to death, the body not buried but rather left to be devoured by foxes and condors." "Item: We order that when someone finds something, it should be returned to the owner; the finder should be paid and not punished as a thief, but the finder must appear immediately." "Item: We order that no one, after death, claim a debt, nor require the wife or husband pay, not the father for the son, nor the son for the father, nor for any other, but rather it be claimed during the person's life. No payment shall be made on suspicion or a lie. In the will there will be provision to pay from the person's property, and if the deceased be poor, it will be lost."[175] "Item: We order that banished Indian men and women be made to work very hard so they will get exemplary punishment and mend their ways.” “Item: We order that in this kingdom no one have poison, nor any cast magic spells in order to kill someone. We condemn murderers to be put to death, thrown over a cliff. If such were directed at the Inca by rebel lords and traitors, their skin will be made into a drum, their bones made into flutes, their teeth into necklaces, their heads

[188 (190)]

into cups for drinking *chicha.* This is the punishment for traitors and they will be publicly condemned, which is to say *yscay sonco auca* [two-faced traitor]. “Item: We order that any person who kills another shall die in the same way as the one killed; if it were with a stone, a club, the killer will be condemned.” “Item: We order that during menstruation a woman shall not enter a temple nor be present at a sacrifice to the gods, *huaca vilca.* If a woman does, she will be punished.” Item: We order the death penalty to a woman who aborts her son; if it be a daughter, the mother will be punished with two hundred lashes, and the mother and daughter will be banished.” “Item: We order that a debauched woman who consents to being seduced or is a whore will be hung by her hair or her hands from a bare stone in Anta Caca and be left there to die.[176] The man who deflowers a girl will receive five hundred lashes and suffer the torment of *hiuaya* [heavy stone], which will be dropped from about three feet onto the man’s back.”[177] This punishment usually results in death, though some survive. The woman who consents will get the death penalty.[178] If both parties consented, they will both be hanged until dead, the same punishment for both. “Item: We order that a widow not marry again nor are they permitted to cohabit after their husband dies. If the widow has a son, he will inherit all the property, houses, and *chacras.* If the widow has a daughter, she will inherit half of the property, and the other half will be for the widow’s father, mother or brothers.” “Item: We order that the one who has a child be honored, *yupaychasca.* Those who have two children shall be favored. Those with

[189 (191)]

three children, will be given fields, pasture and land. Those with four children shall be privileged. Those with five children, I order that they be minor officials over their children, *pichica camachicoc.* Those with ten children shall be favored as lords. Those with thirty, forty or fifty children shall be entitled to settle in a village wherever there is uncultivated land and be lords in that place.” “Item: We order that lazy, dirty pigs be punished throughout the kingdom for the filth of their *chacras,* their houses, their plates on which they eat, their heads, hands. They must wash, and they will be forced to drink the dirty water from a *mate* cup." This punishment was enforced. "Item: We order that anyone who buries their dead in their house be banished." "Item: We order that the caciques, high officials, have fifty women for their service and for the increase in population in this kingdom; *huno curaca* [chief of ten thousand], thirty women; uamanin *apo* [regional lord], twenty women; uaranca *curaca* [chief of one thousand], fifteen women; *pisca pachaca* [chief of five hundred], twelve women; *pachaca camachicoc* [official over one hundred], eight women; *pisca chunca camachicoc* [official over fifty], seven women; *chunca camachicoc* [official over ten], five women; *pichica camachicoc* [official over five], three women. A poor Indian would have two women. The rest who were placed as *mitimae* [settlers] had two women.179 Soldiers who went to war were given women according to their victories in order to increase the population."

[190 (192)]

"Item: We order that no man marry his sister, nor his mother, first female cousin, aunt, niece, nor any relative or godmother, on penalty of being punished by taking out both eyes, quartering, and putting the remains on the hills as a warning because only the Inca ruler can marry his full sister according to the law." "Item: We order that captains be of good lineage and faithful and not traitors. They must be from thirty to fifty years of age, strong, self-sufficient and apt for war and battles." "Item: We order that no one waste maize, nor other foods such as *papas,* nor peel potatoes because if they had any sense, they would cry when one peels. Do not peel them, on pain of castigation." "Item: We order that in times of pestilence, sacrifice, storms, famine, hunger, thirst, death of the Inca or of some *capac apo* or rebellion, there shall be no fiestas, dancing, singing, nor playing the drum or the flute, nor can men touch their women. In times of fasting and pestilence no one is to eat salt, chile peppers, meat, fruit nor drink *chicha,* nor eat any food except raw, white maize." "Item: We order that during cold weather, hail storms or droughts when the maize dries and it does not rain, everyone must pray to the god Runa Camac for rain. For this prayer everyone must wear mourning garments, covering faces black with *ñuñuya* [bitter fruit] and *quichimicha,* soot. All of the adult Indians must go through the hills crying and praying to the god Pachacamac. Like women and children they must shout this prayer:

aya oya uacaylli—aya oya puypulli—lluto puchac uamrayqui-

[191 (193)]

lluto puchac uacchayqui—uacalla callamosumquim-

Unoc sayquita—yacuc sayquita—cachallamouay—
uacchayqui runayqui llacta runa camascayquiman[180]
[Ay, ay, weeping, ay ay, very sad. Your children in mourning. Your poor children. We implore you weeping. Your rain. Your rain. Give it to us. To us, your poor people, to the people you created.]

This order must be kept in this kingdom. "Item: We command that officials not be lazy; including those who receive remuneration, governors, pontiffs, priests, grandees who govern in this land, as well as artisans, painters, who paint on walls and on the *quero* [wooden tumbler], on *mate* [drinking gourd], called *cuscoc* [painter], *llimpec* [varnisher]; *amautacona,* officials; *llacllac quirocamayoc,* carpenters; *rumita chicoc,* stone mason; *manca llutac,* pot maker; *tacac,* silversmith; *cumbi camayoc,* fine cloth weaver;, *pachaca,* farmer; *michic, llama* herder; *aua camayoc,* weaver; *cirac,* tailor, although not a seamstress; *sara tanta rurac,* female baker; *micuy rurac,* female cook; *suyuyoc,* administrator of a *suyo* [section]; *collca camayoc* [storehouse official]; *sapsi camayoc* [community official], administrator; *quilca camayoc,* keeper of *quipo* strings;[181] singers and musicians, *taquic cochochic* [comic singers/dancers]; *pincollo camayoc,* flutists; *auca camayoc,* warriors. Let these officials not be missing in this kingdom because if they are, they will be punished as lazy or thieves." "Item: We order that throughout the kingdom there be abundance of food, that there be planted much maize, *papa, oca,* and that there be *caui, caya, chuño, tamos, chochoca* [dried maize], *quinoa, ulluco,* and *masua.* All foods, including *yuyo,* should be dried so that there will be food to eat all year. The community land will be planted with maize, *papa, agi, macnu* [vegetable], cotton; people shall pick *pauau, queuencha* [flowers] and other leaves to make colored dye for *cumbi, auasca;* burn *llipta* from *marco* [a plant] and *quinoa.* Each year an account of all this must be given. If the *tocricoc,* royal official, does not comply, he will be cruelly punished in this kingdom." "Item: We order that inspections be made twice a year of all the houses, garments, pots as well as what has been cultivated or raised, every *cui,* every *chacra.*

[192 (194)]

If the inspector fails to comply, for each omission he gets one hundred lashes. A report must be made of the manure for each *chacra,* that there be in their houses much firewood and straw, ducks; they shall have barrels called *cullona* of *papas* for themselves and to serve the Inca, the *capac apocona,* and captains, and have in the *tambo,* lodgings, and for the *chasques* [messengers] along the royal roads, keep them cleared, maintain bridges and for their fiestas. We order that these laws and ordinances be respected in this kingdom."[182] "Item: We order that the barbers and surgeons, *hampi camayoc, circac quichicauan* [herbalists] shall cure with herbs."[183] These are called *hampi camayoc.* The kindly midwives are called *uaua uachachic, uicza allichac hampi camayoc* [stomach curer medical specialist]. "Item: We order that foster mothers of orphans, *uaccha rurocha ñuñuchic,* be relieved of all other duties and be given a grown girl as helper." These girls are called *mamacona.*[184] "Item: We order that in the towns of this kingdom the people are to eat in the public square; this includes chiefs, young and older Indians, in order to share with the poor, orphans, widows, sick, elders, blind, cripples, pilgrims and travelers. They are all to be given food as charity; this good custom and law has been followed since the first people for the mercy of God in this kingdom."[185] "Item: We order that this kingdom have virgins in its temples, *uayrur aclla* [principal chosen woman], *chaupi aclla* [secondary chosen woman], *pampa aclla* [lesser chosen woman]." These nuns died virgin without being corrupted. These general ordinances were

[193 (195)]

introduced into this kingdom by Topa Inca Yupanqui and by his royal council. . . .

THE FIRST GENERAL INSPECTION

[193 (195)]

. . .

Don Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of this kingdom, ordered an inspection tour in which he was informed of these ancient laws and ordinances from which he selected the best. Following the instructions of our Catholic lord King Philip II, Toledo ordered everyone to eat in the public square and to have a fiesta there.

That said, I believe in one God, the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, and his blessed mother, Saint Mary, in all the saints, angels of heaven. I believe in the Holy Mother Church in Rome which embodies the true faith that I have. All that I write is so that good will be in the service of God and bad may be corrected by Christians. Let the Christians, who read these ancient ordinances of the Indians, repent their sins.

Groupings were made in this kingdom by the Incas and high lords, and the others belonging to the royal council, as follows:

Ten groups of Indians[186] in this kingdom were to do work in order not to be lazy because otherwise they could not support themselves nor the high officials and lords and his Majesty the Inca and his government.

[194 (196)]

Page 194/196, drawing 70. Chapter, First Group, General Inspection, *auca camayoc* [warriors]: thirty-three years old / brave young man / tribute payer

[195 (197)]

The first age division

This first group consists of brave men, *auca camayoc,* warriors, who were thirty-three years old, having entered service at twenty-five and finishing service at fifty. These brave men were very distinguished for their service and for what they offered. These Indians were recruited for battle and war under the Inca. From among these brave Indians, *mitimae,* colonists, were selected to populate other provinces where they were given more than enough land, pasture and fields for sowing to support themselves. They also got a woman from that same land. This was done for the security of the kingdom. These brave Indians acted as inspectors. They also served as laborers and did all the duties that were required by the Inca and the other lords and chiefs as well as the ladies of this kingdom. These people were called *mitimae,* colonists. Some of these brave men were sent to the mines and other necessary jobs. Thus the first general inspection of this group of Indians was called *auca camayoc,* warriors who did a lot.

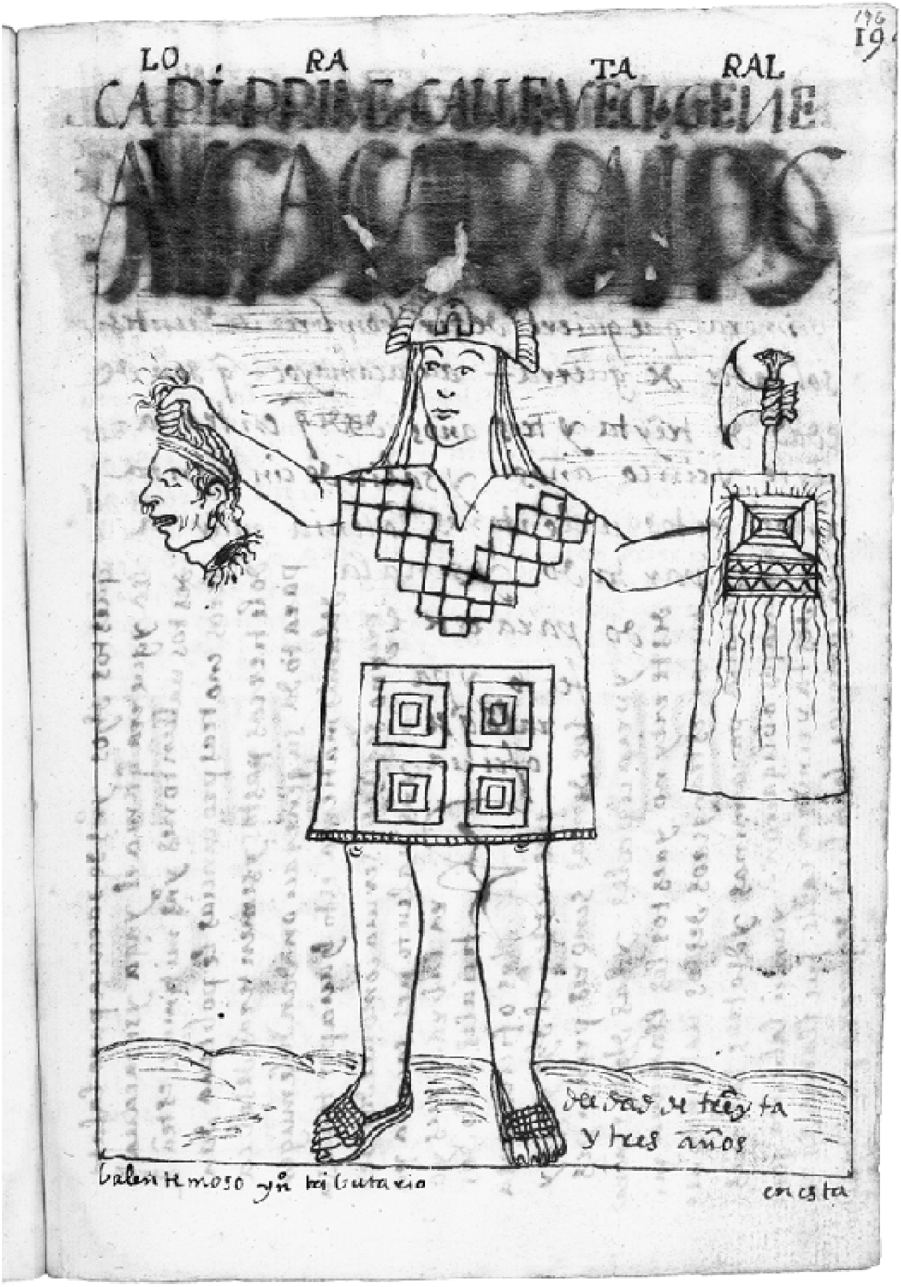
[196 (198)]

Page 196/198, drawing 71. The second group, Puric Macho [old man who walks]: sixty years old / exempt from tribute / He serves high officials.

[197 (199)]

The second age division

In this second group of the *puric macho,* old walkers, sixty to seventy-eight years of age, who served in the *chacras* and brought firewood, straw, cleaned houses of the Inca or of some high lord. These elders served as waiters, stewards, doormen and *quipo camayoc.* From the fifty-first year after his birth, this Indian will be exempt from military service, not going into battle, nor doing any personal service that takes him out of his neighborhood with the *auca camayoc* warrior. The old Indian was obliged do whatever he was ordered, both at the home of his lord and in the fields. These are called *pachacas,* farmers. From these older Indians were taken valets called *apocuna* [lords]. Some of these were assigned to act as overseers and *surcococs,* stewards. These were servants of the high lords. They were called *curaca catic.* Others acted as helpers of ladies, *curaca huarmita pusac* [chief's wife's companion]. Thus these Indians served in all that was ordered in their town, even though it was someone other than the high cacique, his children and wives in this kingdom.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19
LO RA TA RAL
CAPÍ. PRIME. CALLE VEI. GENE
AVCACAMAIOS
de edad de treynta
y tres años
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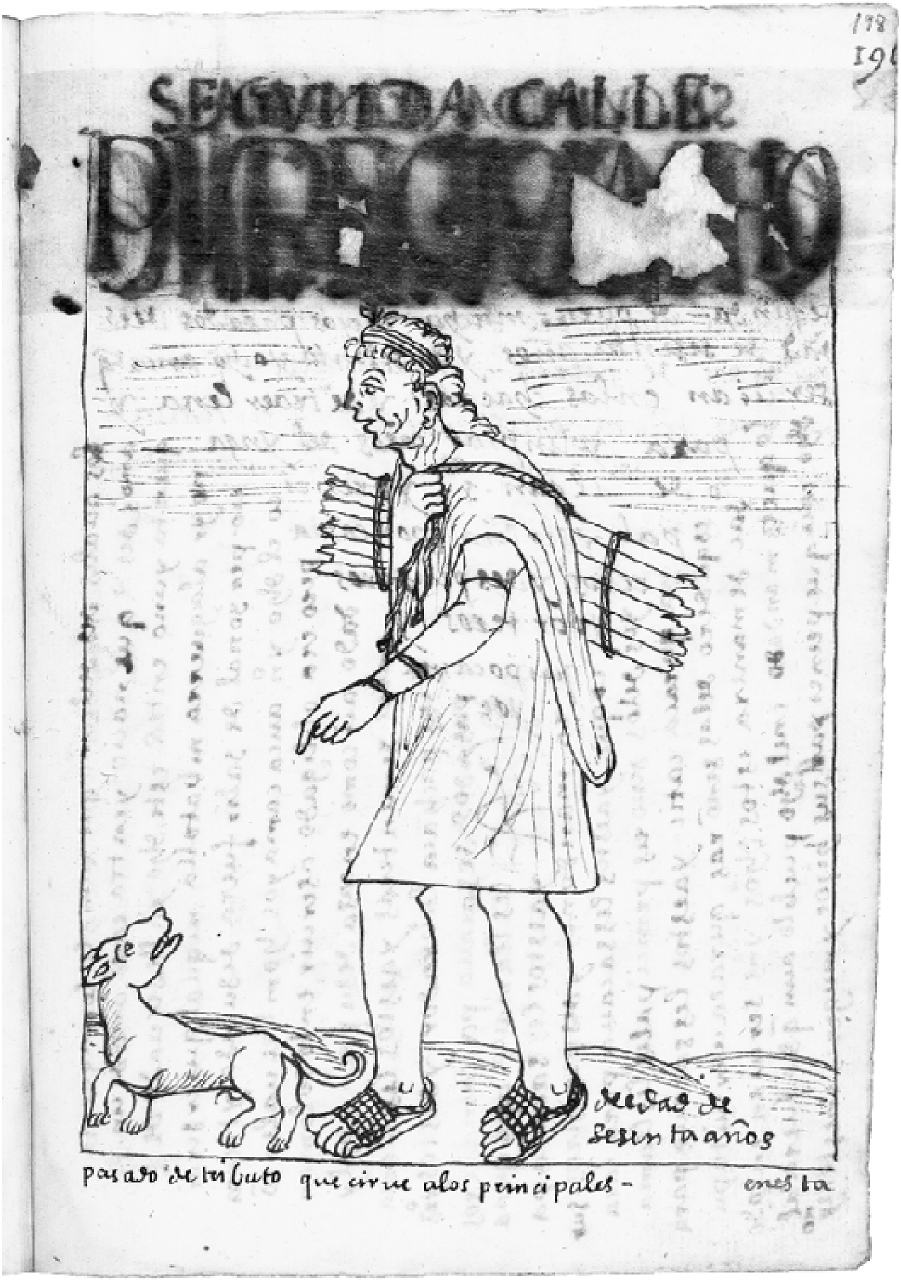
194/196. *Drawing 70. The first "street" or age group of men,* auca camayoc*, warrior of thirty-three years*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196/198. *Drawing 71. The second "street" or age group,* puric macho, *the old man of sixty years who walks*

[198 (200)]

Page 198/200, drawing 72. The third group, Rocto Macho [deaf old man]: eighty years old / deaf old man exempt from all service, sleeper

[199 (201)]

The third age division

In this third group called *rocto macho,* deaf old man, of from eighty years old to 100 or 150. These *rocto macho* are so old all they do is eat and sleep. Those who are capable make *uasca,* ropes, and *apa,* blankets. They also look after the houses of the poor and care for cavies and ducks. These old men were much feared, honored and obeyed. They had the job of whipping the children, boys and girls, and giving them good advice and teachings. Out of the slight darkness, they gave light and clarity concerning the service of God and made a good example, *alli qunacoc alli yachachic macho yaya,* which means the elders gave good advice and taught well. Those who can, act as doormen for maidens, virgins and wives of high officials. All the rich give alms to these elders, had their clothing made, and all the townspeople worked their fields and served them. Royal treatment was given to these old folks and to their friends, *uayño* [male friend] and *socna* [female friend].187 Thus the poor old people, cripples, blind and one-handed did not need a hospice because their fields and flocks were cared for by others.

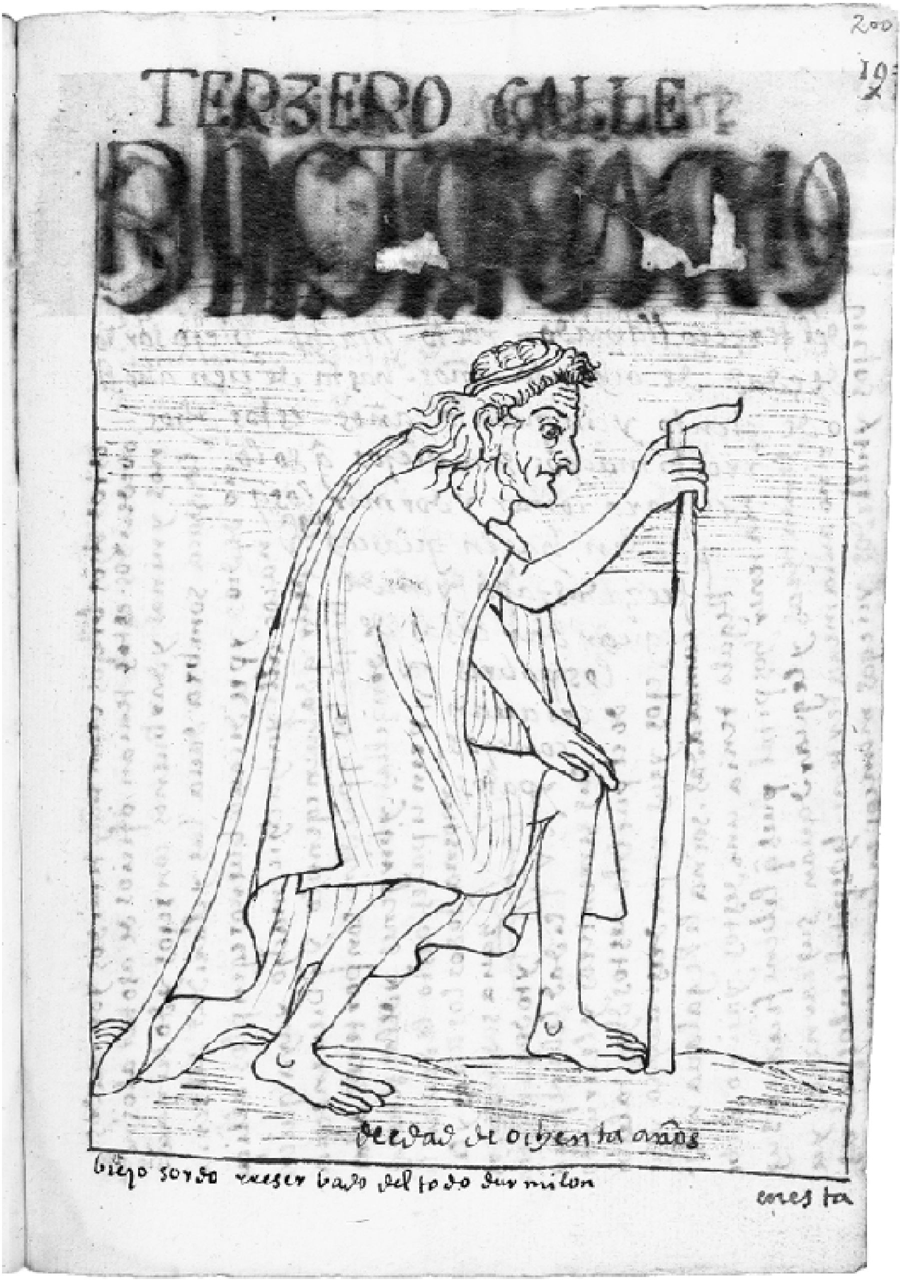
[200 (202)]

Page 200/202, drawing 73. The fourth group, *oncoc runa:* These sick men were not grouped by age. / Those who can are to serve the high officials.188

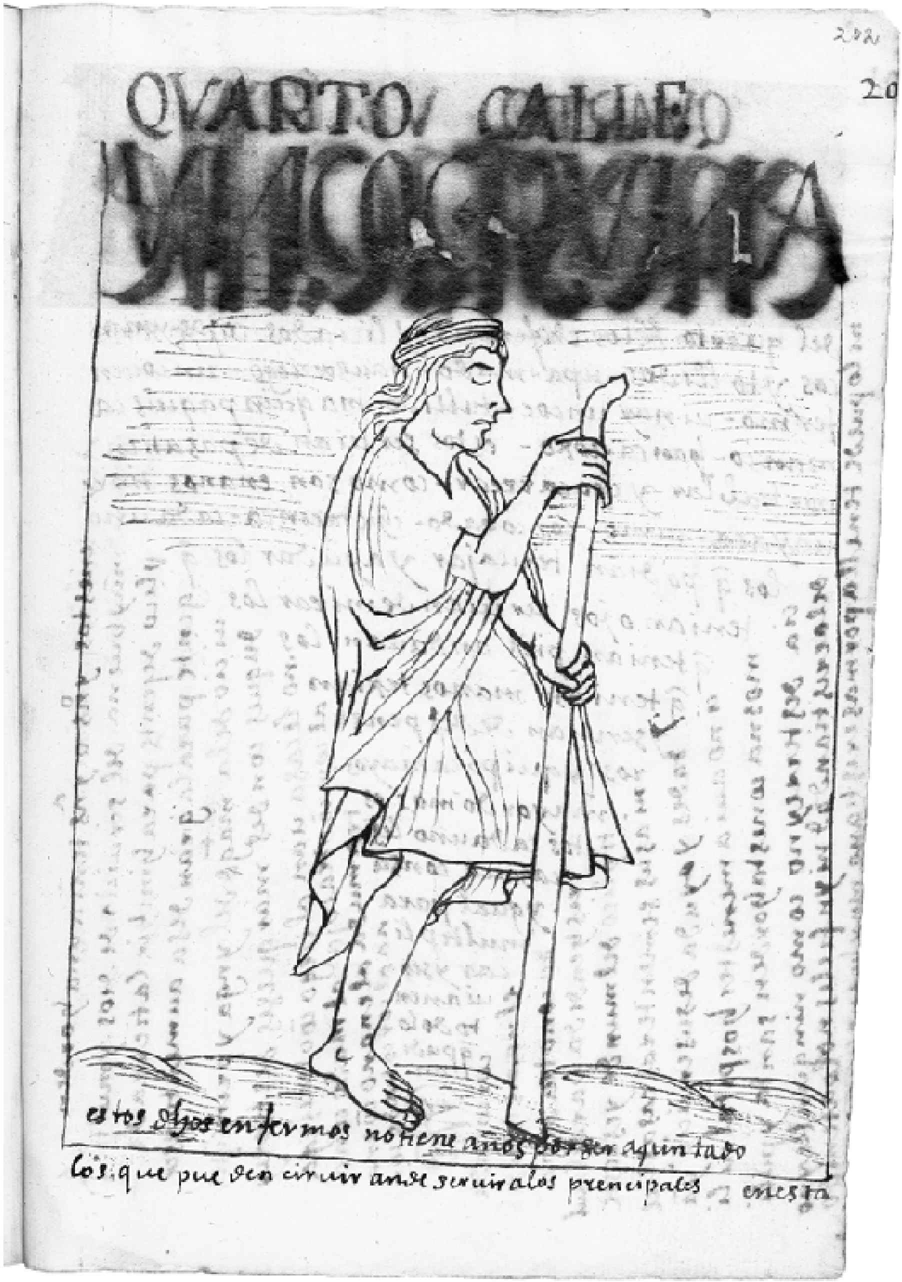
[201 (203)]

The fourth age division

This fourth group includes sick, injured, lame, one-armed, crippled; *opa,* mute; *ñausa,* blind; *oncoc,* sick; *uinay oncoc,* chronically sick; *maquin paquisca,* one-handed; *hanca,* lame. Others were for entertainment with their talk and clowning; they included *tinri uayaca,* dwarf girls; *cumo,* hunchback; *chicta sinca* [split nose]. Each one did what they could; those with eyes would watch; those with feet would walk; those with hands would weave and act as stewards or *quipo camayoc* or foremen. These people were married to their equals in order to multiply and serve in whatever they could. These Indian men and women have a good way of serving God and multiplying the number of people in the land, for the greatness, increase and service of his Majesty the Inca and princes, dukes, counts and marquees of this land.189 The Inca had a blind man marry a blind girl, a cripple marry a crippled girl, a dumb man without speech marry a dumb girl, a dwarf marry a dwarf girl, a hunchback marry a hunchback girl, a split-nose man marry a split-nosed girl, for the increase of the world. These people had farms, fields to sow, houses and helpers. Thus they did not need a hospice, nor alms with the holy arrangements made in this kingdom; no Christian kingdom has ever had such a good system nor can have it, no matter how Christian, much less a pagan kingdom.


200
197
TERZERO CALLE
ROCTO MACHO
de edad de ochenta años
biejo sordo vaeser bavo del todo durmilon
cones ta

198/200. *Drawing 72. The third "street" or age group,* rocto macho*, the deaf old man of eighty years*


202
20
QVARTO CALLE
VNCOC RVNA
estos ojos enfermos no tiene años por ser aguntado
los que pueden seruir an de seruir a los prencipales en esta

200/202. *Drawing 73. The fourth "street" or age group,* oncoc runa*, the sick man, of all ages*

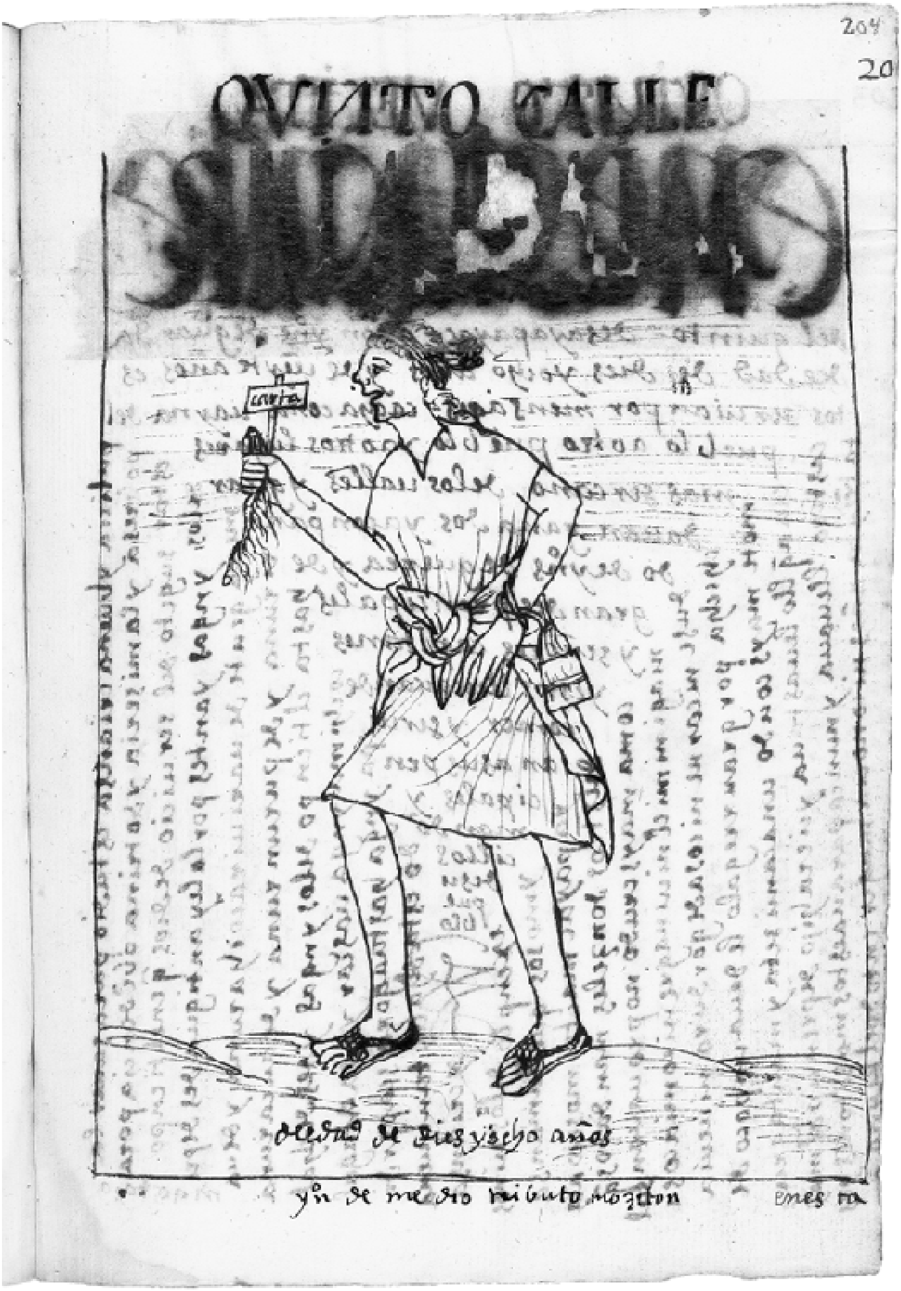
[202 (204)]

Page 202/204, drawing 74. The fifth group, *sayapayac* [helper]: letter / eighteen years old / Indian who pays half tribute / strapping youth

[203 (205)]

The fifth age division

In this fifth group of *sayapayac* are guardian Indians from eighteen to twenty years of age. They served as *cachacona uayna* [errand boys] who go from town to town and other places in nearby valleys. These boys also look after flocks of animals, accompany warriors, grandees and captains. The boys also brought food and served the leaders and chiefs of their town. They were courteous and well behaved. They learned about poverty and misery. They learned to obey and serve God. This was dictated by ancient law from the first people Uari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purun Runa, Auca Runa up to the time of the Incas, from Chalcochima Inca, Huascar Inca and Atahualpa Inca until the present.[190] This law is no longer used, even though it was so good for the education of youth, exemplary boys called *sayapayac macta,* skillful fellows, errand boys who eat raw maize. They never put salt, chile peppers, honey, or sauce[191] on their food, nor did they eat any sweets, meat, nor any kind of fat; neither did they drink *chicha.* As a special treat they were given a little *mote,* cooked maize, a tunic and a heavy robe; that was all they needed. If one of them was the son of a high-ranking official, the boy would be treated with more severity. These fellows continued in this way until they were thirty years old. They did not even lie with any woman in the kingdom.


204
20
QVINTO CALLE
carta
edad de dies y ocho años
y de medio tributo mozetón

202/204. *Drawing 74. The fifth "street" or age group,* sayapayac*, messenger of eighteen years*

[204 (206)]

Page 204/206, drawing 75. The sixth group, *macta* [young boy]: twelve years old / He serves the community and their *sapsi* [property].

[205 (207)]

The sixth age division

In this sixth group there are *mactacuna,* boys who are from twelve to eighteen years old. These boys were sent to watch the herds, and there they used lassos and birdlime snares to catch birds: *uachiua* [goose], *yuto* [species of tinamou], *quiuyo* [small tinamou], *tacami* [black duck], *auas, recrec* [birds]. They made jerky with the meat and saved the feathers for the Inca and *capac apocona* and for the captains.[192] All of these duties were performed out of love of the republic and for the increase of the greatness of his Majesty the Inca king and lord; those *mactacuna* help the communities and their *sapsi,* the property of the Inca and his wife, or *coya,* as well as other high officials of this kingdom, including also the Sun, Moon, stars and *huacas,* idols. The boys helped care for the livestock and fields, served the high-ranking cacique chiefs. The boys were taught humility, obedience and to serve the whole kingdom. If this practice were preserved, God and his Majesty the king would benefit; it would also increase the communities and their *sapsi.* All this is hindered by the parish priests, district officials and Spanish grantees with the style of their service in this kingdom.

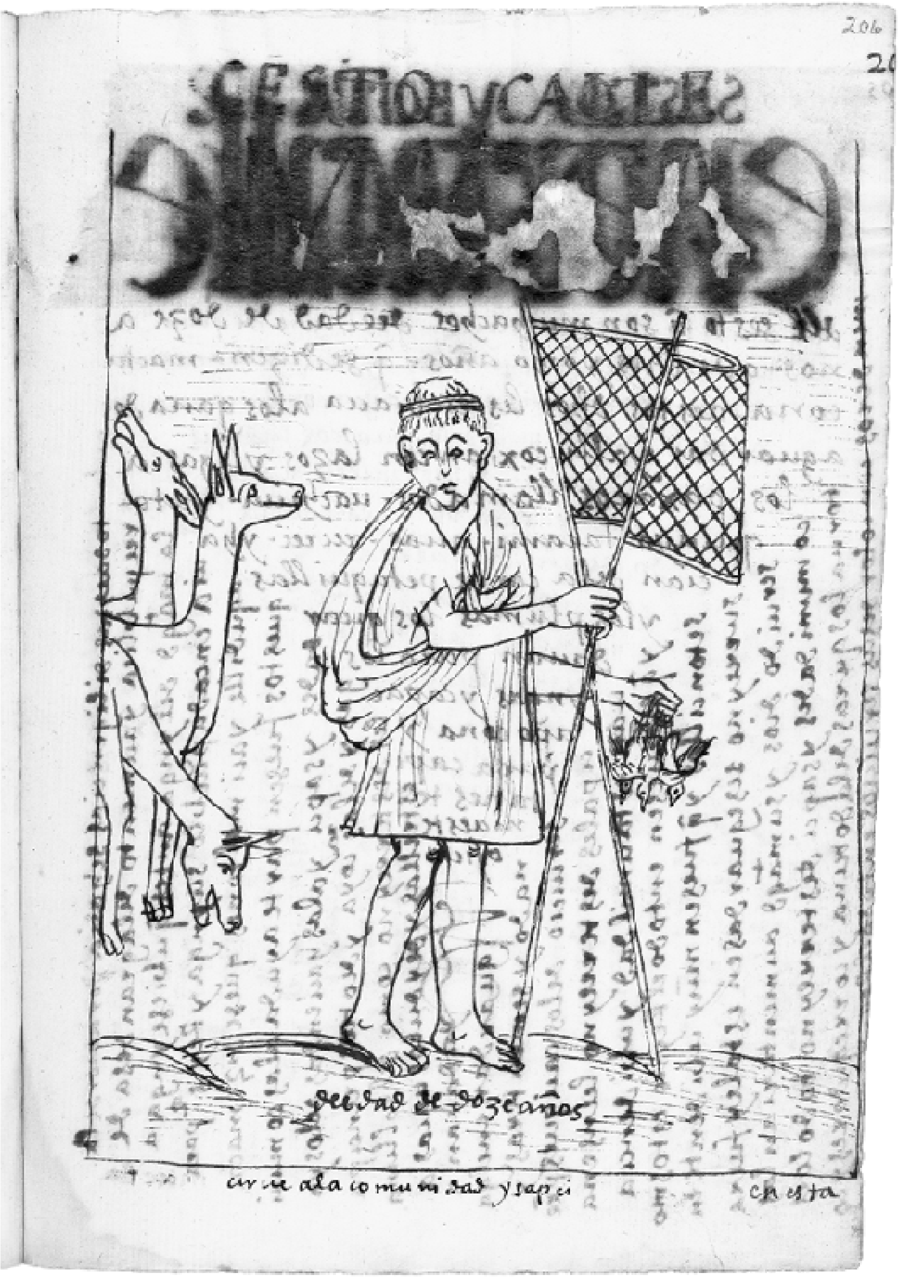
[206 (208)]

Page 206/208, drawing 76. The seventh group, *tocllacoc uamra* [boy hunter]: nine years old / He serves his father and the cacique [chief]. [The boy has a bola, a cord with round stones attached to two ends.]

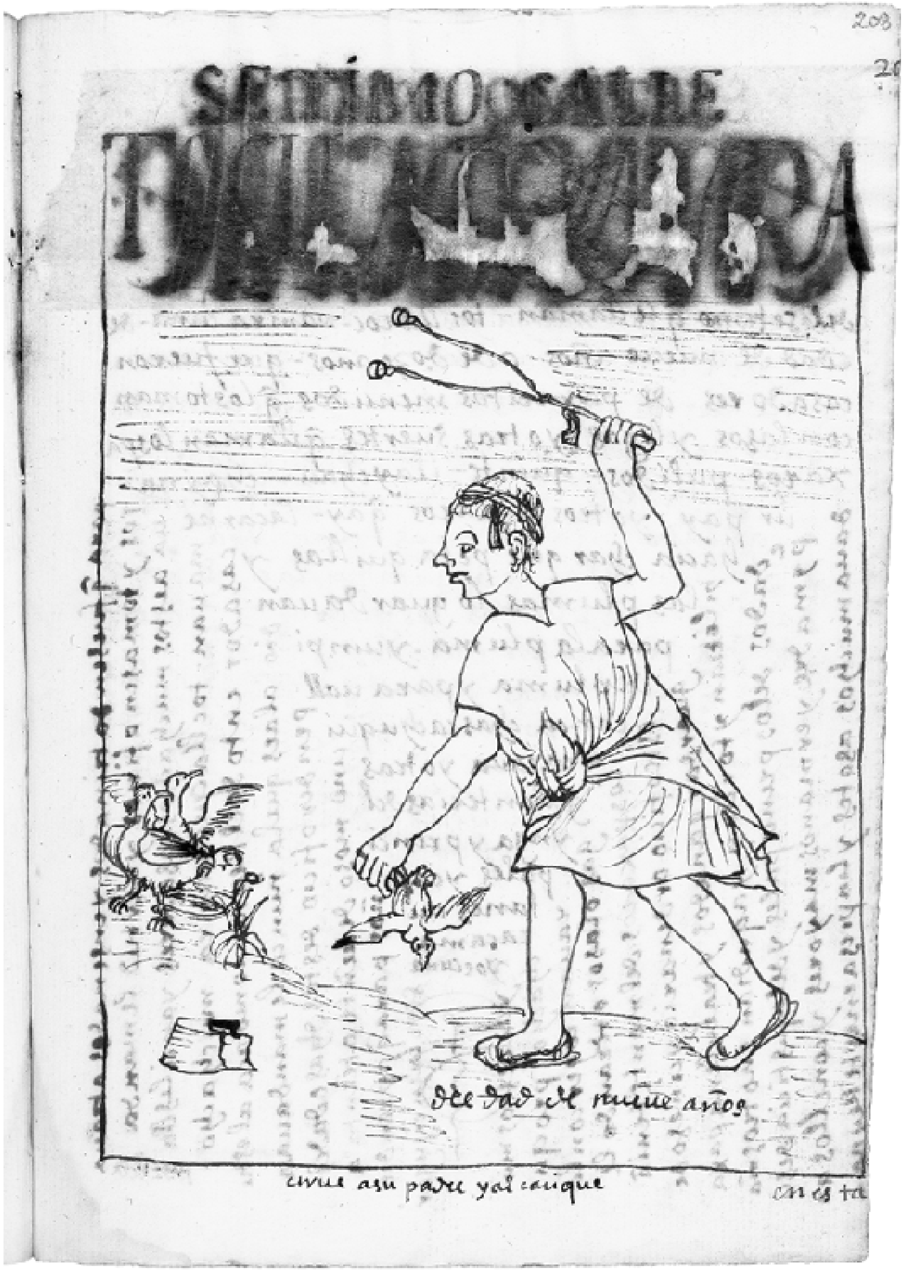
[207 (209)]

The seventh age division

In this group called *tocllacoc uamracuna* of nine to twelve years of age. They hunted small birds with lassos and birdlime snares. They took a variety of attractive birds: *quenti* [hummingbird], *uaychau* [black bird], *chayna* [finch], *urpay* [dove] and other birds. They make *charqui* [jerky] strips with the meat. They keep the feathers to decorate *cumbi, uallcanca, chasca chuqui,* and other weapons[193] of the Inca, superiors, captains and *auca camayoccona.* These boys were educated, taught to work, learn a trade and be virtuous. They were called *tocllacoc uamra,* hunter boys, in this kingdom. Here they were never sent to learn an occupation at school at this age, but rather when they were young men, twenty or thirty years old, so that they would learn well without playing. Thus these boys took care to use birdlime snares and lassos to take the wild birds. They usually went hunting, but also watched herds, brought firewood, straw, made and twisted yarn, and did other tasks for high-ranking officials. These boys obeyed their father, mother and older brothers, who gave them whippings and maintained honesty in this kingdom.194


206
de edad de doze años
cirue ala comunidad y sapci
chesta

204/206. *Drawing 75. The sixth "street" or age group,* mactacuna, *youth of twelve years*


203
SETIMO CALLE
de edad de nueue años
sirue a su padre y al caçique

206/208. *Drawing 76. The seventh "street" or age group,* tocllacoc uamra*, boy hunter of nine years*

[208 (210)]

Page 208/210, drawing 77. The eighth group, *pucllacoc* [playful]: five years old / child of school age [The child is whipping a top.]

[209 (211)]

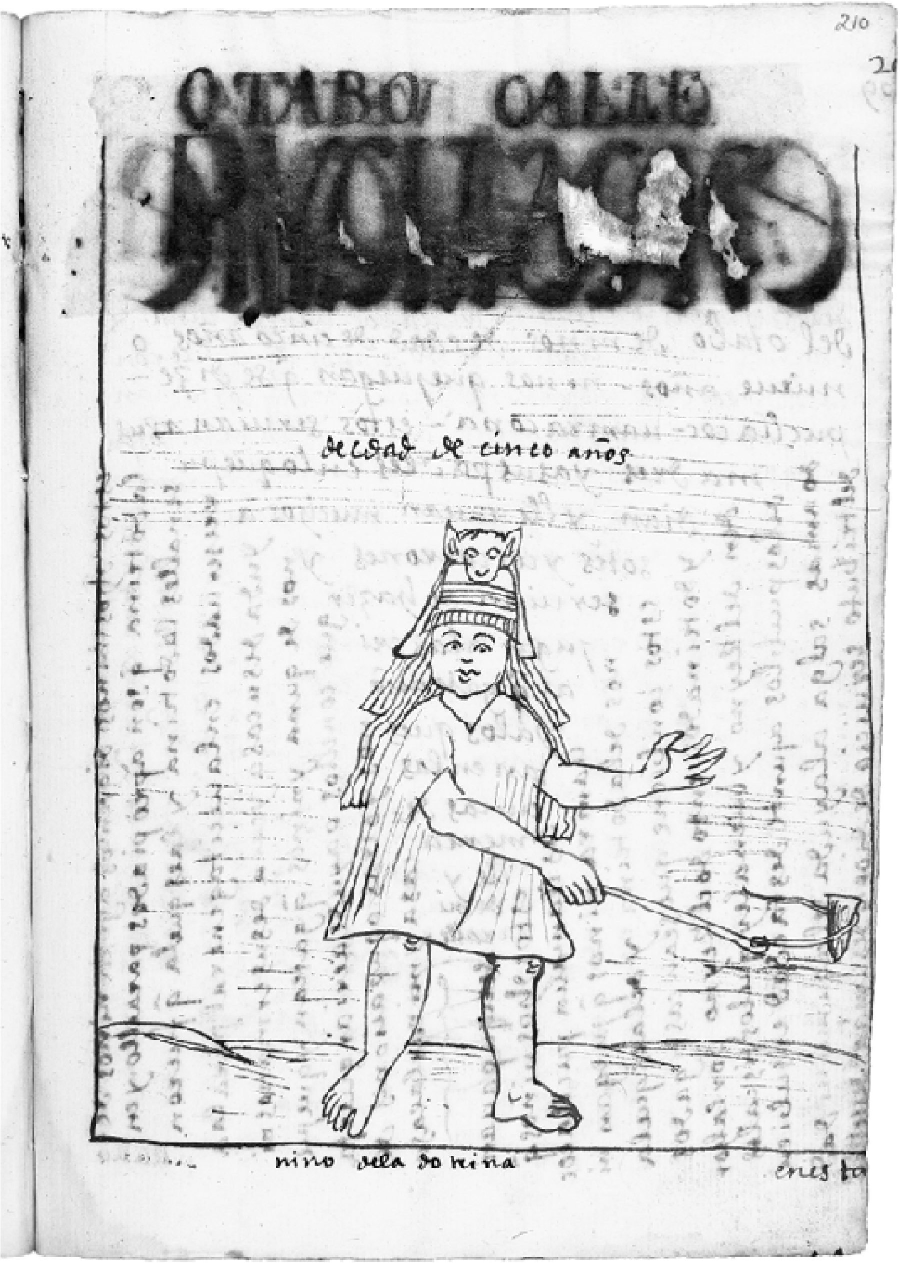
The eighth age division

In this group were children from five to nine years of age who play and are called *pucllacoc uamracona* [playful boys].

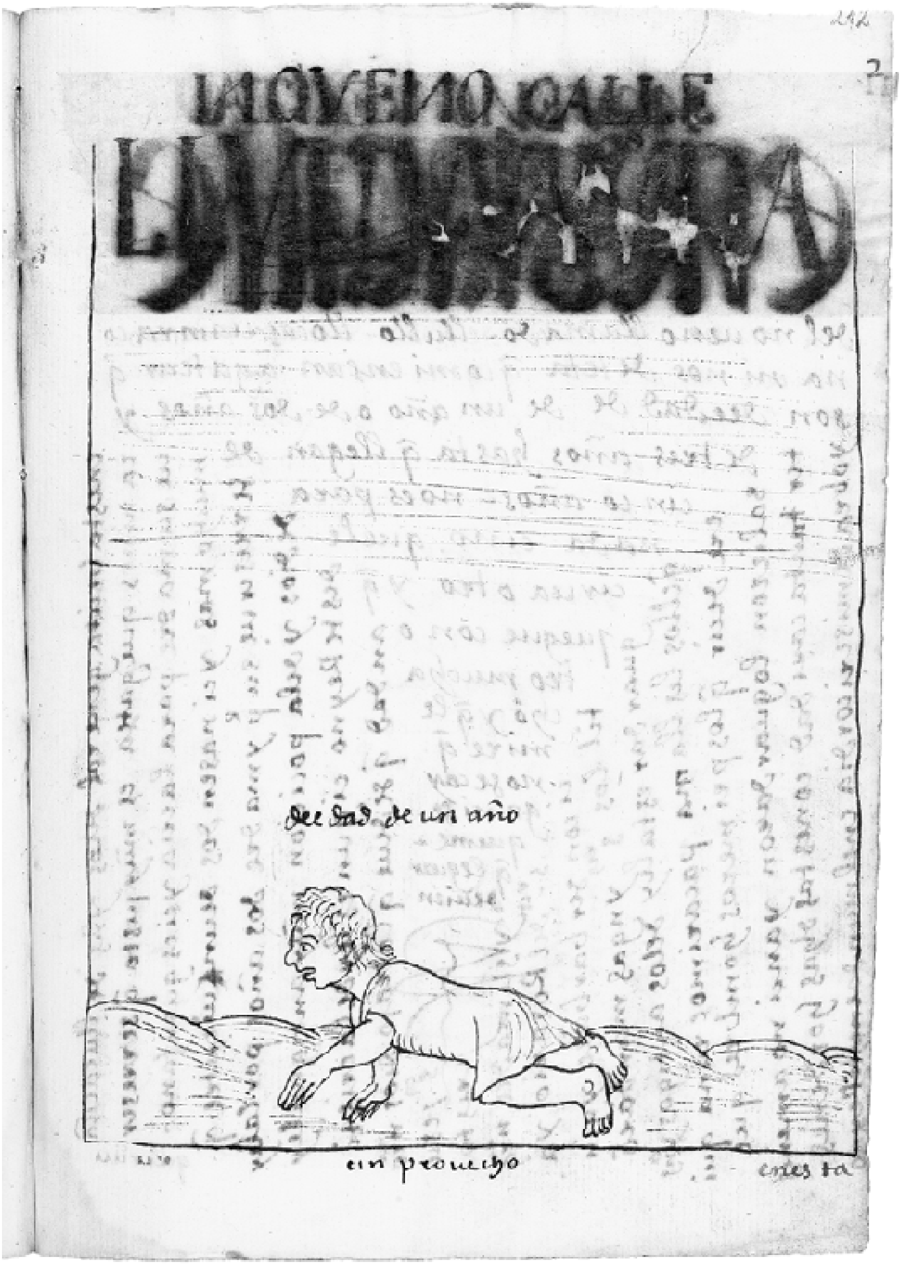
They served their mothers and fathers as much as they could. They were given many spankings. They played with the ones that were still crawling and also rocked the cradles and watched the babies. Today we call them school-age boys; they are old enough to learn the catechism and go to school. They belong to the group that helps around the house, looking after their brothers and sisters, babies still in a cradle or crawling. These children play with the little ones, help look after orphans, do other tasks in the house and watch the house. These are the activities of these children called *pucllacoc uamracona,* boys who play, school-age children. These boys should be punished and instructed in the whole kingdom to maintain order and respect for the law. Let the town officials keep track of boys of this age; as they grow older, they will help the community with the tribute, service of God and his Majesty in this kingdom.

[210 (212)]

Page 210/212, drawing 78. The ninth group, *llullu uamra* [baby]: one year of age / unable to work


210
OTABO CALLE
PVCLLACOC
de edad de cinco años
niño de la doctrina
en es ta

208/210. *Drawing 77. The eighth "street" or age group,* pucllacoc uamracona*, playful little boy of five years*


dee dad de un año
sin prouecho
cries ta

210/212. *Drawing 78. The ninth "street" or age group,* llullu uamra*, tender child of one year*

[211 (213)]

The ninth age division

This group called *llullu llucac uamracona,* babies who suckle and begin to crawl; they are from one to five years of age. These babies do no jobs, but rather, other boys care for them, play with them and make sure the baby does not fall or get burnt. In this group of Indians called *llucac uamra,* baby that crawls, it is correct for the mother to be allowed time to raise him; more so if the baby is an orphan. If a mother gives birth to twins, the mother and the father should be given time to raise them both until the babies are two years old. This is the law of God, a very ancient law of this kingdom. It is also the law of Christianity which was brought by our lord Jesus Christ and his mother, our Lady of the Rosario. Though they were barbarians the Inca lords ordered that this law be obeyed; it came from the ancient Indians called Pacarimoc Runa, which means the first men to appear. Thus very much charity is not needed with these works of compassion in this kingdom.

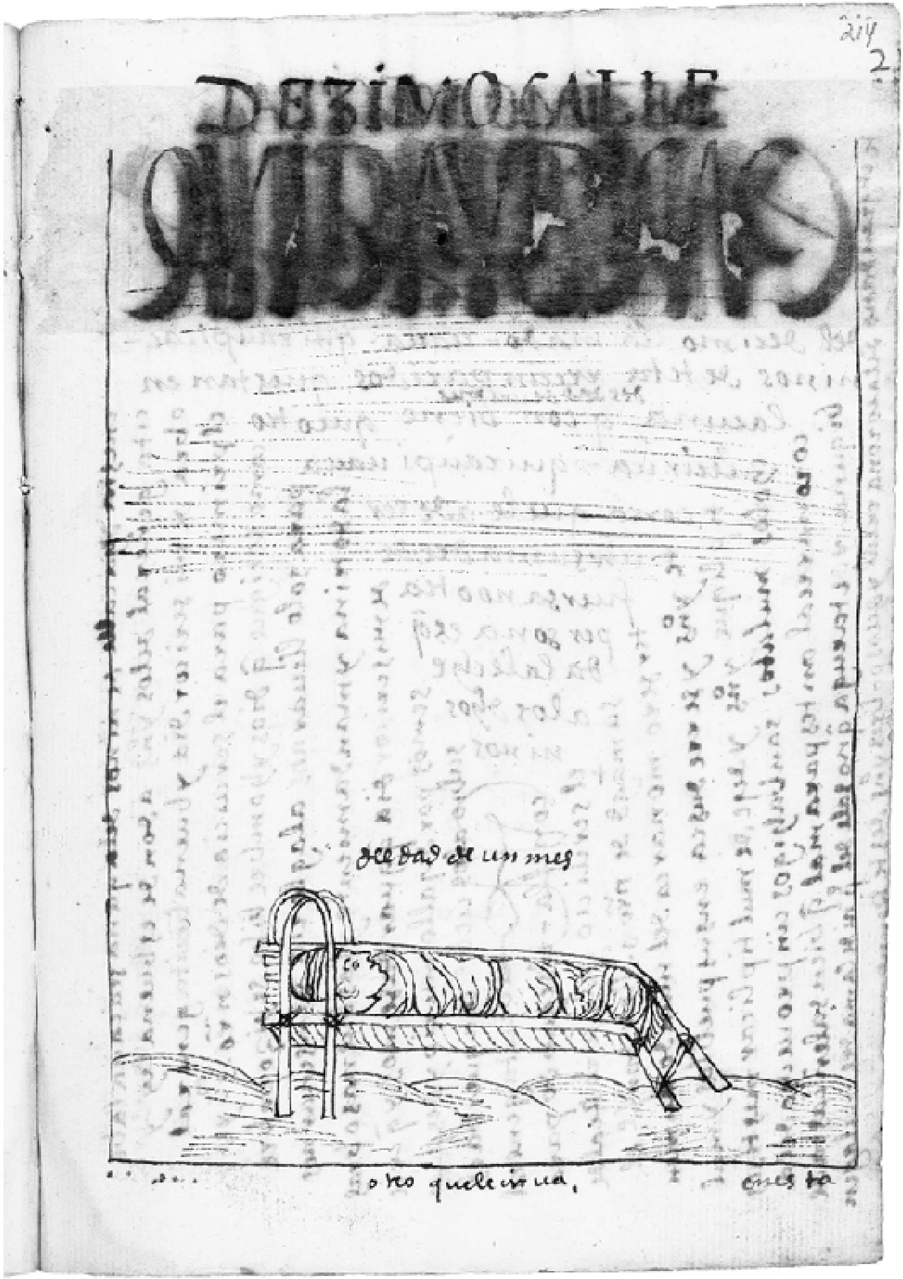
[212 (214)]

Page 212/214, drawing 79. The tenth group, *quiraupicac* [cradle baby]: one month old / needs care

[213 (215)]

The tenth age division

This group called *uaua quiraupicac,* suckling babies, recently born, that are in the cradle at one month of age. These *quiraupi uauacona* need someone to care for them; this must be the mother, not any other person, because the mother gives these babies their milk. This group of cradle babies is the last division of Indian men. These divisions are good law and works of compassion. In the first place, for the service of our lord God, the following is true: God became a poor man only in order to bring glory to us and teach doctrine, commandments and good works of compassion that we obey and believe. For us he died and afterwards went up to heaven. This age division agrees with Christian doctrine. In the second place, for the service of the royal crown of your Majesty, our lord King Philip III, monarch of the world, the Indians will increase and move to larger villages.[195] There must be a stop in the increase of mestizos, cholos, mulattos, *zambos*[196] who do no good for the royal crown; more bad than good comes from the race of vicuña and *taruca.* Those who are not from father and mother of the same race do great harm to the royal crown and to the poor Indians of this kingdom.


214
2
DEZIMO CALLE
de edad de un mes

212/214. *Drawing 79. The tenth "street" or age group,* uaua quiraupicac*, one-month-old babe in cradle*

[214 (216)]

The first inspection of the ten groups of women

The inspection lasted three days of these said groups of women.[197] Such inspections were done every six months, going from group to group according to the age of the women. This job was done by each district official, *tocricoc michoc* Inca. Every six months inspections were made to avoid forgetting the results done for his Majesty the Inca and his *capac apocona, curacacona, camachicoc.* "*Camachinchic tauantinsuyo runanchicta—chinchaysuyo antisuyo collasuyo condesuyo cay camachicoy ninchicta uacaychanca zapa ayllunpi uchuc churinpi quiponca runa quipota*" [We order the people of Tahuantinsuyo and quarters to obey our ordinances. In every extended family the people will keep an account of their children with *quipo* strings.]

[215 (217)]

Page 215/217, drawing 80. The first group, *auacoc huarmi* [weaver woman]: thirty-three years of age / woman tribute payer

[216 (218)]

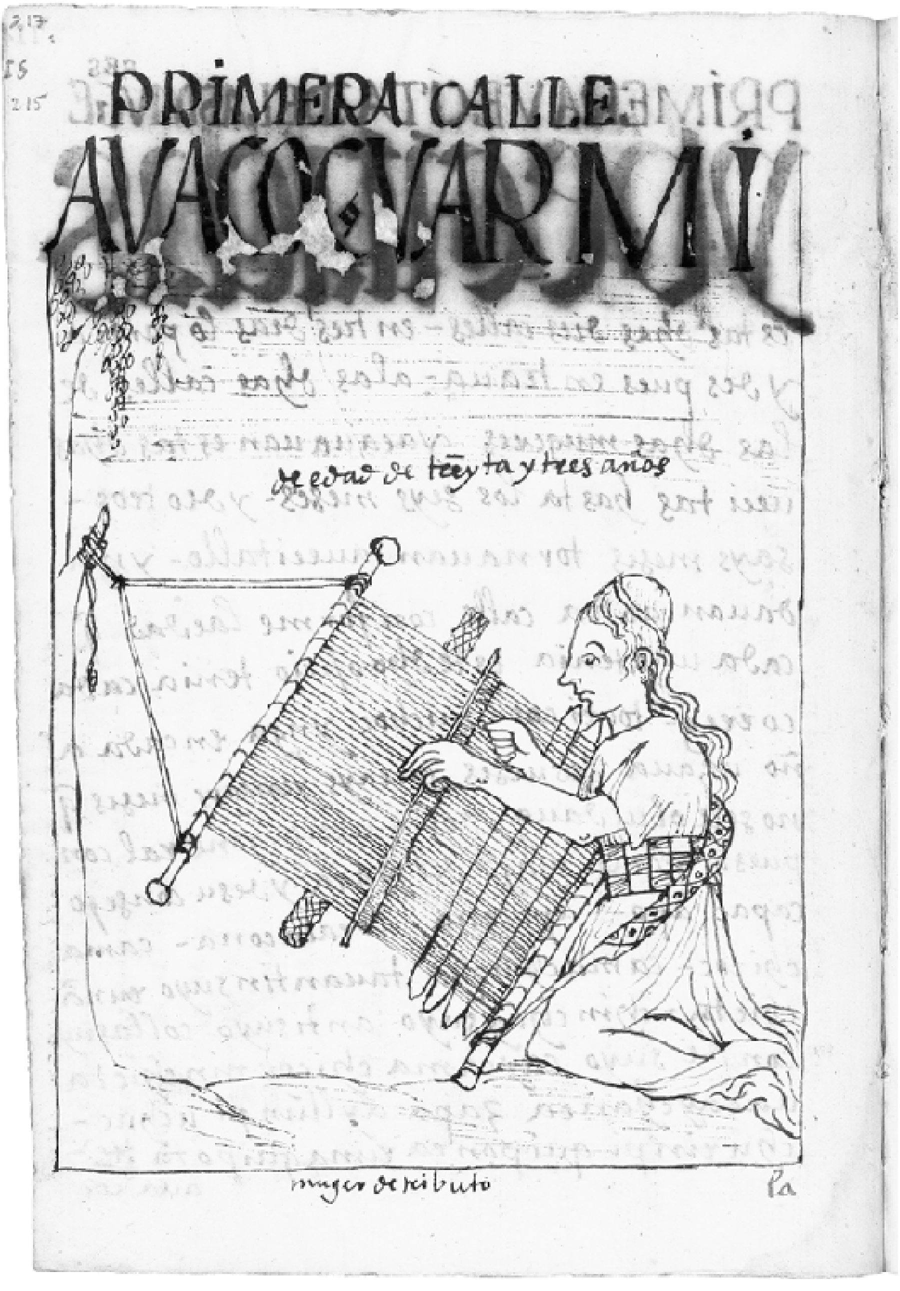
The first age division

This group is of married and widowed Indian women who are called *auca camayocpa huarmi* [wives of warriors]. They have the job of weaving garments of *cumbe, auasca* for the Inca and the rest of the *capac apocona,* captains and soldiers. These women were thirty-three years old when they married. They were virgins or maidens until marriage. These women married men of the same age. Until marriage they were called *uamra tasque* [young unmarried women] *purun* h*uarmi* [virgins]. . . .198

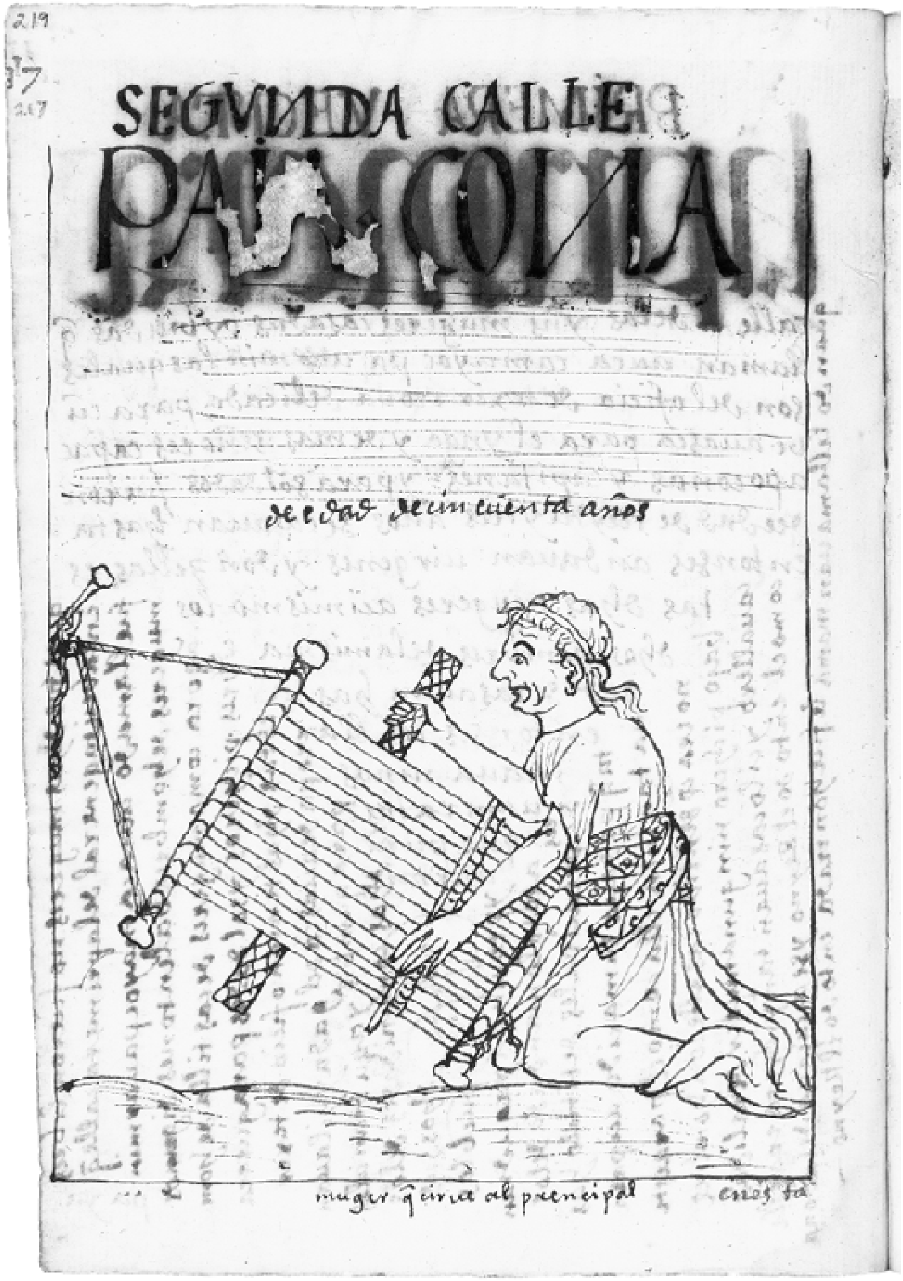
These women were weavers of *auasca* and *cumbe.* They came to communities, towns and provinces to do all that the high lords ordered. The woman had the same social status as her husband. For that reason a woman of high birth was not permitted to marry a commoner. If she did marry one, she would be as much a commoner as the man. When a woman was called *mama,* she was honored. This was true throughout the whole kingdom.

[217 (219)]

Page 217/219, drawing 81. The second group, *payacona* [old women]: fifty years of age / woman who serves a high-born lady


217
215
PRIMERA CALLE
AVACOC VARMI
de edad de treynta y tres años
muger de tributo
Pa

215/217. *Drawing 80. The first “street” or age group of women,* auacoc huarmi*, weaver of thirty-three years*


219
217
SEGVNDA CALLE
PAIACONA
de edad de cincuenta años
muger q̃ cirua al prencipal
cncs ta

217/219. *Drawing 81. The second "street" or age group,* payacona*, old woman of fifty years*

[218 (220)]

The second age division

In this group there were women called *payacona,* old women fifty years of age who did weaving of ordinary garments for the community. These plebeian women serve noble ladies. The plebeian women were porters, stewards, housekeepers and cooks. They serve the *acllacona* [chosen, cloistered women] and must do all they are ordered. They are called *mama* and must keep track of everything on their *quipo.* These women of the second group were called *paya,* which means old woman, one who is not virgin or a widow. If she is a young widow or deflowered, she is called *paya, yquima, or uacllisca,* which means an old woman, a widow, or a loose woman. They paid no attention to these. They were included in the group of widows, but there has never been a case of a loose woman marrying, nor an adulteress. The maiden and the young man who violates her chastity were killed by being hung alive from a boulder; this was also the punishment for adulterers and adulteresses.[199] This is a serious crime. This sin was brought by the Spaniards.

Thus these women served by weaving sacks and other things for the high officials. These women also helped the communities and had other obligations in their town, which they never left. They were respected as honorable old women. They were in charge of the maidens, and the old women did other work by *mita* [turns], according to what they were ordered to do as commoners in this kingdom.

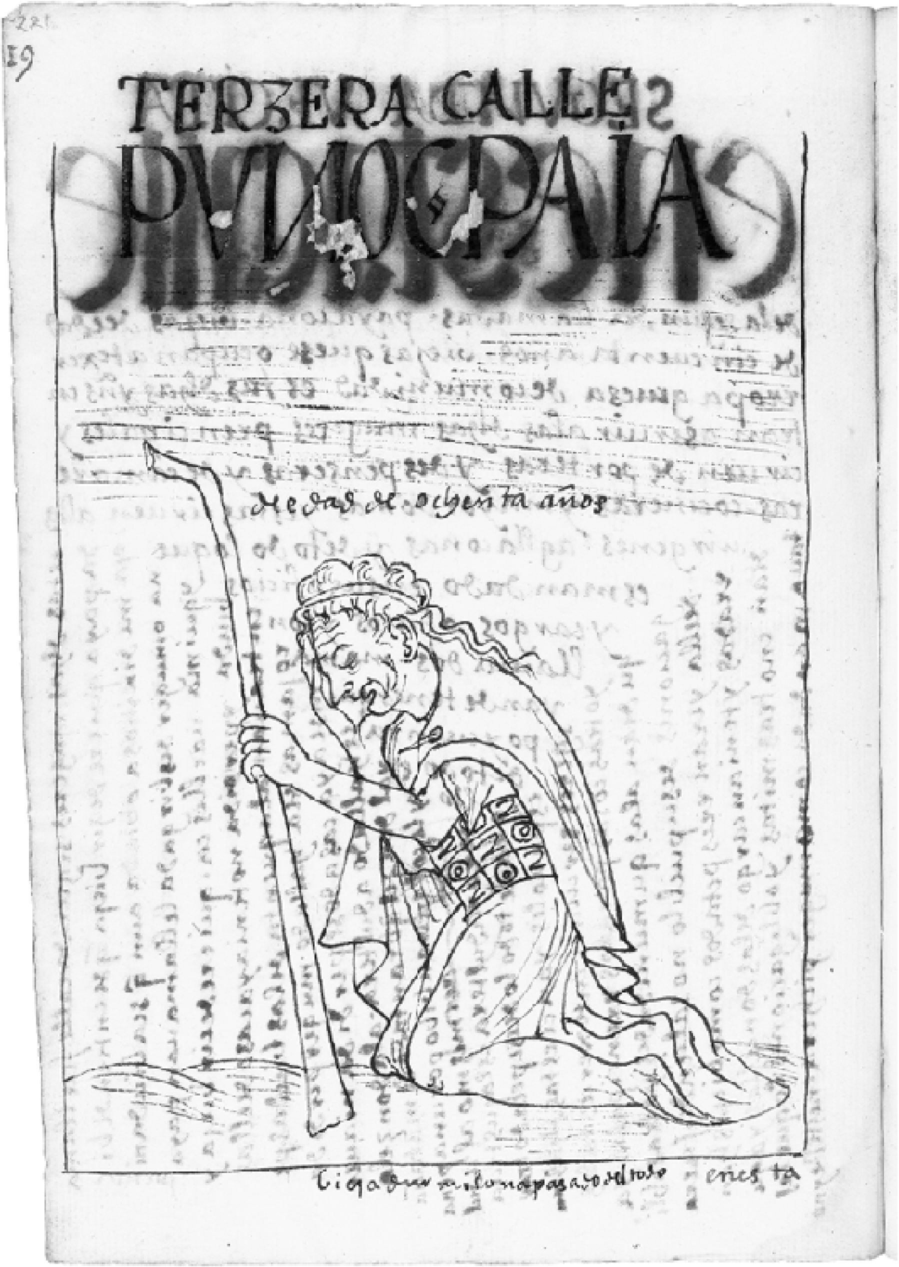
[219 (221)]

Page 219/221, drawing 82. The third group, *puñoc paya* [sleepy old women]: eighty years of age / sleepy old woman who does no work

[220 (222)]

The third age division

This group called *puñoc paya* is of old women, eighty years old, who do nothing but eat and sleep. Those who are capable serve as porters and companions. Others weave sacks, spin coarse yarn, care for cavies, ducks or dogs and look after houses and help raise children. These old women were called *puñoc paya.* Noble ladies had two or three in their service, and the highest-ranking ladies had from ten to twenty of them to run their household, watch over maidens; the liveliest acted as stewards, chambermaids, and porters and disciplined the little girls of the house. In addition these old women had their fields with *minca* [labor] to care for the fields. Thus the old women had no need for charity. In fact they fed and cared for orphan children.


219
TERZERA CALLE
PVÑOC PAIA
de edad de ochenta años

219/221. *Drawing 82. The third "street" or age group,* puñoc paya*, sleepy old woman of eighty years*

Under Christian doctrine, there is no one who would do the same for young boys and girls, and old women who can still work will not even bend over to do anything so they become poor. While poor they dream of being nobles. Not being such, from being commoners they make themselves out as grand ladies, and thus it turns the world upside-down.

As stated before, there used to be much charity for the sick old ladies in this kingdom.

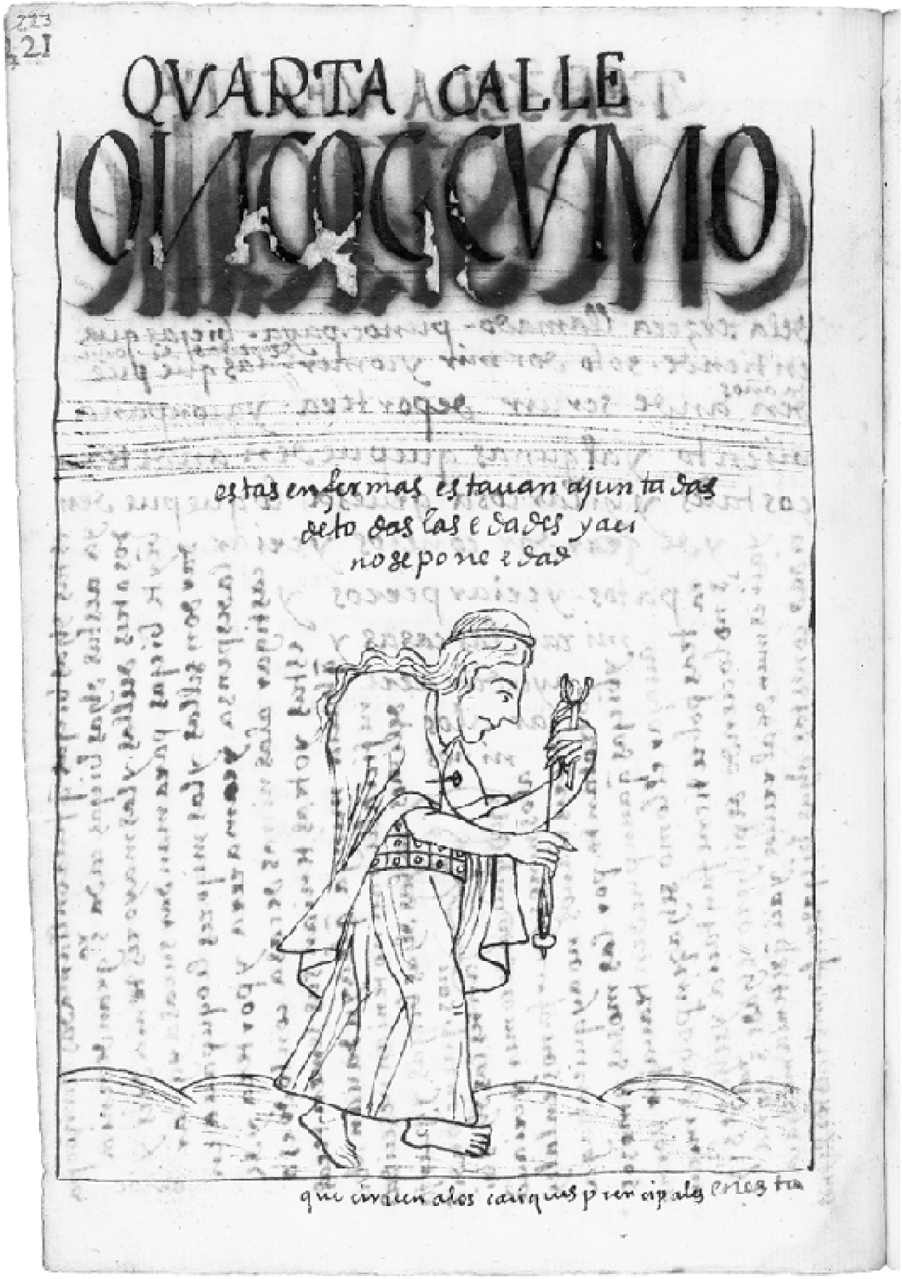
[221 (223)]

Page 221/223, drawing 83. The fourth group, *oncoc cumo* [sick hunchback]: These sick women together were of all ages, so no age is given. / They serve the major caciques.

[222 (224)]

The fourth age division

In this group there are those called *ñausacona,* blind; *hanca,* lame; *opa,* mute; *uiñay oncoc,* chronically sick; *tinri uayaca,* dwarf girl, like a hunchback; *chicta cinca cacya chicta,* split nose. The Inca had the people of this group marry others like them. The ones that were able to work would spin yarn and weave. These Indian women knew a thousand ways to weave. They made *chumpi* [sashes] and *uincha* [women's headbands]. The Inca give them away as mistresses so that they would have babies and multiply in order to avoid the land becoming uninhabited. These women are usually excellent weavers of cloth for garments, good cooks, makers of *chicha,* and clowns who entertain the Inca and the high lords. In this group there were women, invalids, lame, blind, widows, hunchbacks and dwarfs. These women had fields, houses, pastures from which they supported themselves and ate. Thus they had no need for charity. The ones that were able worked; the ones that could have a husband and give birth, multiplied. These invalids were much loved and held in high esteem. They did not need charity. The best of them worked. Like Spanish women who have strength, because they do not work, they become poor and ask for alms like blind or old of eighty years and poor orphans.[200] They must be given alms and charity for the sake of God.


223
221
QVARTA CALLE
ONCOCCVMO
estas enfermas estauan ajuntadas
de todas las edades y aci
no se pone edad
que siruen a los caciques principales e tra

221/223. *Drawing 83. The fourth "street" or age group,* oncoc cumo*, sickly hunchbacks of all ages*

[223 (225)]

Page 223/225, drawing 84. The fifth group, *sipsacona* [young women]: thirty-three years of age / maidens of marriageable age who come to the community and *sapsi*[201]

[224 (226)]

The fifth age division

In this group there are girls of marriageable age called *allin zumac sipsacona* [good, pretty young women]. These maidens were virgins, *purun tasque.* They were thirty-three years old. From this group they picked the perpetual virgins of the sun, temples, moon, stars, and for the Inca and the *huaca vilcacona* [local deities] and the *capac apocona, curacacona, allicacona, camachicona* and for brave Indians, *auca camayoccona* [warriors], *pircac* [masons], *luccric chicoc* [stonecutters]. These girls were distributed without offending the Inca or anyone else. No one took any woman he pleased, not even the Inca. The punishment imposed in those times was certain death. This New World showed its greatness in having these thirty-three-year-old maidens. Some of them died virgins. They remained in their homes and fields without being touched by anyone, not even a fly. What a fine law! Not only was it the law of the land, but also God's law. But Christian law does not allow them to go out on the streets and remain virgins. No emperors nor kings of this world had such laws. These girls served all that was ordered by Inca and his justice. The Christians brought all the bad adultery and other sins. In the name of Christian doctrine they deflower all the maidens who give birth to half-breeds in this kingdom.

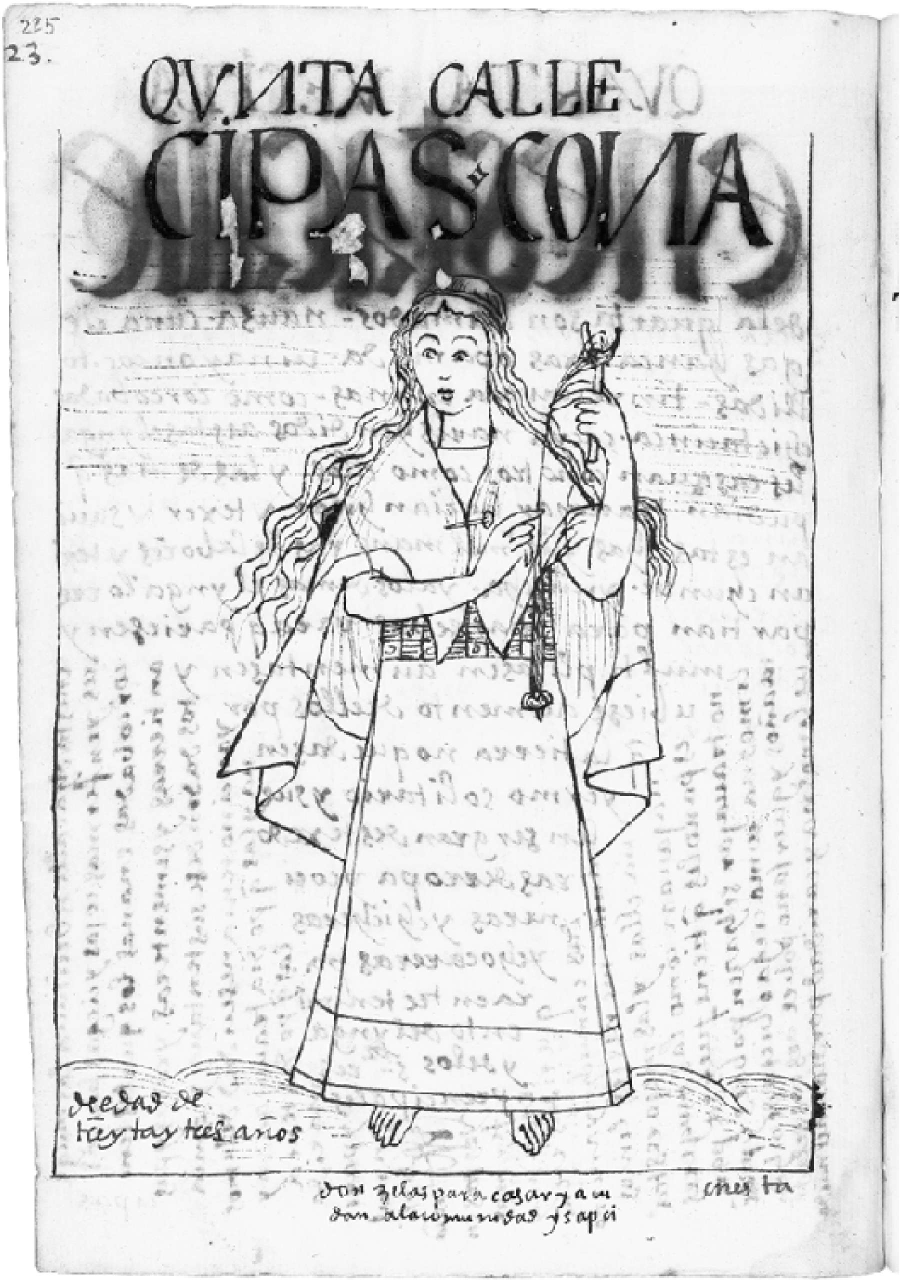
[225 (227)]

Page 225/227, drawing 85. The sixth group, *coro tasque* [short-haired girls]: twelve years old / They serve their father and the community.

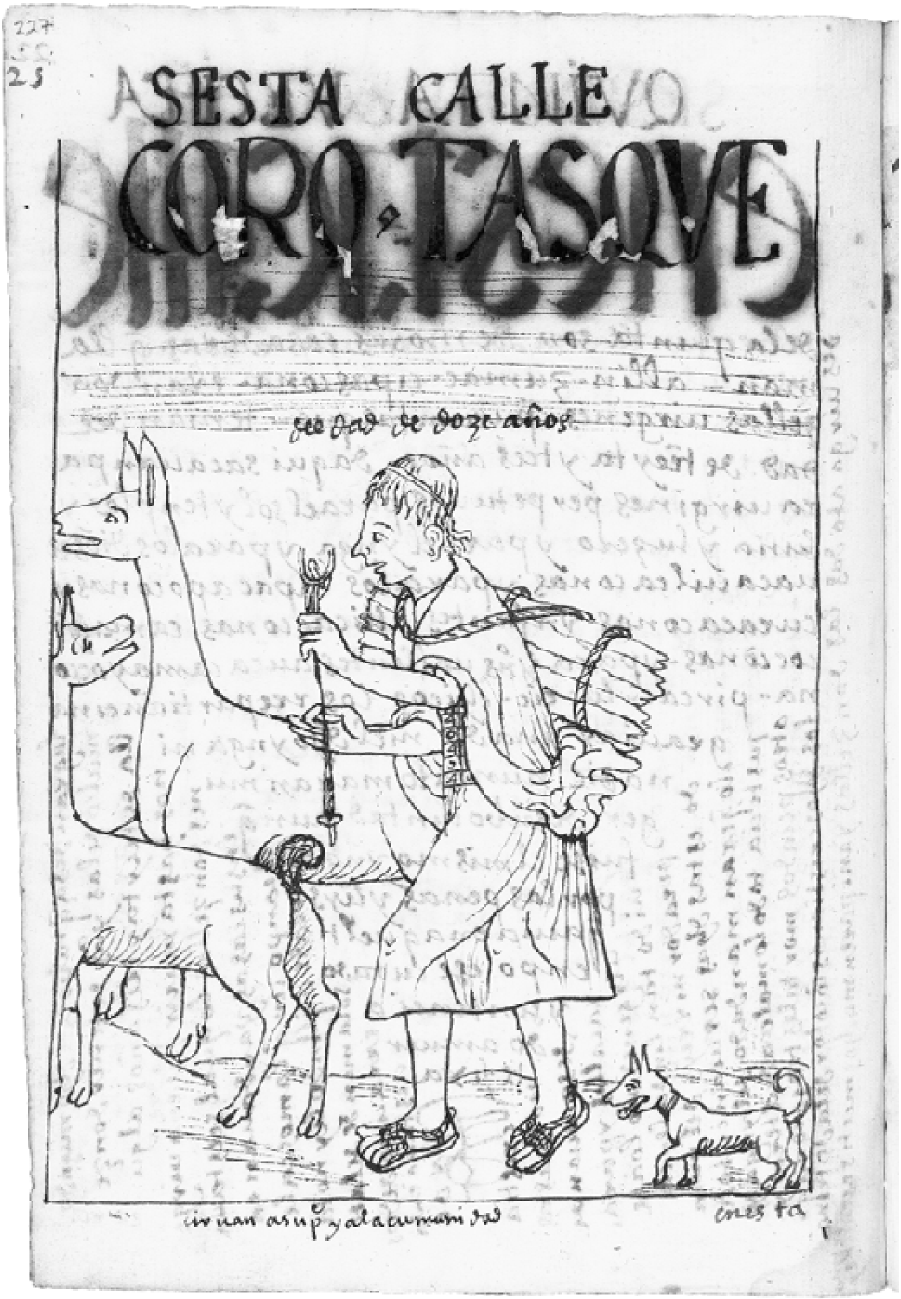
[226 (228)]

The sixth age division

This is the group called *coro tasque, rotusca tasque,* which means short-haired little girls. They were from twelve to eighteen years of age. They served their parents, grandmothers, as well as the noble ladies in order to learn to spin yarn and weave fine cloth. These girls were also herders of livestock, worked in the *chacras* and made *chicha* for their parents. They did other jobs: bringing firewood and straw, cooking for their father and house cleaning. These were called *coro tasque,* which means short haired. They were untidy, went barefooted and had short garments. They greatly served their parents and other important women of the community who taught them to cook, spin and weave. They were very obedient and respectful. Their hair was cut short until they were thirty years old. Then they married and no dowry was given to the girl or her husband. Until the Inca or his viceroy ordered them to marry, both boys and girls remained chaste. The death penalty was imposed on those who did not.[202] Thus were the laws and ordinances of this kingdom, and this is the way children were raised, punished and taught. These practices had to be obeyed in this kingdom.


225
23.
QVINTA CALLE
CIPASCONA
de edad de
treynta y tres años
donzellas para casar y a un
dar alacomuneros ysapi
chesta

223/225. *Drawing 84. The fifth "street" or age group,* sipsacona, *virgin of thirty-three years*


SESTA CALLE
CORO TASQVE
de edad de doze años
sirvan asu pe y ala cumunidad
cuesta

225/227. *Drawing 85. The sixth "street" or age group,* coro tasque*, short-haired girl of twelve years*

[227 (229)]

Page 227/229, drawing 86. The seventh group, *pauau pallac* [girls who pick flowers]: nine years of age / For the community, and they serve the noble ladies.

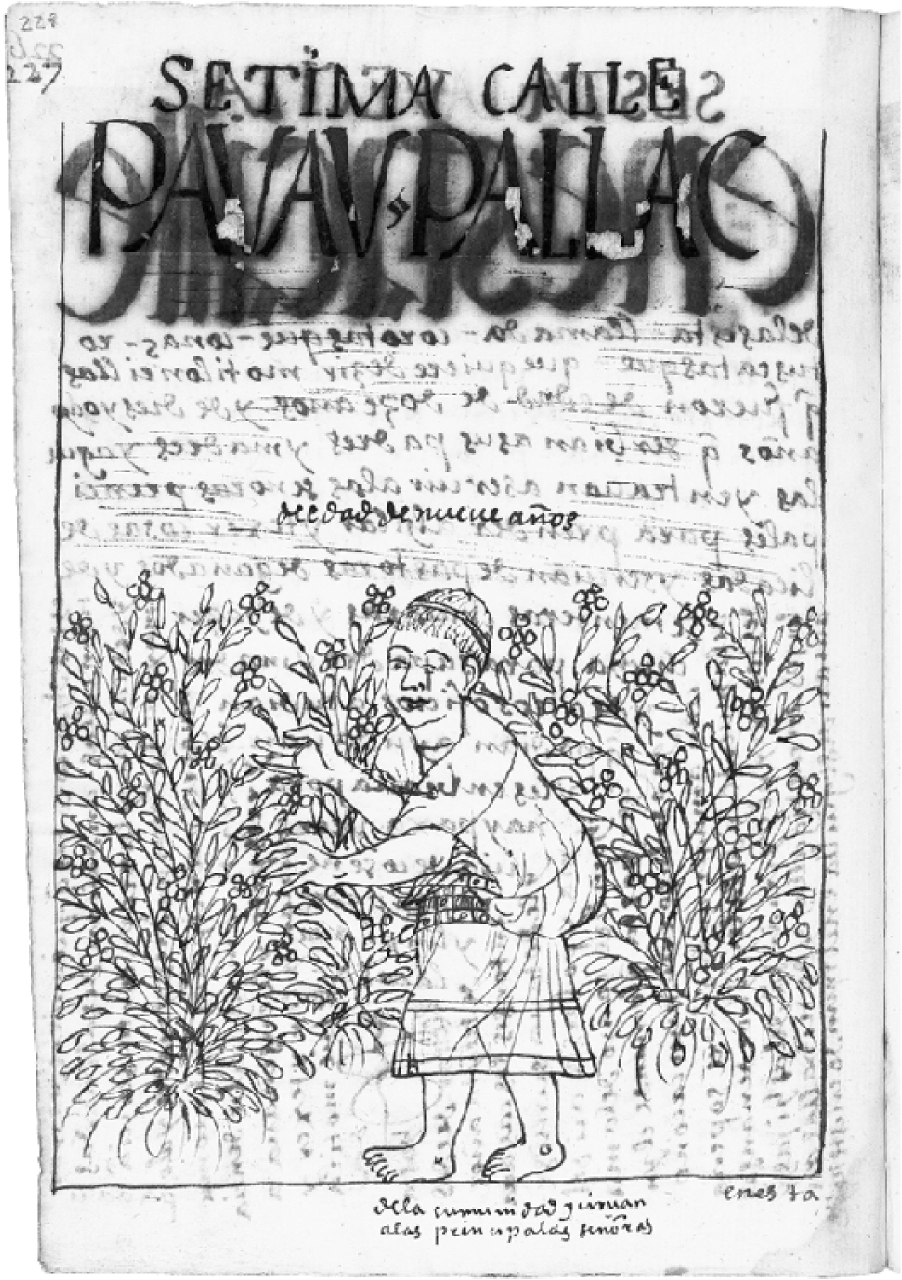
[228 (230)]

The seventh age division

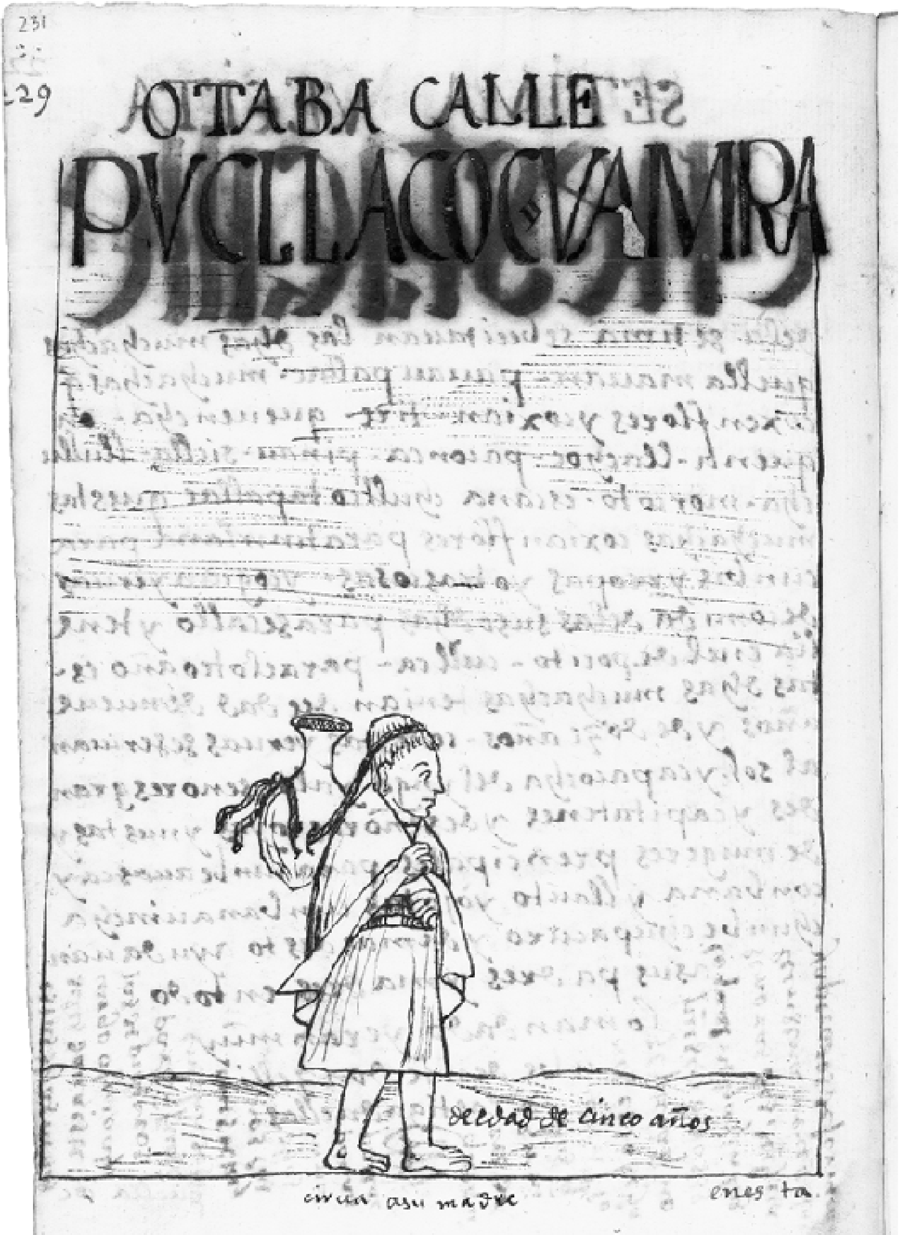
In this group there were the girls called *pauau pallac,* girls who pick flowers and many other herbs.[203] These girls pick flowers used to dye wool, *cumbi,* garments and other things. They also gather edible herbs to be dried, kept in *collca* [storehouses] for the following year. These girls were between nine and twelve years old. These herbs were offered to the sun and *capacocha* [royal sacrifice] of the Inca and to the important lords, captains, noble ladies, *coyas* and *ñustas. Cumbi, auasca, cumpana* [cloth], *llauto* [headband for men], *ojota* [sandals], *uincha* [headband for women], *chumpi* [sash for women], *chupa curo* [a strip of fabric]. Besides this they helped their parents in whatever they were ordered. These little girls were very obedient. They were daughters of commoners. These *pauau pallac,* which means girls who pick flowers, do these things so as not to be lazy. On the other hand the [Spanish] ladies, from an early age, were taught to expect an easy life and learned about the sin of fornication.

[229 (231)]

Page 229/231, drawing 87. The eighth group, *pucllacoc uamra* [playful child]: five years of age / She serves her mother.


227
SETIMA CALLE
PAVAV PALLAC
de edad de nueue años
de la cumunidad y sirven
alas prinçipalas señoras
enesta

227/229. *Drawing 86. The seventh "street" or age group,* pauau pallac*, girl of nine years who gathers flowers*


231
229
OTTABA CALLE
PVCLLACOC VAMRA
de edad de cinco años
sirue a su madre
en esta

229/231. *Drawing 87. The eighth "street" or age group,* pucllacoc uamra*, playful little girl of five years*

[230 (232)]

The eighth age division

In this group there were girls from five to nine years old. These girls are called *pucllacoc* h*uarmi uamra,* which means little girls who like to play. These little maidens assisted the *coya, ñusta,* noble ladies or *mamacona.* These girls also served their parents by gathering firewood and straw. They also started to work, spinning delicate thread as well as they could, bringing *yuyo* [edible herbs] from the fields, helping to make *chicha,* caring for and carrying the very young. These girls should be taught cleanliness, to bring water, wash, cook, which is a woman's job. They learned from their parents. . . .204

Now parish priests, Spanish officials and grantees take their pleasure deflowering these poor girls. Thus many mestizos are born, even though the ordinances of good government and of the Santo Concilio205 prohibit gathering young girls and maidens in order to deflower them on the pretext that it was acceptable under church doctrine. . . .206

[231 (233)]

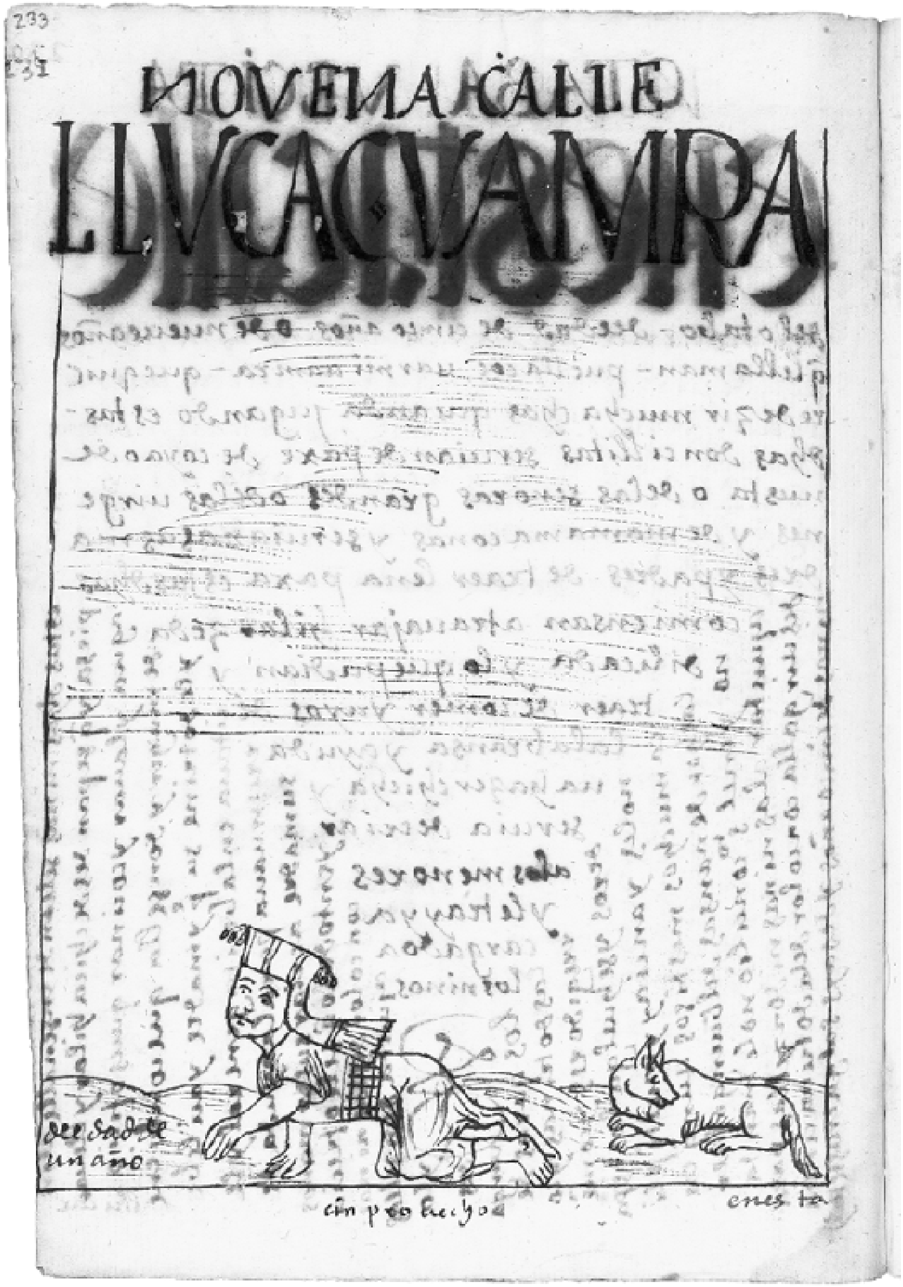
Page 231/233, drawing 88. The ninth group, *llucac huarmi* [baby girl that crawls]: one year old / does no work

[232 (234)]

The ninth age division

In this group there are baby girls one and two years of age who are called *llucac huarmi uaua,* which means baby girls that crawl. These babies cannot do anything useful. Someone has to care for them, especially the mother. She is the one who has to raise the baby, carry the baby on her back and not leave the baby alone. These baby girls have no obligations and must be cared for, which is only fair, even if she is the daughter of a commoner. If she is the daughter of a noble, she must be cared for even more, by God's law. She is God's creature. If she were an orphan, that is more reason to care for her. Thus this girl, *llucac uamra,* which means girl who crawls, was cared for from the time she was born. Fields would be cultivated for her by her community, all of her godparents, *uayno, socna* [male friends, female friends].207

Everyone cared for these babies, even though the baby had parents. The compassion in this kingdom was not known in Castile, nor will it ever be for these people are so villainous. The commoner wants to be lord; one of ordinary lineage wants to be king, without deserving it by lineage, or blood lines, or courtliness with these poor people. This has been proven on the general inspection of this kingdom.


233
231
NOVENA CALLE
LLVCACVAMRA
del sadole
un año
cin p(r)o hecho
enes ta

231/233. *Drawing 88. The ninth “street” or age group,* llucac huarmi uaua*, little girl who crawls, of one year*

[233 (235)]

Page 233/235, drawing 89. The tenth group, *quiraupicac uaua* [baby in the cradle]: the age of one month / Another serves her.

[234 (236)]

The tenth age division

In this group there were baby girls that are still in the cradle. These babies are called *llullo uaua* h*uarmi quiraupicac uauacona,* recently born baby girls from two to five months of age. They are helpless. These babies must be cared for by their mother, who is helped by the baby's little brothers and sisters, grandmother, aunt or some other close relative. . . .[208] If twins were born, both parents would care for them and get help. If the parents were nobles or the baby an orphan, the baby would be well cared for.

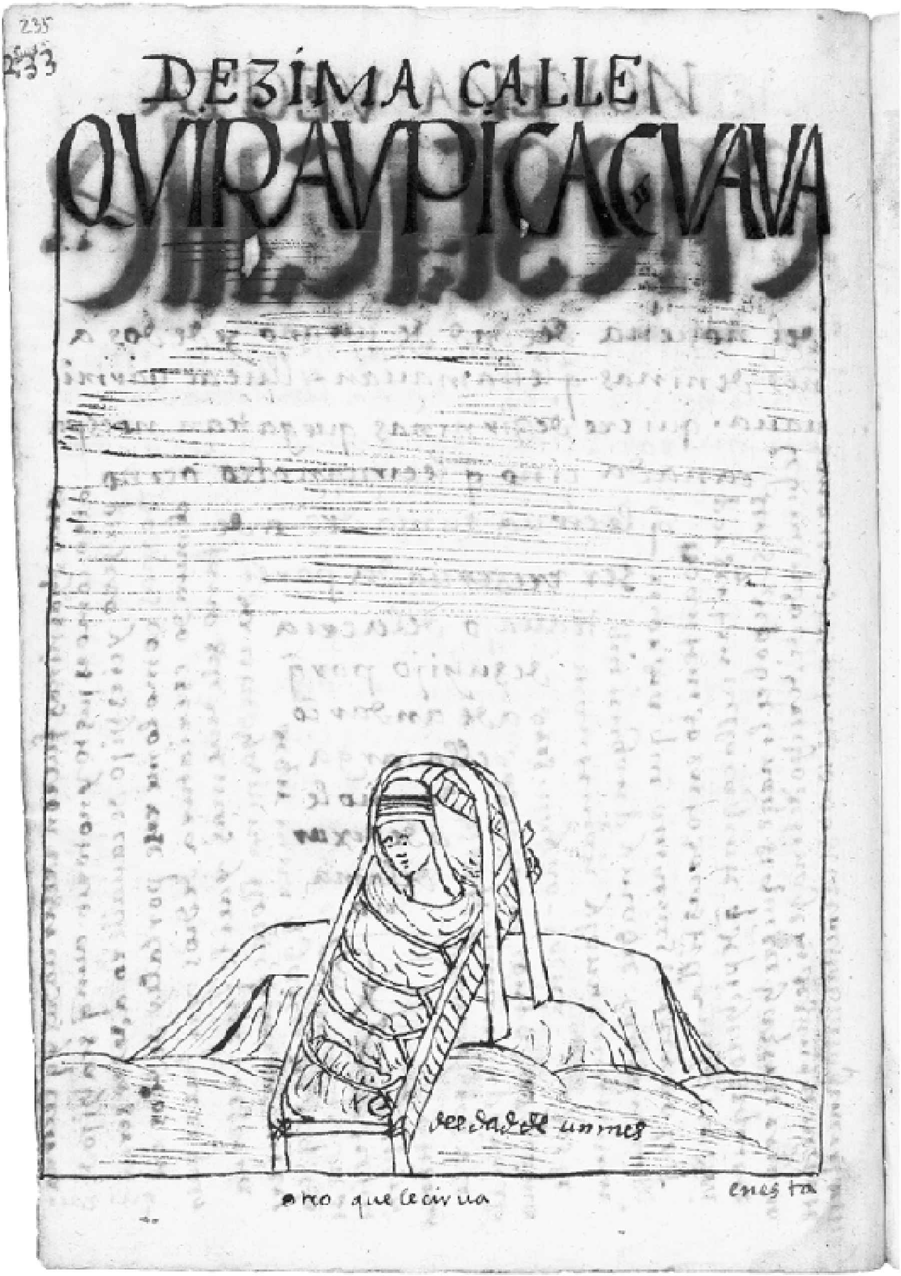
These laws and ordinances were set down by his Majesty the Capac Inca. This general inspection should be known; it was done in the service of God and the Royal Crown of the Inca in the best interest of the natives of this kingdom. Peace be with all.

This is the end of the general inspection done by Topa Inca Yupanqui and his royal council and the powerful *capac apo* Guaman Chaua.[209]

[235 (237)]

FIRST CHAPTER OF THE YEARS [AND] MONTHS OF THE INCAS

The Incas counted months, years, Sundays in this kingdom. The philosophers and astronomers of this kingdom counted a ten-day week and a thirty-day month. They kept track of how the year would unfold by observing the stars, the sun, and the moon. They knew when the sun was at a higher point than the moon and the sun set over the moon making it blood red. Thus it became dark and the people believed they would die. With the eclipse of the moon, it would burn and fall to earth. Thus the people would be made to shout, play drums, make a racket and have dogs bark. Even today they know where the sun moves; this allows them to know when to sow their seeds, what month, day and hour. They observe the sun from a window in the clarity of the morning as the sun rises and where it passes the high peaks. Based on this clock they sow and harvest their food during the year in this kingdom.[210]


235
233
DEZIMA CALLE
QVIRAVPIÇACVAVA
de edad de un mes
no que le cria va
en esta

233/235. *Drawing 89. The tenth "street" or age group,* quiraupicac uaua*, babe in crib, one month old*

[236 (238)]

Page 236/238, drawing 90. The first month, January, Capac Raymi,211 Camay Quilla: penitence and fasting of the Inca

[237 (239)]

The first month, January, Capac Raymi, Camay Quilla

During this month they made sacrifices, went on fasts, did penance, put ashes by their doors. To this day the Indians do this. They went on processions, stopping at the Temple of the Sun, of the Moon, *huaca vilca,* and other *huacas,* idols. They went to each temple and from hilltop to hilltop doing ceremonies and crying. They were led by high priests, sorcerer-priests, confessors paying homage to the *huacas* of Huanacauri and Pacaritambo and other idols that they had.[212] Throughout the kingdom this law and ordinance for sacrifices were honored during the month of January. In order to ensure that this law of the kingdom would be obeyed, those who failed to obey were condemned to death. During these ceremonies the men did not lie with their women.

[238 (240)]

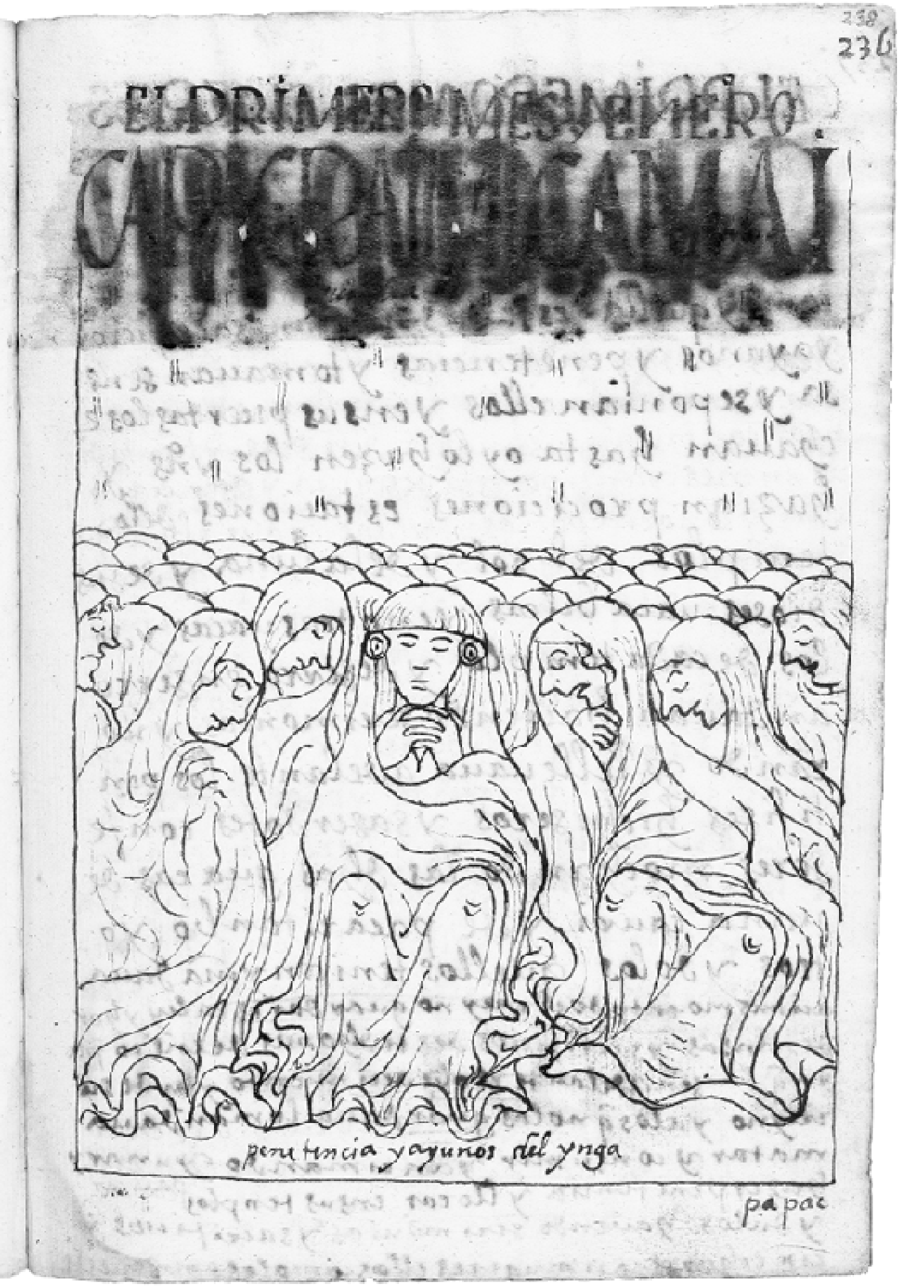
Page 238/240, drawing 91. The second month, February, Paucar Uaray Quilla: Sacrifice of gold and silver, and he receives it, and *mullo* [seashell] and *cui* [guinea pig]. / sacrifice of gold and silver, abundance

[239 (241)]

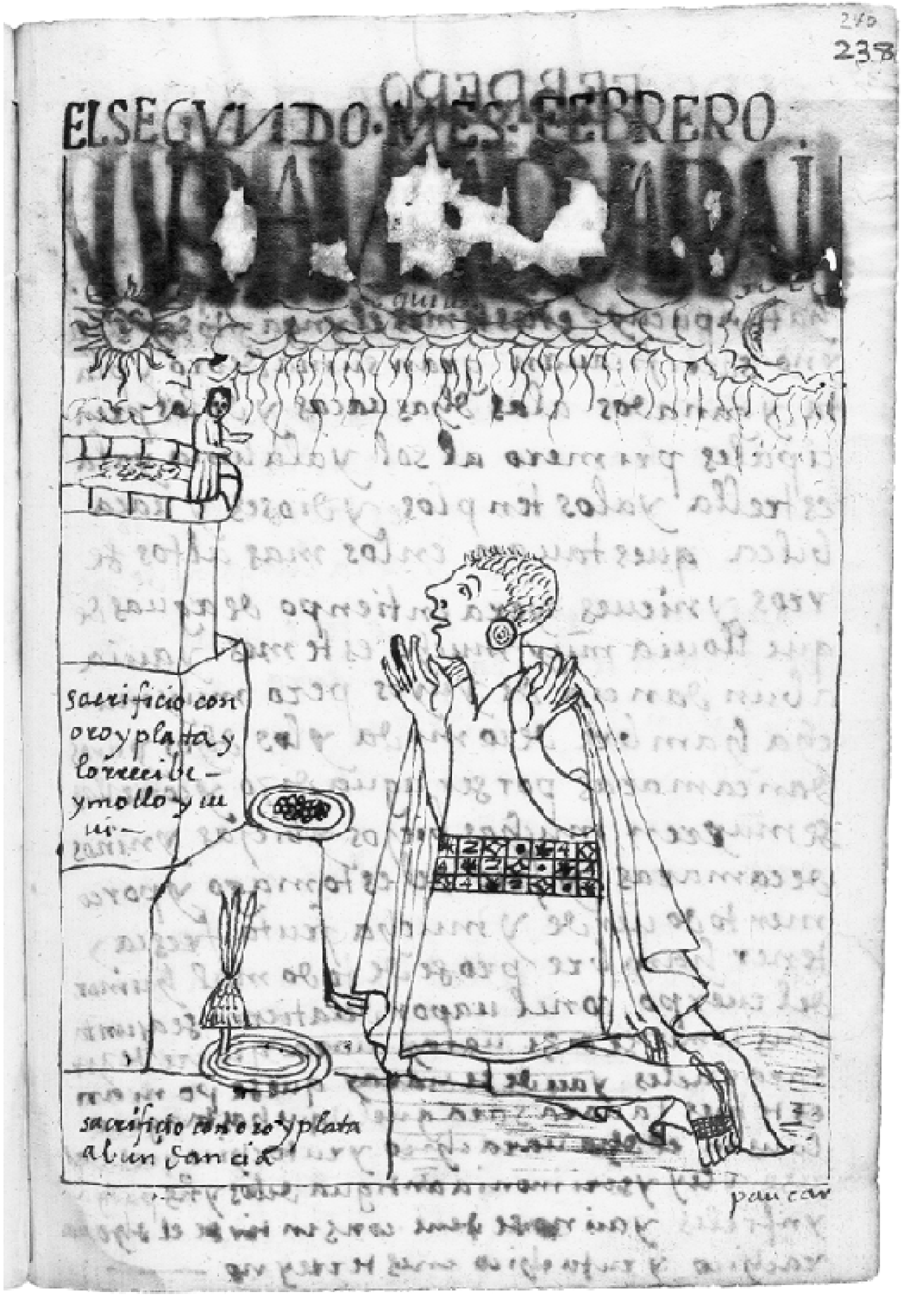
February, Paucar Uaray, Hatun Pucuy

During this month the Inca and the whole kingdom made sacrifices of large amounts of gold, silver, llamas to their major *huacas,* idols, first to the Sun, the Moon, the stars, temples, gods, *huaca vilca* which were on the tallest snowcapped mountains. It was the season of heavy rains. Many *yuyos* grew, but there was much hunger. These *yuyos* cause diarrhea because they are watery. They cause the death of many elders and children who get diarrhea, cold stomach. They get hungry and eat too much greens and fresh fruit. Bad humors of the body come from the vapor of the earth.[213]

During this month they put on the *huara,* which means loincloth, thus *huaray,* to put on the *huara;* this is done even now. They had the *rotochico* [first haircut ceremony] and the *huarachico* [maturity rite for boys]. These ancient ceremonies of pagan Indians are bad. Thus these ceremonies must be prohibited in this kingdom.


238
236
EL PRIMER MES ENERO
CAPAC RAIMI CAMAI
penitencia y ayunos del ynga
papac

236/238. *Drawing 90. The first month, January;* Capaq Raymi*, the greatest feast;* Camay Quilla*, month of rest*


EL SEGVNDO MES FEBRERO
sacrificio con oro y plata y lo receibe ymolloy u
sacrificio con oro y plata al vin jancia
paucar

238/240. *Drawing 91. The second month, February;* Paucar Uaray Quilla*, month of donning precious loincloths*

[240 (242)]

Page 240/242, drawing 92. The third month, March, Pacha Pucuy Quilla: They sacrifice this black llama.

[241 (243)]

March, Pacha Pucuy

During this month they sacrificed black llamas to their idols and *huaca vilca, urcocona* [hills] that are named by the Incas. They perform many ceremonies with their high priests, *huaylla uisa, conde uisa,* with *laycacona,* sorcerers, who spoke with the demons.[214] They did the customary things, fasting by not using salt, not eating any fruit and staying away from their wives. They did not do any *taquis.* They did perform idolatrous ceremonies. This practice was initiated by the Incas. During this month they start eating *llullo papas* [early potatoes], *michica sara* [early maize], much mature *yuyo* which do no harm and are healthy, good. During this month of hunger in the kingdom, the livestock are fat; there is plenty of grass. During this month, called Pacha Pucuy because the rain comes in torrents, this land has plenty of water. It is a good time to plow the land throughout the kingdom.

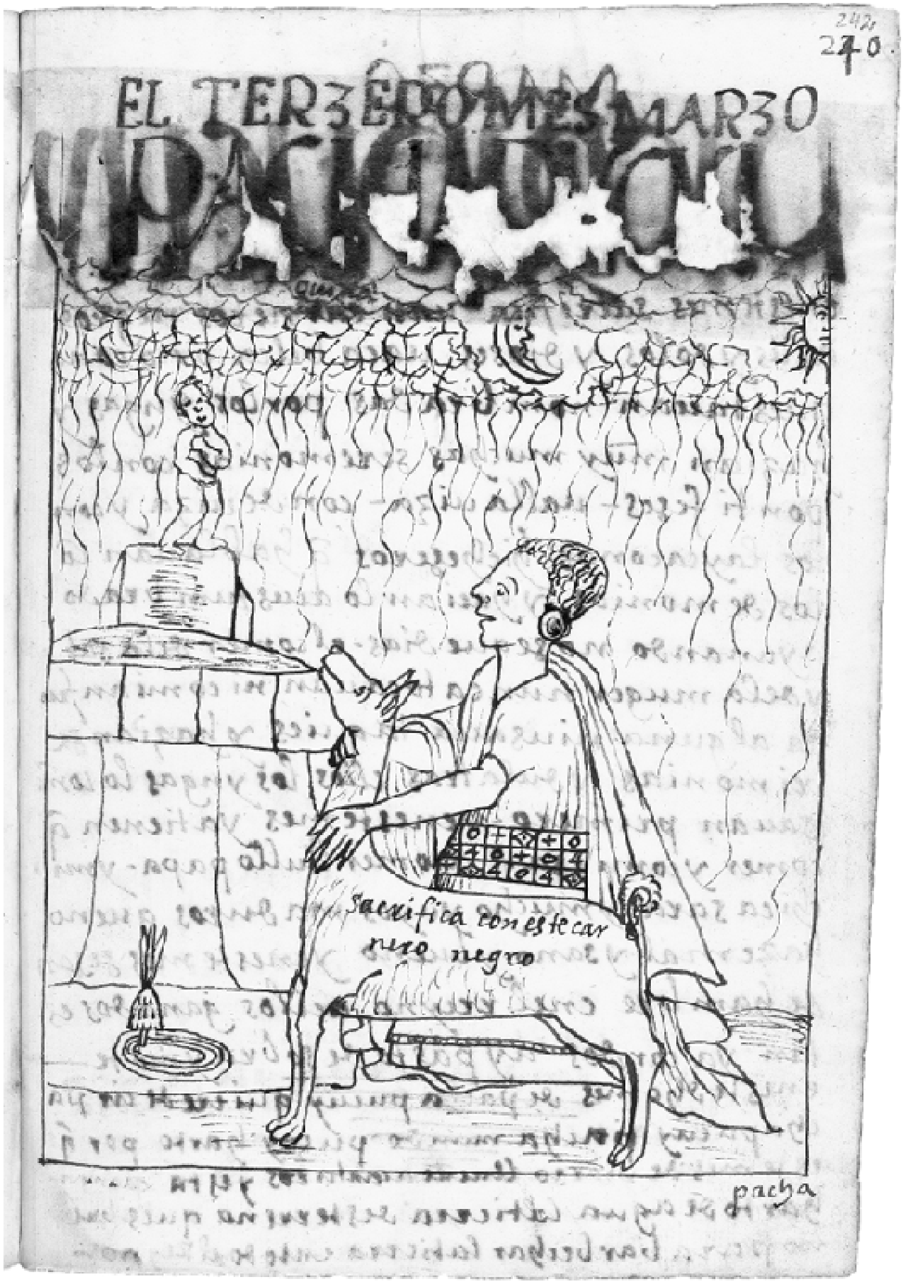
[242 (244)]

Page 242/244, drawing 93. April, Samay [rest], Inca Raymi: the Inca's festival[215]

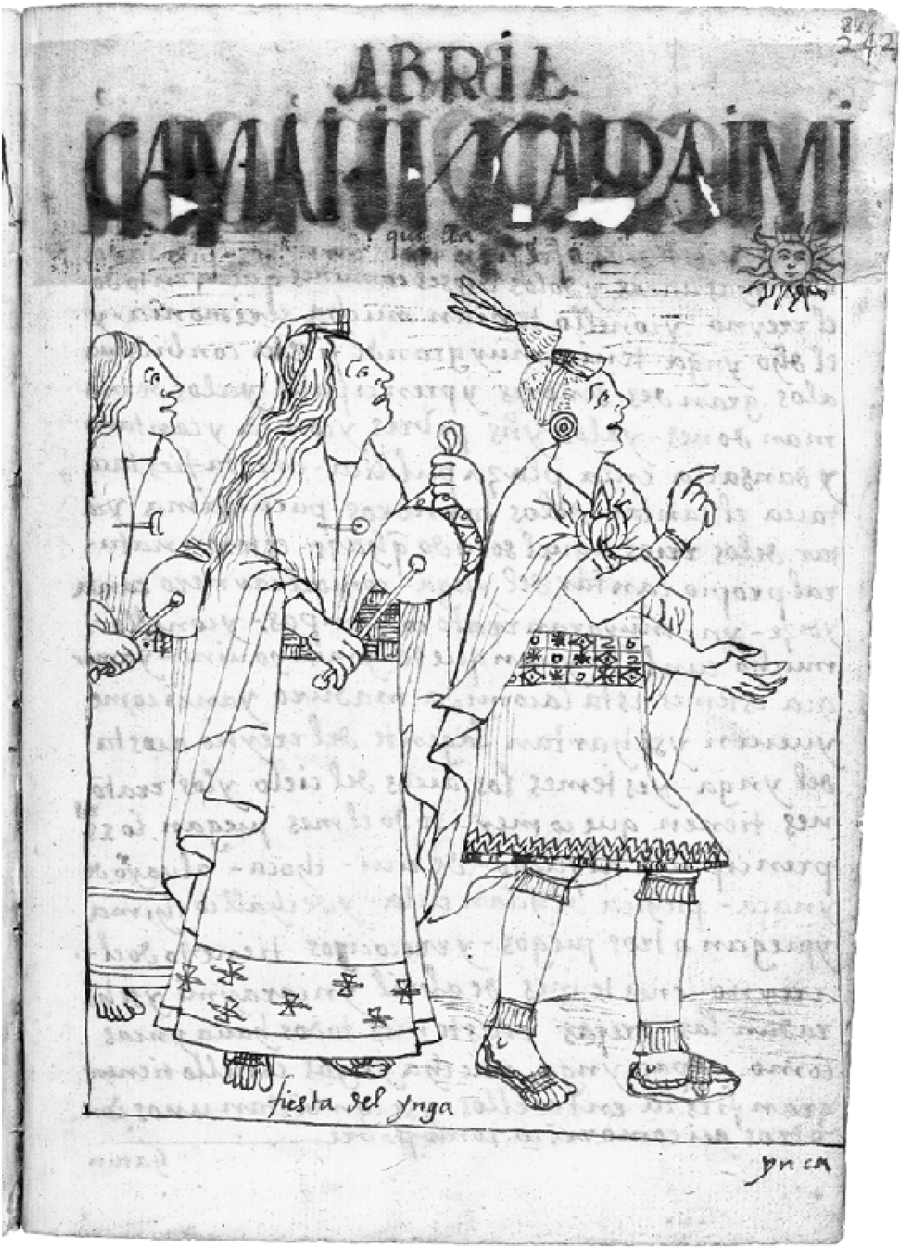
[243 (245)]

April, Inca Raymi

During this month they made a sacrifice of parti-colored llamas to their *huacas,* idols, common deities that there were in the whole kingdom, and they had many ceremonies. The Inca had a big festival; he invited the great lords, the chiefs and the poor Indians. They ate, sang and danced in the public square. During this festival they sang the song of the llamas, *puca llama,*[216] and the song of the rivers, imitating its sound. This is natural, the song of the Inca himself, such as the llama song which goes "yn" for a long time with rhythm. Along with this feast a special *chicha* called *yamur aca* is served. During this month the crops are ripe, and thus the people eat and drink their fill at the expense of the Inca. All this month the high lords play *riui* [bolas-throwing], *choca* [stone-throwing], *uayro iñaca* [a dice game], *pichica* [a game using dice with five points] and other games and entertainment. They also do ear piercing during this month. Everyone participates, *haua* Incas [distant relatives], *capac* Incas, *uaccha* [poor] Incas. With this they have a big festival, inviting each other, both rich and poor.


242
240
EL TERZERO MES MARZO
PACHA PVCVY
quilla
sacrifica con este car nero negro
pacha

240/242. *Drawing 92. The third month, March;* Pacha Pucuy Quilla*, month of the maturation of the soil*


242
ABRIL
fiesta del ynga
ynca

242/244. *Drawing 93. The fourth month, April;* Inca Raymi, *feast of the Inca;* samay, *rest*

[244 (246)]

Page 244/246, drawing 94. May, Hatun Cusquy Aymoray Quilla [major harvest month]: They take food to the storehouses.

[245 (247)]

May, Aymoray Quilla

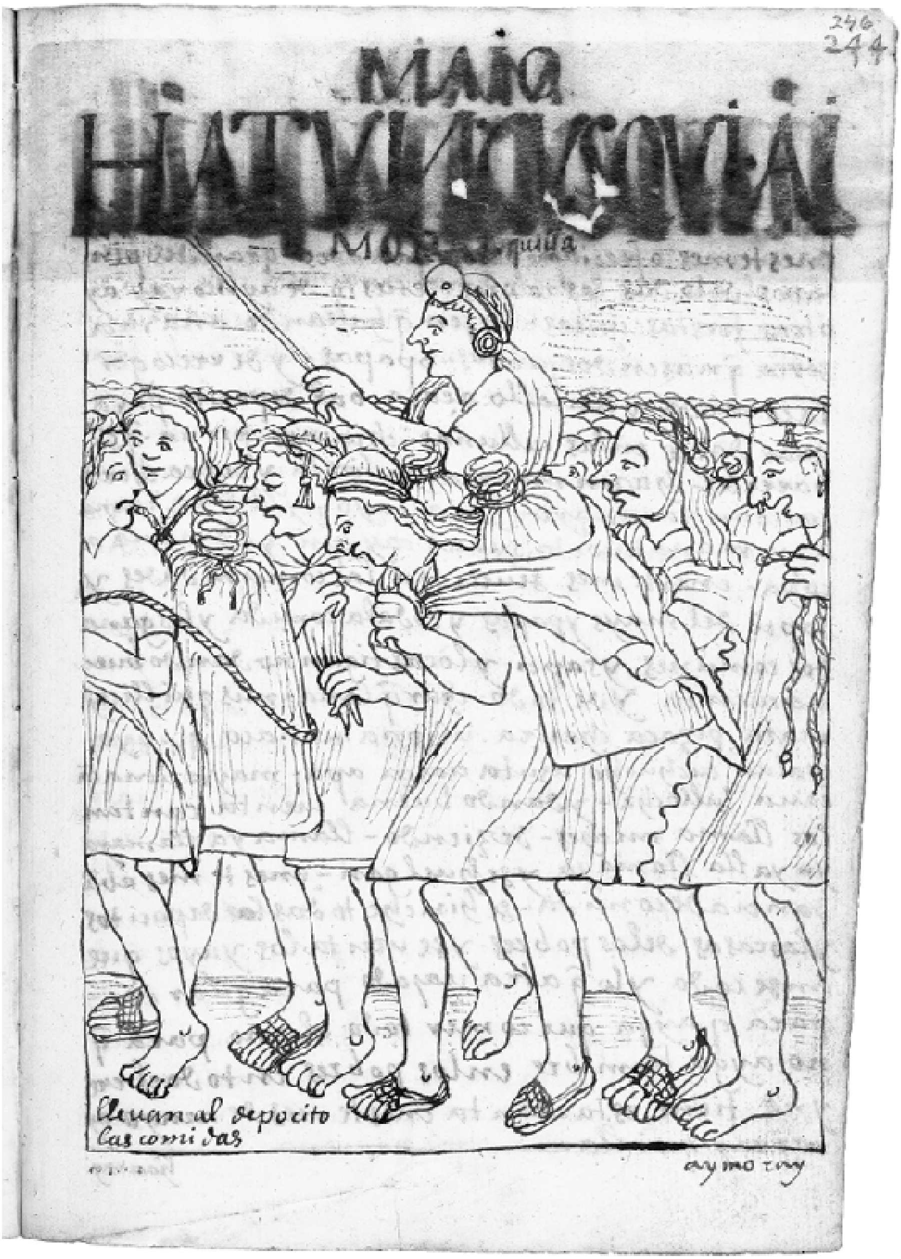
During this month, they made sacrifices of more parti-colored llamas. At this time there are other little festivals. They have one if they find a double maize cob or *papas.* They harvest the crops, take them to their house or to the storehouse to save them in a *cullona* [barrel], *chauay* [storage place], *pirua* [storage bin]. They have many festivals and drink heavily. They sing:

harauayo—harauayo—ylla sara camauay mana tucocta surcoscayqui ylla mama a coya

[*Harauayo, harauayo.*[217] Sacred, divine maize. Forever, I will pick you. Sacred mother, queen.]

During this month inspections are done in the communities and common property of maize, *papas,* all the crops, common livestock. Punishment is meted out to anyone who does not give a correct account of the *charqui* [jerky], wool, *misquillicoy* [sweet plant], *pisaca* [tinamou], *chaura* [a bird], vicuña, guanaco, *quiuyo* [small tinamou], *chalua* [fish], *cuchucho* [a tuber], *ojota* [sandals], *uasca* [rope], *apa* [blanket], *maytocuna* [bundles], *cancaua* [an herb], *llullucha* [watercress]. They give an accurate account. The *llama michic,* herders, sing the llama song: “*llamaya llamaya yn yalla llamaya.*”

During this month there was an abundance of food. All the storehouses are filled as well as the houses of the poor. Inspections are made of the *yuyos* that have dried and what has been stored so that there will be food for the whole year, so the poor will not go hungry anywhere in the kingdom. This account was made during this month of May, Aymoray Quilla.


246
244
MAIO
HATVN CVSQVI AI
MORAI quilla
lleuan al deposito
las comidas
aymo ray

244/246. *Drawing 94. The fifth month, May;* Hatun Cusquy*, great search;* Aymoray Quilla*, month of harvest*

[246 (248)]

Page 246/248, drawing 95. June, Haucay Cusqui [rest from the harvest]: [The Inca] drinks with the Sun in the festival of the Sun

[247 (249)]

June, Cusqui Quilla

During this month they celebrated the Sun festival, Inti Raymi.[218] Much was spent and sacrifices were made to the Sun. They made burials for the sacrifice known as *capacocha.* Five hundred innocent children were sacrificed and much gold, silver and *mullo* [seashells]. During this month in the whole kingdom the *tocricoc* [royal officials], Inca *michoc* [judges], make an inspection of every house of the Indians of all their possessions and provisions, even the *yuyos, llipta* [lime for coca],[219] firewood, straw, and every kind of food for women and men; they even check each house for domestic cavies, ducks and livestock. After this inspection, the next one would take place in December. A similar group of officials would look over the plebian Indians of this kingdom to make sure there was abundance of food to support both the poor and the rich. All must eat. Orphans never perish for lack of food because they had their own fields which were cultivated by the *ayllo* [extended family] of their settlement.

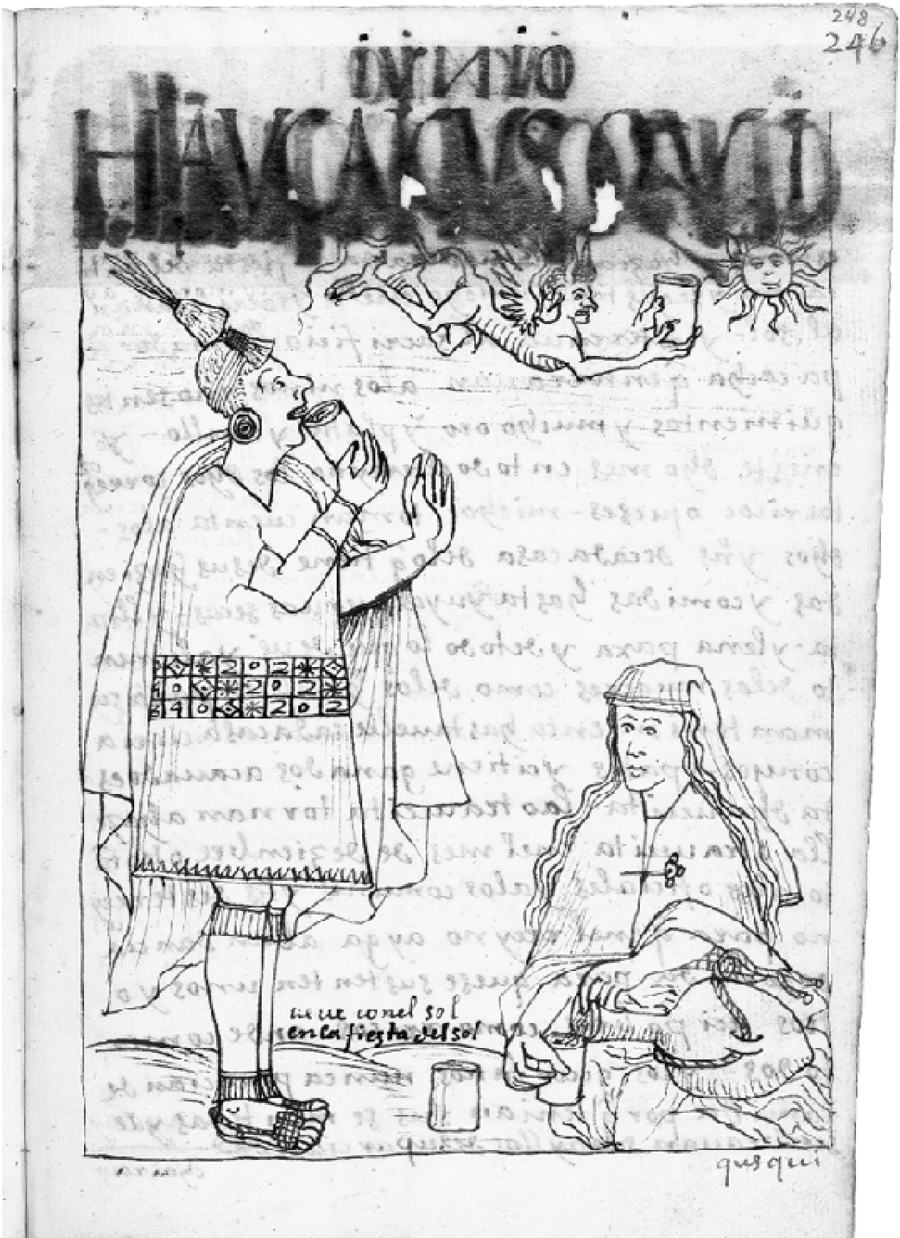
[248 (250)]

Page 248/250, drawing 96. July, Chacra Ricuy Chacra Cunacuy Chaua Uarqum Quilla [month of the inspection and distribution of lands]: *huaylla uisa* [priest-sorcerer], pontiff / sacrifice

[249 (251)]

July, Chacra Cunacuy[220]

During this month an inspection was made of the *chacras.* The *chacras* that were left over were allotted to the poor. *Sapsi* was cultivated for the community. At this time a sacrifice was made of one hundred reddish-brown llamas.[221] The llamas were burned in the public square along with a thousand white *cuis* [guinea pigs]. This sacrifice was performed so that the sun and the rains would not damage the crops in the *chacras.* During this month the farmers start to sow their crops in the Andes. Clouds form over the mountains. Farmers weed and fertilize their *chacras.* Each one places boundary markers at the edges of his field as did his ancestors and parents.[222] At this time the weather improves, but it is also a time of pestilence that affects nobles, rich, women and children. The livestock are also in danger. Many llamas die of *carachi* [mange] unless the herdsmen cure them.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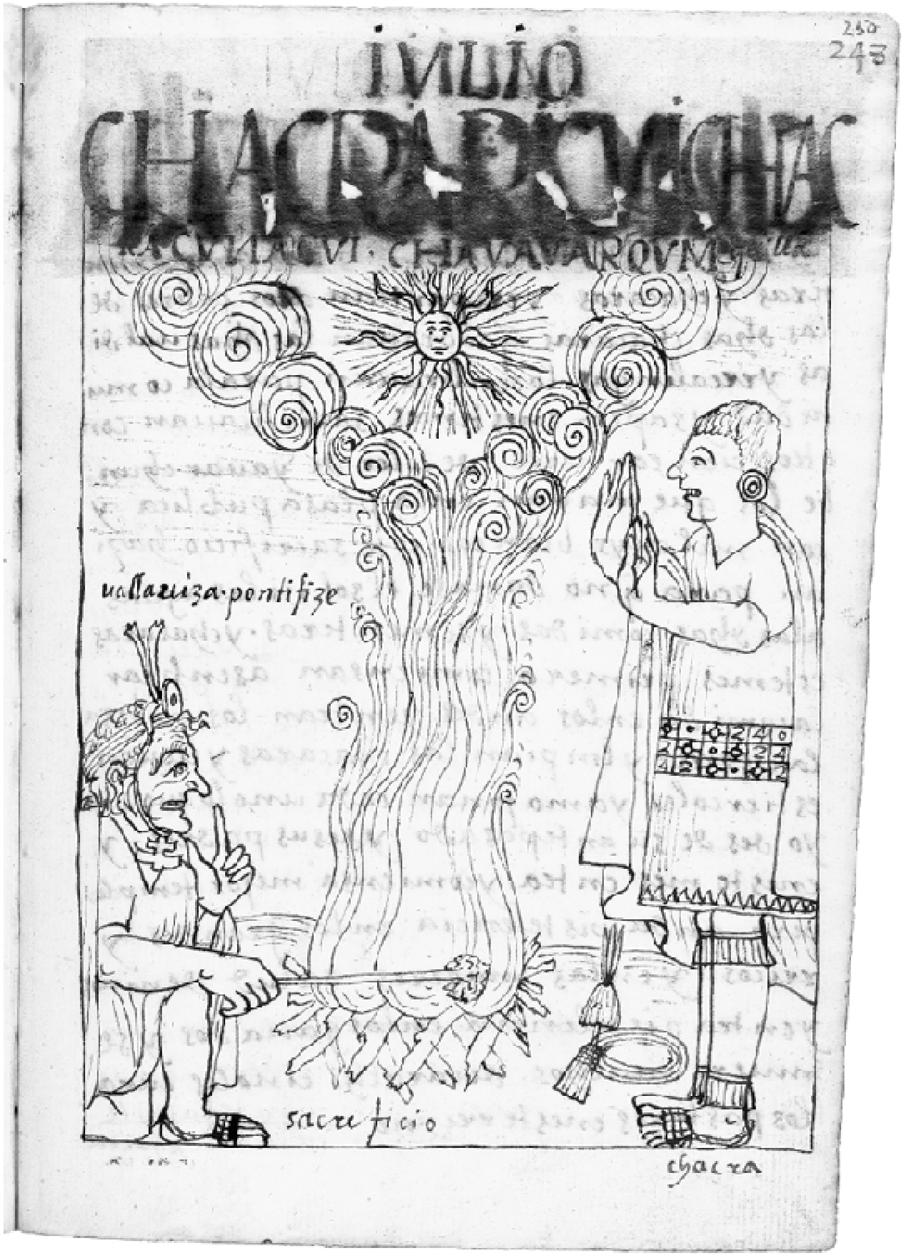
246/248. *Drawing 95. The sixth month, June;* Cusqui Quilla*, rest from the harvest*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chacra

248/250. *Drawing 96. The seventh month, July;* Chacra Cunacuy Quilla*, month of the inspection and distribution of lands*

[250 (252)]

Page 250/252, drawing 97. August, Chacra Yapuy Quilla [month of turning the soil]: plowing time / Hayllinmi Inca

[251 (253)]

August, Chacra Yapuy Quilla

This month they go out to work. They always plow and break the earth in order to plant maize. They also make sacrifices to their *huacas,* idols. The poor peasants give what they can: *cuis, mullos, zanco* [maize porridge], *chicha,* and llamas. In each village some made offerings of their children to the idols each year. The children were buried alive. Those who made this offering came forth crying. This was done throughout the kingdom. At this time they do the *haylli* [farmer's song/dance] and celebrate plowing for the Inca throughout the kingdom. They drink during the *minca* [reciprocal labor], eat and sing the *haylli,* each one in a natural way.[223] The helpers get food and drink as their pay. The maize was harvested in the month of January, according to the movements of the Sun and the region: in the *yunca* [coastal lowlands], late; in the highlands, early, as was suitable this month. There is a great lack of *yuyos,* plenty of meat, and not much fruit.

[252 (254)]

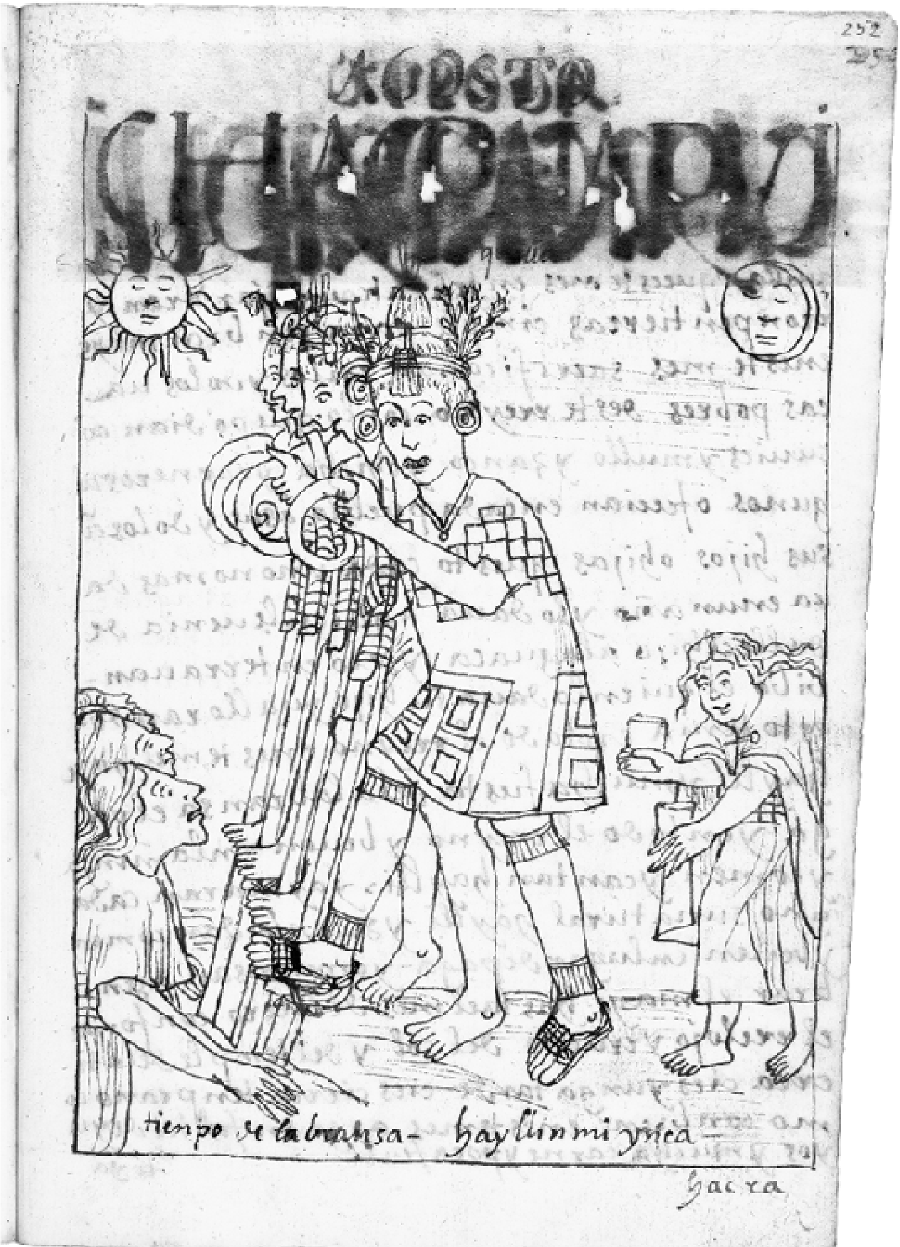
Page 252/254, drawing 98. September, Coya Raymi Quilla [month of the queen's feast]: the solemn festival of the *coya,* the queen

[253 (255)]

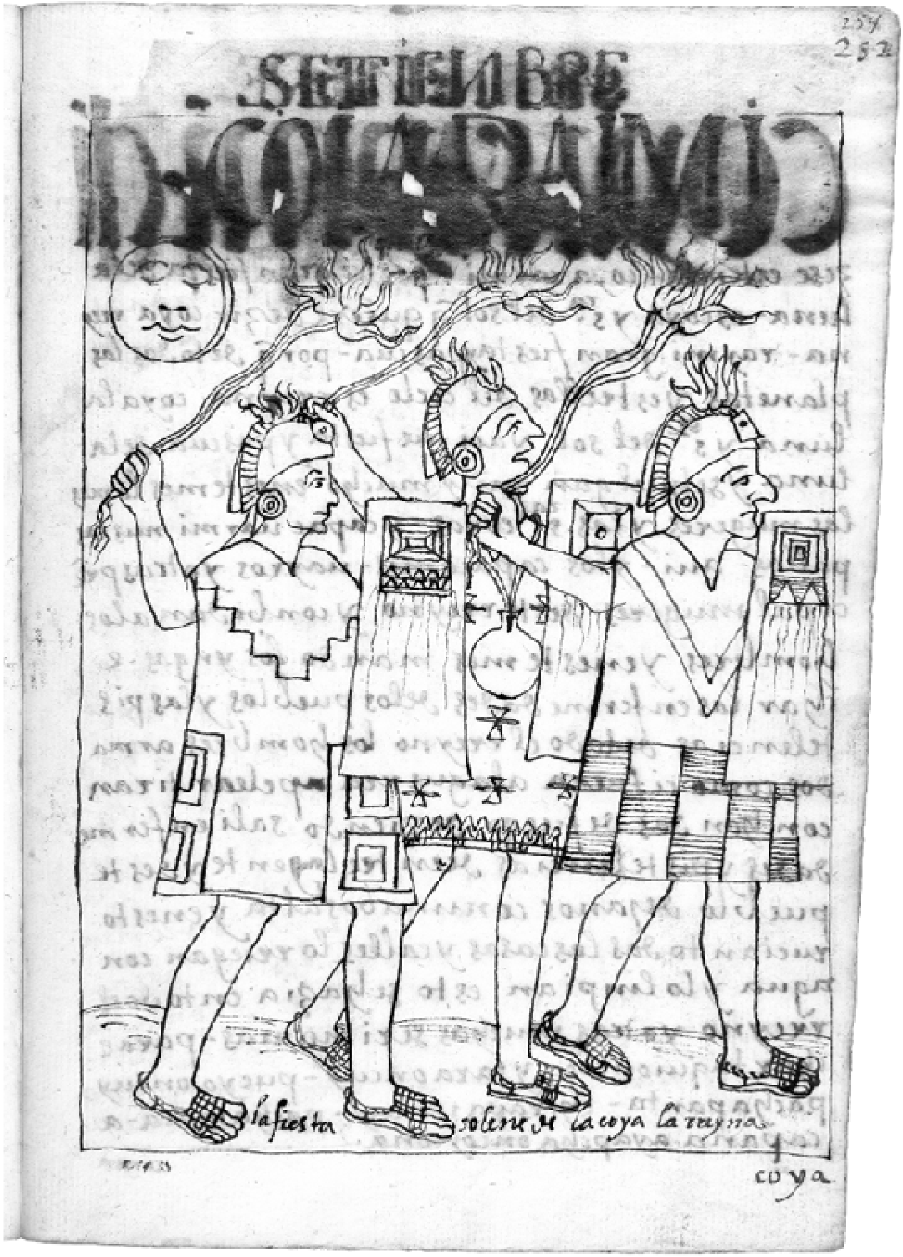
September, Coya Raymi

This month was called Coya Raymi because in it they celebrated the festival of the Moon. The *coya* is the wife of the Sun. The word *coya* means "queen"; *raymi* means "great festival," like Easter. She is queen of all the planets and stars of the sky. The *coya* is the Moon and wife of the Sun. In this festival of the Moon, they enjoyed themselves a great deal, especially the women, the *coya, capac huarmi, ñusta, palla, aui* [plebian women] . . . and other important women of this kingdom.[224]

During this month the Inca ordered sickness and pestilence to be banished from the towns of the whole kingdom. Warriors armed as if going to war wave torches shouting, "Sickness and pestilence be gone from among our people and this town! Leave us!" At this time they wash all the houses and streets with water and clean them. They did this throughout the whole kingdom.[225] They performed other ceremonies to banish the *taqui oncoy, sara oncoy, puquio oncoy, pacha panta, chirapa oncoy, pacha maca, acapana, ayapacha oncoycona.*[226]


252
AGOSTO
tienpo de labransa-
hayllinmi ynca-
hacra

250/252. *Drawing 97. The eighth month, August;* Chacra Yapuy Quilla*, month of turning the soil*


254
252
SETIENBRE
IX COIA RAIMIQ
la fiesta solene de la coya la reyna
coya

252/254. *Drawing 98. The ninth month, September;* Coya Raymi Quilla*, month of the feast of the queen, or* coya

[254 (256)]

Page 254/256, drawing 99. October, Uma Raymi Quilla [month of the principal feast]: A black llama that is hungry assists in weeping and asking the gods for water. / procession in which god Runa Camac [man's creator] is asked for rain

October, Uma Raymi Quilla

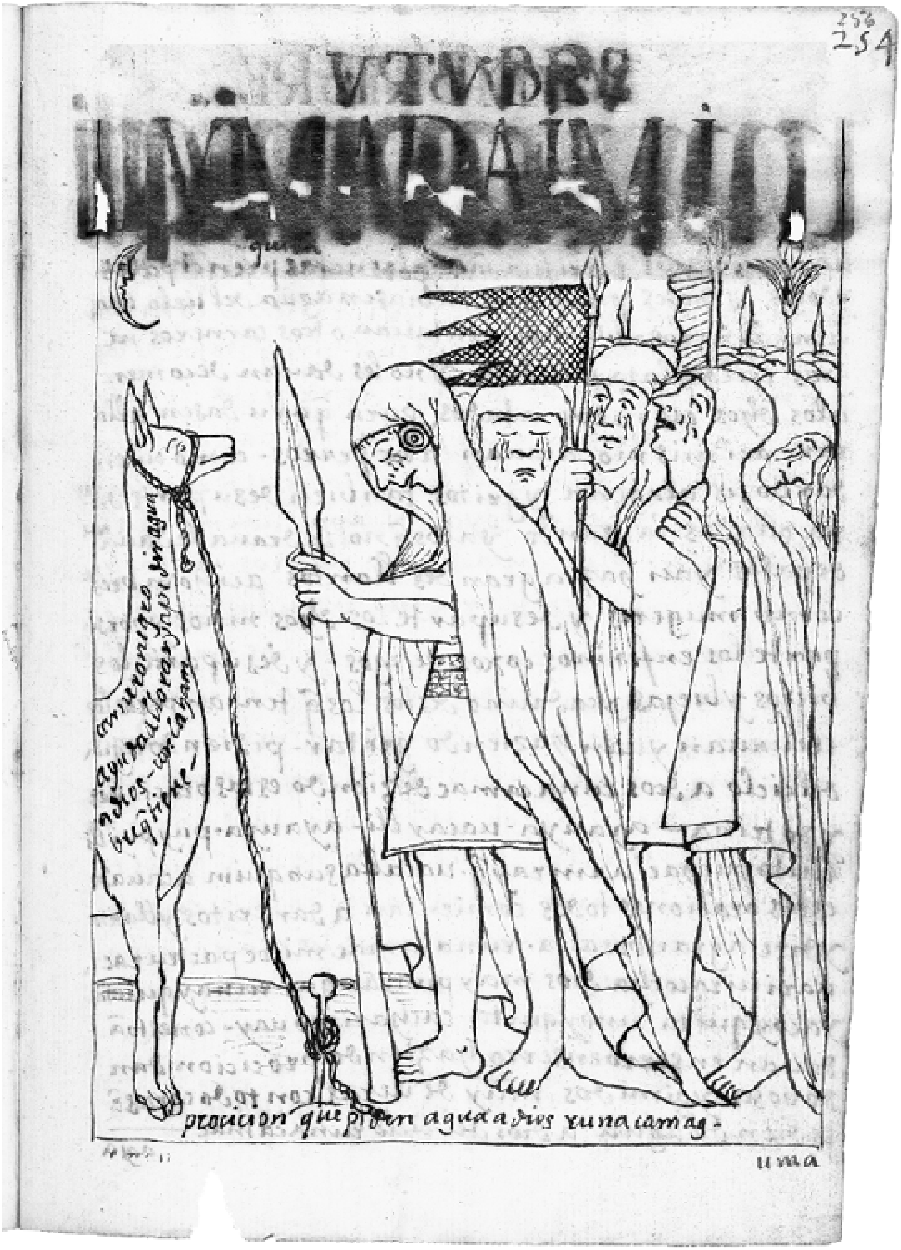
During this month they made sacrifices to the *huacas,* principal idols, and gods so they would make it rain. The sacrifice consisted of one hundred white llamas. They tied other, black llamas in the public square and gave them nothing to eat so the animals would assist in weeping. They also tied their dogs. The people shouted, and the dogs barked; the dogs that did not bark were beaten with sticks. Both men and women cried loudly, as did children, people who were sick, lame, blind, old. All those with dogs brought them, making them whine; they begged the god Runa Camac for rain with the following chants:

> *ayauaya—uacalli ayauaya—puypulli—lluto puchac uamrayqui--uacalla sunquim*
> [Ay, ay, weeping. Ay, ay, your children in mourning. Your poor children. We implore you weeping.]

After these chants, they all started to shout and cry in loud voices:

runa camac micoc pac rurac vari viracocha dios maypim canqui runay quima yacoy quita unoy quita cacharimouay
[Creator of man, maker of those who eat. Creator God, where are you? Please send your water and rain to your people!]

With this they made a procession over the hills, shouting and wailing with all their heart, asking Runa Camac, the god of the sky, for rain.



OVTUBRE
VMA RAIMI QVILLA
quilla
ayunan y lloran pidiendo agua a dios
procición que piden agua a dios runacamac
uma
254

254/256. *Drawing 99. The tenth month, October;* Uma Raymi Quilla*, month of the principal feast*

With this they went from hilltop to hilltop in a procession, shouting and sobbing with all their hearts, asking Runa Camac, god, for rain from the sky.

[256 (258)]

Page 256/258, drawing 100. November, Ayamarcay Quilla [month of carrying the dead]: the festival of the dead

[257 (259)]

November, Ayamarcay Quilla[227]

This was the month of the dead. The word *aya* means "dead body." It is the festival of the dead. During this month they take their dead from their burial vault, which they call *pucullo,* give the deceased food, drink, dress it in fine garments, put feathers on the head, sing and dance with the dead. They put the body on a litter and take it from house to house, through the streets, across the square and at last return the dead to the *pucullo,* giving it food, dining service of silver and gold, or clay for the poor. They bury the dead with llamas and garments. They spend a lot on this festival.

During this month the Incas also do ear piercing and hold the *rotochico, huarachico,* the girl's *quicocu* [maturity rites]. They let water run down the streets from a *puquio* [spring]. They hold the festivals of *anacacuy* [girl's first dress], of *cusmallicuy* [boy's first tunic], and for a baby, *quiraupi churcuy* [first cradle].

This month of November, Ayamarca Quilla, the Inca ordered an inspection tour to make a count of the population. Captains and soldiers would prepare for war. The Inca would also assign women and marry them. The people also repaired and built walls. Inspection was also done of the livestock of the community, the *sapsi,* of Indian communities. The Inca also had girls selected to fill the *aclla uasi* [chosen women's houses] with virgins, who work and learn to spin, weave garments for the Inca and the rest of the lords.

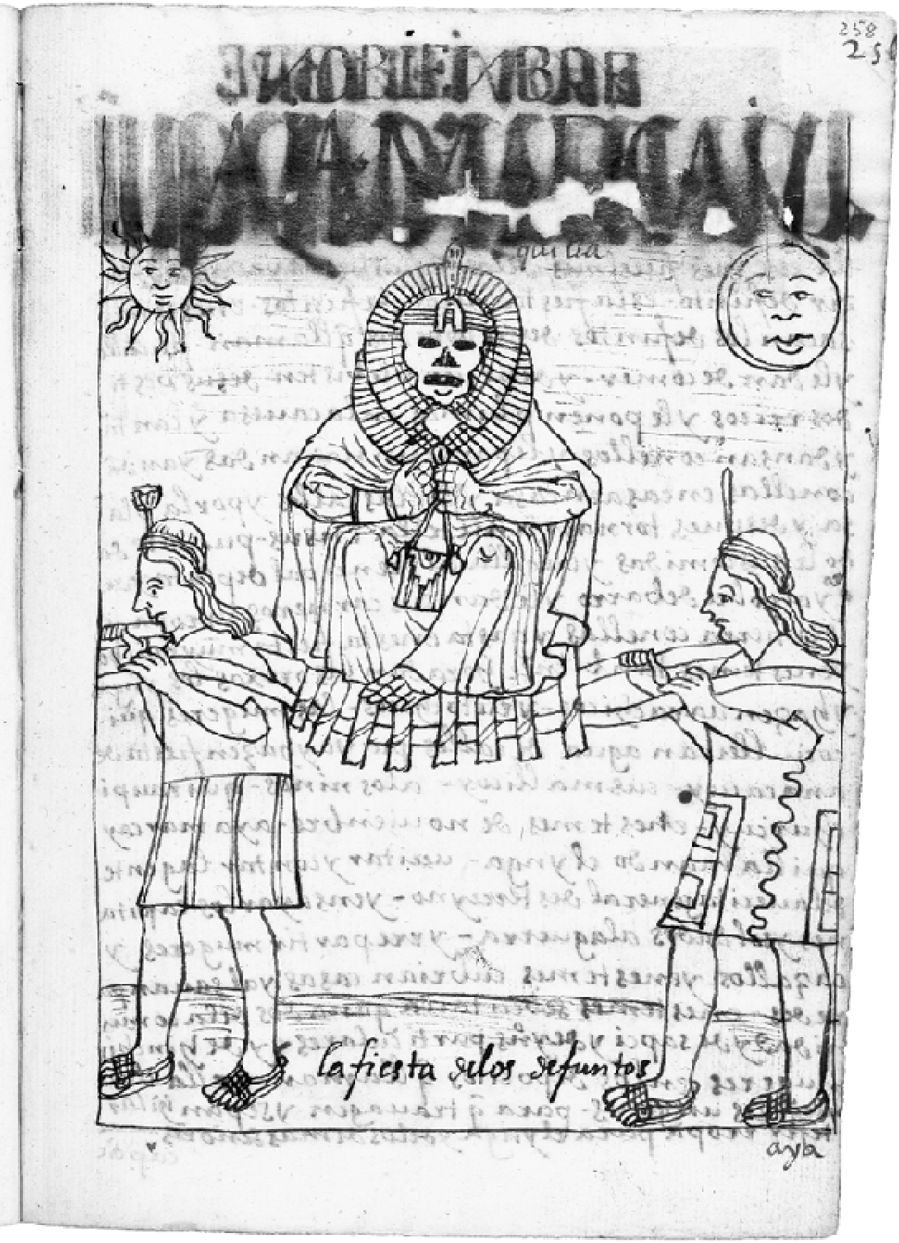
[258 (260)]

Page 258/260, drawing 101. December, Capac Inti Raymi [month of the Sun festival]: the great, solemn Easter-like festival of the Sun

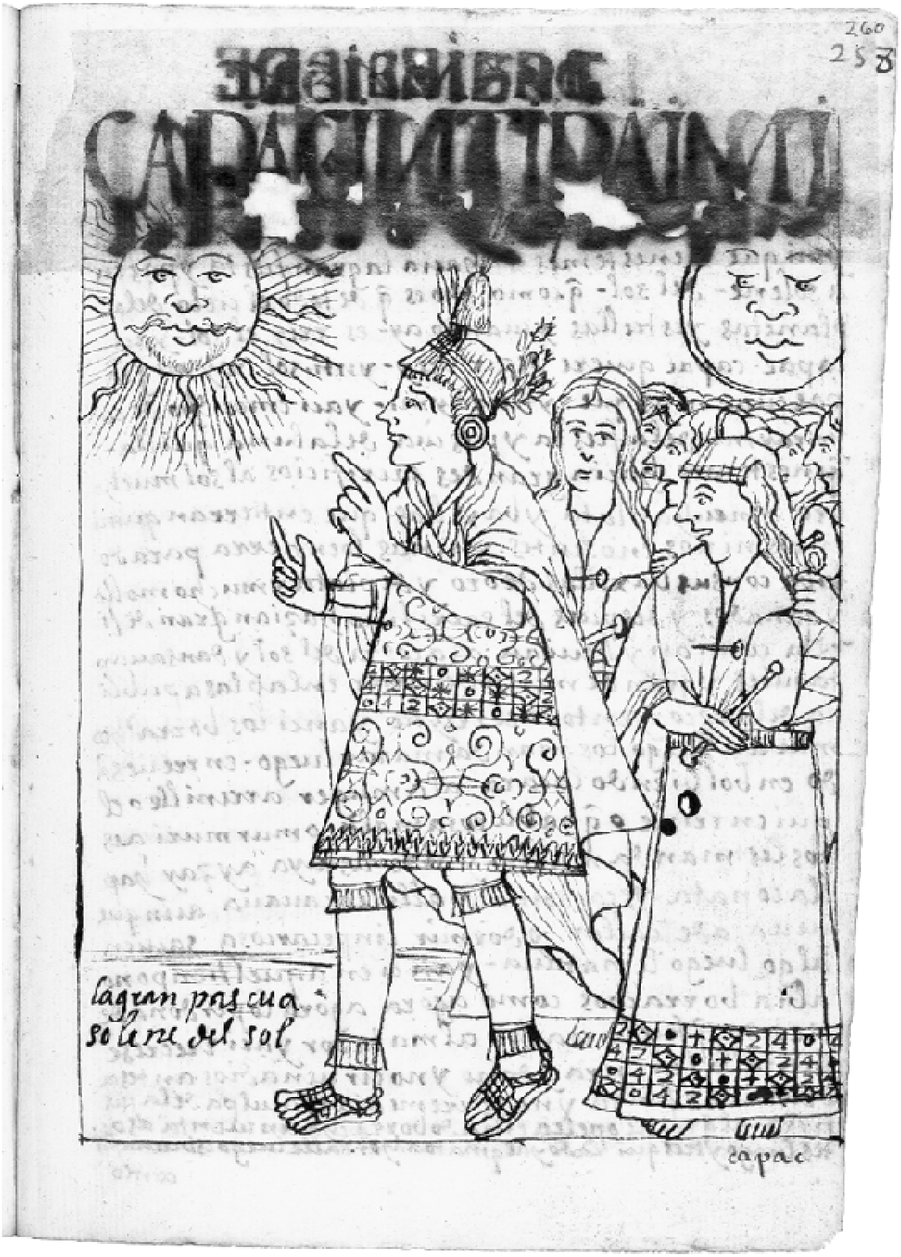
[259 (261)]

December, Capac Inti Raymi

This month they celebrated the great, impressive festival of the Sun, which is king of all the sky, the planets, the stars and all there is. Thus the Sun is *capac,* which means "powerful"; *inti,* Sun; *raymi,* great festival; more than Inti Raymi. Thus we have called the great festival of the Moon Quilla Coya Raymi. During this month they made numerous sacrifices to the Sun, much gold, silver and dining service. Five hundred innocent boys and girls are buried. These children were seated for burial with gold and silver dinner ware, much *mullo* and livestock.[228] After the sacrifice, they had a big festival. They ate and drank in honor of the Sun. They did their *taqui* and drank freely in the public square of Cuzco and throughout the kingdom. The drunkards die; at once the order is given to kill them. The order is also given to kill the one who turns around facing his wife to scold her or the one who scolds or speaks evil or gossips. The order is as follows: "*Astaya ayzay hapllaconata, yscay soncota*" [Abominable! Take him away! Drag away the brute! Traitor!] That is the end of him. Even though one drinks, one must keep quiet and sleep without sinning. If one did otherwise, at once he would be killed. Thus at that time there were no drunkards like there are now. Now drunkards are pardoned. They say the one who kills was drunk. They enjoy getting drunk and doing harm, not serving God. Rather they offend more and do not repent. There is no justice here. The one who scolds and fights, while drunk, should get fifty lashes and have his hair cut


258
25
quilla
la fiesta de los defuntos
aya

256/258. *Drawing 100. The eleventh month, November;* Ayamarcay Quilla*, month of carrying the dead*


260
258
CAPAC INTI RAIMI
lagran pascua
solene del sol
capac

258/260. *Drawing 101. The twelfth month, December;* Capac Inti Raymi Quilla*, month of the festivity of the lord sun*off. He who kills should be hanged at once. That is justice.[229]

[260 (262)]

End of the months

As has been stated, they counted the months and the days. Ten days make a week. Thirty or thirty-one days make a month. They kept track of the waning moon, as well as the changes to the waxing moon. They counted twelve months in a year. They recorded the order of consumption on the *quipo,* and the increase and everything that happened in the kingdom every year.[230] The philosophers and astrologers were guided by their *quipo* to know when to plant and harvest food and for other occasions, order and administration. They knew clearly what had been used, consumed, in what month and what year it happened. They kept account of this. In order to keep track of the hour and the day, they watched from a ravine the appearance of the rays of sunlight in the morning as it makes its way like a clock. They understood the movements of the Sun every six months to the right and the other six months to the left.[231] Thus *quilla,* month, starts with January, Camay; February, Paucar Uaray; March, Pacha Pucuy; April, Inca Raymi; May, Aymoray; June, Haucay Cusqui; July, Chacra Cunacuy; August, Chacra Yapuy; September, Coya Raymi; October, Uma Raymi; November, Ayamarcay; December, Capac Inti Raymi. In this way they counted the months. The end of the months.

[261 (263)]

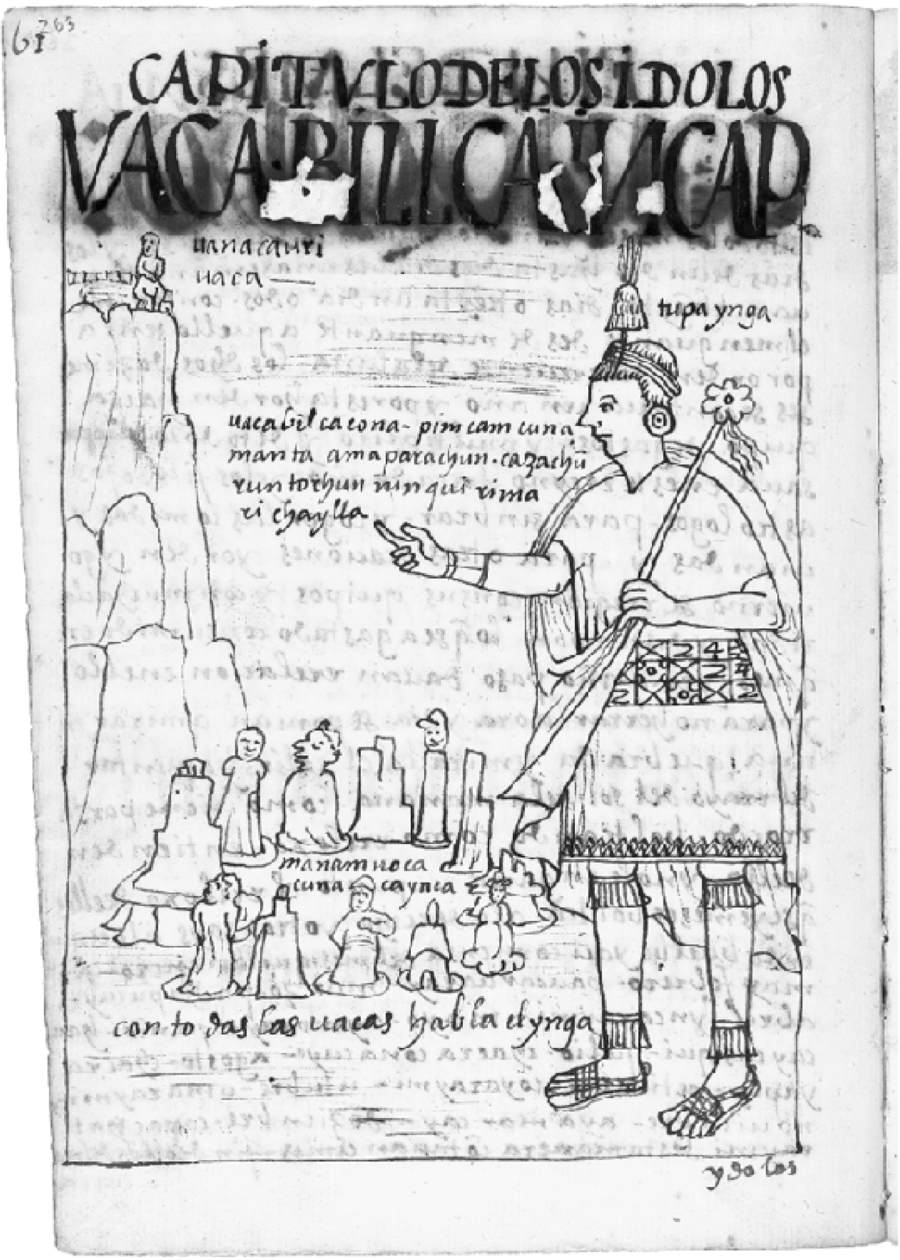
Page 261/263, drawing 102. *Huaca vilca incap* [the Inca's local deities]: Huanacauri *huaca* / Topa Inca / "*Huaca vilcacona—pim cam cuna manta ama parachun—caza chun runto chun ninqui rimari chaylla*" ["Deities, who among you has said for it not to rain, not to freeze, not to hail? Speak, that is all."] / "*Manam nocacunaca Inca*" ["It was not us, Inca."] / The Inca speaks to all the *huacas.*

[262 (264)]

Idols and huacas *of the Inca and the rest who were in this kingdom in Inca times*

It is as follows: First, Topa Inca Yupanqui used to speak to the *huacas,* stones, demons. He knew by their magic the past and the future of his people, of all the world, and that the Spaniards inevitably would come to govern. For that reason the Inca was named Viracocha Inca.[232] Much more they did not learn about God, although they say there was another lord much greater than any of them. They were demons they call *supay*. The Indians knew all that was happening from Chile to Quito. There were priest-sorcerers called *conde uisa, huaylla uisa.*[233]

Topa Inca Yupanqui spoke to them, and Huayna Capac tried to do the same. These demons refused to answer anything. Huayna Capac ordered the destruction of all the minor deities, saving only the major ones. They say that Pariacaca answered that it was no longer possible to speak or govern because the men called Viracocha were certainly going to govern and bring a very great lord at that time or later.[234] This is what the *huacas* and idols told Inca Huayna Capac. This made him very sad as he went to Tumibamba.[235] The Incas have places called *usnos*[236] designated throughout this kingdom for a sacrifice, which is always for the *capacocha* to the Sun and the *huacas. Huacacaray* [Make an offering to] the *apachita* [hilltop deity/shrine][237] as one walks by. This is the law and sacrifice of the Incas. The Inca made sacrifices to his father the Sun with gold, silver, handsome ten-year-old boys and girls who had no blemishes, not even a mole. For this purpose they assembled five hundred children from all over the kingdom and sacrificed them at the Coricancha [Temple of the Sun], which had walls covered with fine gold plates; there were


261 263
CAPITVLO DE LOS IDOLOS
VACA BILLCA VIACAP
uana cauri uaca
tupa ynga
uacabilca cona- pim cam cuna manta amaparachun. caçachu yun tochun ninqui rima ri chaylla
manam uoca cuna caynica
con to das las uacas habla el ynga
ydolos

261/263. *Drawing 102. Divinities of the Inca,* Huaca vilca incap

[263 (265)]

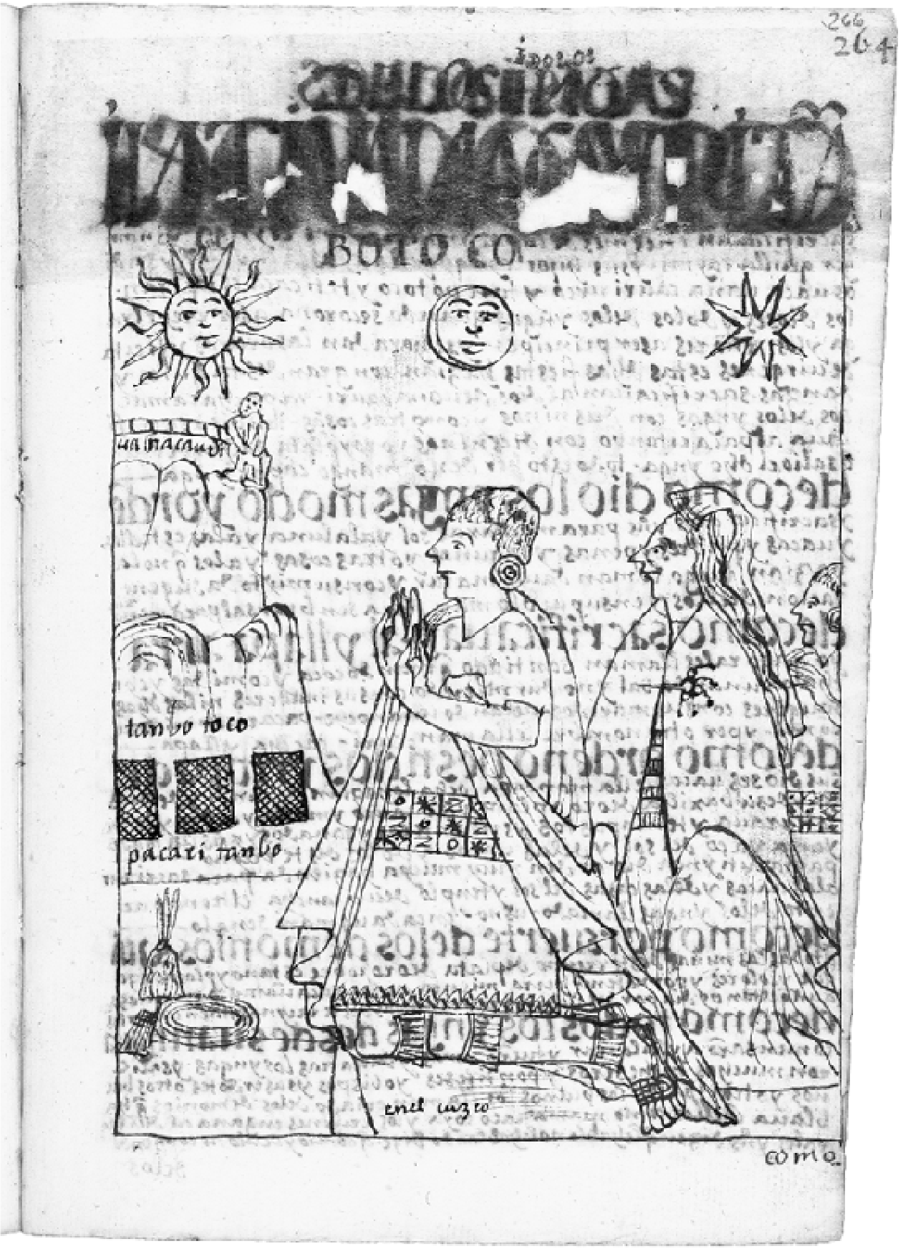
many crystals hanging from the ceiling; on the sides there were two mountain lions. The sun shines through the windows. . . .238 The wind blew and a rainbow appeared which they call *cuychi.* The Inca would kneel in the middle [of the courtyard] with his hands and face toward the Sun and the image of the Sun while he said his prayer. Demons responded to what he requested, and behind him were priest-sorcerers, *huaylla uisa, conde uisa,* performing demonic ceremonies. Through the windows, the lords said prayers to adore the Sun. The Inca has another place for sacrifice to the Moon called Pumapchupan [lion's tail, east side]. They made sacrifices to the Moon, women's deity. The *coya* entered to sacrifice with female sorcerers, in the same way as the Inca, saying prayers; they asked for whatever they wanted. There was another temple for *chasca cuyllor* [Venus], *chuqui ylla* [lightning], *huaca vilcacona.*239 The *auquicona* and *ñustacona* entered, making sacrifices to minor deities of theirs. They entered with their priest-sorcerers and said a prayer for whatever they wanted. Topa Inca Yupanqui ordered the Indians of the warm lowlands and the Indians of the highlands to go to an *apachita.* . . .240 There they adored Pachacamac,241 and as a sign to him made a pile of stones; each one would bring a stone and put it on the pile. As another sign they would put flowers and straw twisted to the left there. Even today the Indians practice the vice of the *apachitas* in this kingdom. The first Inca, Manco Capac, made the decision to adore the idols and to make sacrifices with fingernails, eyelashes and hair. He also ordered the Indian men and women not to cut their fingernails. Thus their priest-sorcerers had fingernails like dogs or demons, and so did the wives and children of that evil group.

[264 (266)]

Page 264/266, drawing 103. Idols of the Incas, Inti, Huanacauri, Tambotoco: Huanacauri / Tambotoco / Pacaritambo / in Cuzco

[265 (267)]

As has been stated, in the month of Capac Inti Raymi, June, the Inca and his wife, Quilla Raymi, September, and their children made sacrifices to to *chuqui ylla, chasca cuylor,* and their *huacas,* Huanacauri Urco, Tambotoco and Lake Titicaca.242 These are deities of the Incas. They honor them when the Inca is crowned as king, when the lords become princes in the ear-piercing ceremony and during the celebration of the virgins. They performed these festivals with elaborate *taqui* and made sacrifices of ten children and other things to the deities Huanacauri and Pachacamac.243 They also made a sacrifice of ten children, gold and silver to Pacaritambo, from whence they say the Incas came. All this was ordained by Manco Capac Inca. He gave the Incas the way and order of making sacrifices to the idols in order to venerate the Sun, the Moon, the stars, the *huacas,* stones, crags, lakes and other things. Whoever did not make these sacrifices would immediately be killed and consumed along with all his descendents, and in his town salt would be spread as a reminder. They made sacrifices to *yllapa,* lightning, who is now called Santiago [the god of weather], of *coca,* food and *chicha.* During this time they did not put salt on their food and did not lie with their women, staying awake all night, *pacariconmi,* and not eating, *saciconmi.* By another name they call him *cori caccha yllapa.*[244] The Inca ordered garments for the *huacas, capacocha.* The garments were made of *cumbi* and *auasca,* their dining service was of gold and silver and of clay, *seashells* and copper. These offerings were buried. They had fields, livestock and servants, called *yanayaco,* of the Sun and the *huacas* of this kingdom.[245] Pachacuti Inca ordered that a great many goods be sacrificed to the *huacas* and the houses of the Sun, the Temple of the Sun, Coricancha. He also directed that there be a throne and seat of the Incas called *usno* in each *uamani* [district].[246] Although they knew the locations of all the mines of this kingdom—mines of silver, gold, copper, tin, lead, mercury and dyes—the demons could not mine these riches because they had no tools. There are rich mines to be discovered right now in this kingdom, but they are concealed. All of the Incas from the earliest times started practicing idolatry more and more. There were sorcerers, pontiffs, bishops, priests—some good, others false. The good ones are called servants of the demons, like Mama Huaco, the queen; they speak with demons. The bad ones deceive the devil and the Indians. They say he spoke to them without speaking. They say he ate and drank, not eating.


266
264
uanacauri
tanbo toco
pacari tanbo
en el cuzco
como

264/266. *Drawing 103. Idols of the Incas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambotoco, Pacaritambo*

[266 (268)]

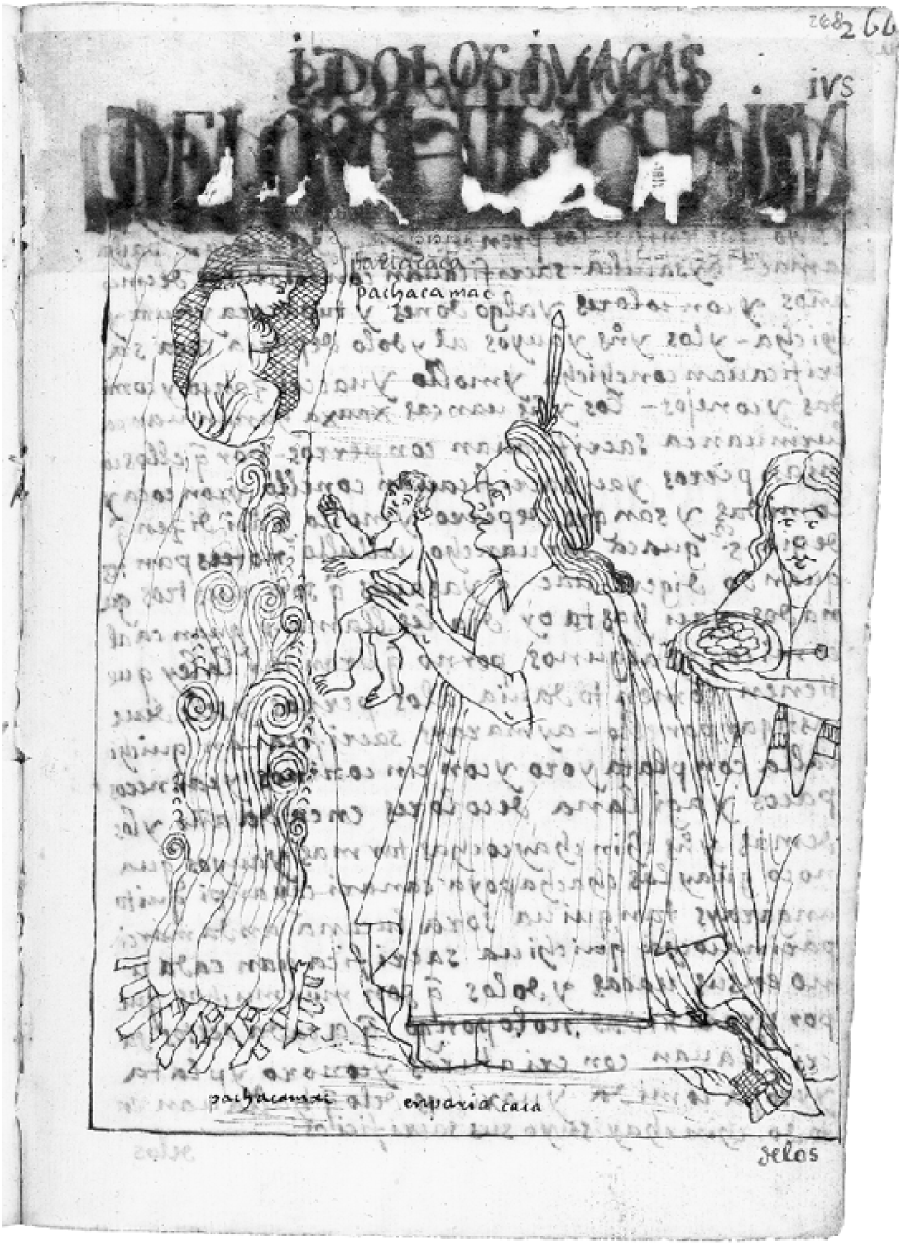
Page 266/268, drawing 104. Idols and *huacas* of Chinchaysuyo: Pariacaca, Pachacamac / in Pariacaca

[267 (269)]

Idols and huacas *of Chinchaysuyo*

The major idols and *huacas* were at Huarco, Pachacamac and Aysavilca.[247] They made sacrifices of five-year-old children, colored cotton cloth, *tupa coca* [the finest coca], fruit and *chicha*. The Yauyo Indians made sacrifices of *chicha, mullo* [seashells], *uaccri* [precious stones], *zanco* [maize bread], food and cavies [guinea pigs] to Pariacaca.[248]

The Indians of the provinces of Huanca—Jauja, Hanan Huanca and Hurin Huanca—made sacrifices of dogs because they ate dogs.[249] Thus they sacrificed them along with coca, different foods, dog blood and *mullo*. It is said that they used to say: “Lord Huaca Caruancho Uallullo, do not be frightened when I bark ‘*uac*’ for you know they are our livestock.” Thus the people of the province of Huanca are called *alco micoc* [dog-eaters] to this day. Some, in order to avoid breaking with this custom, still eat dogs. They should be punished for it.


268 266
IDOLOS I MAGAS
IVS
DEL ORIE
pariacaca
pachacamac
pachacamac
enpariacaca
delos

266/268. *Drawing 104. Idols and* huacas *of the Chinchaysuyo in Pariacaca,* Pachacamac, *creator of the universe*

The people of the province of Aymara made sacrifices every year to Quichacalla of silver and gold, five children, alpacas, chile peppers and colorful cloth.[250] The other Indians of Quito, Cayambe, Cañari, Huanuco, Chinchaycocha, Trama, Yauyo, Angara, Tanquihua, Lucana, Andamarca, Sora, Parinacocha and Quichua[251] each made sacrifices to their many *huacas,* which I will not name to avoid prolixity. They all made sacrifices of children, gold, silver, garments, food, table settings and what was available in the Chinchaysuyo provinces.

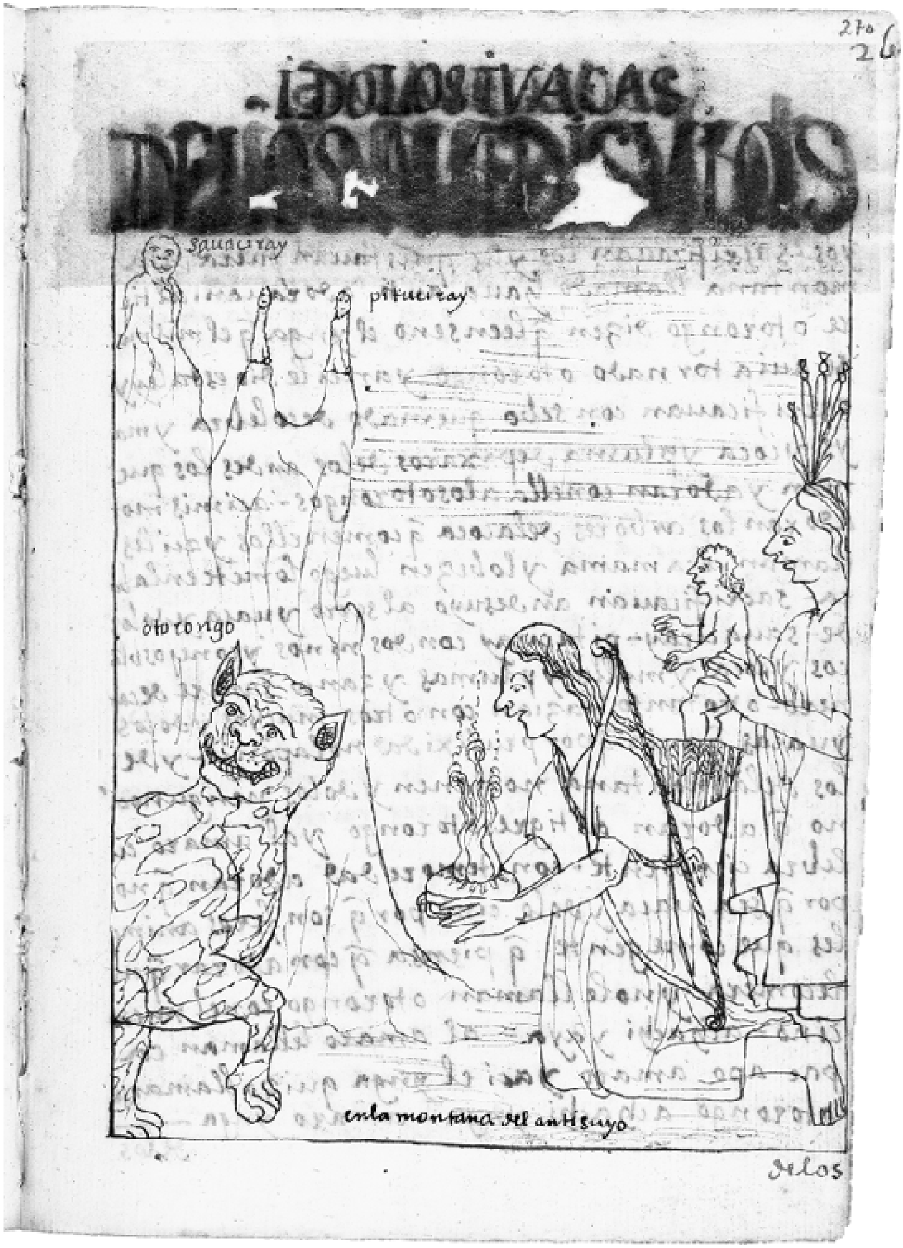
[268 (270)]

Page 268/270, drawing 105. Idols and *huacas* of Antisuyo: Sauasiray / Pitosiray / *otoronco* [jaguar] / in the eastern forest of Antisuyo

[269 (271)]

Idols and huacas *of Antisuyo*

The Indians of Antisuyo quarter, called *haua anti,* who were not in the eastern forest, adored the jaguar, *otoronco.*[252] They say that the Inca himself showed them that he had turned into an *otoronco.* Thus the Inca ordered a sacrifice of burned snake fat, maize, coca, and feathers from birds of the Andes. The sacrifice was burned in adoration of the *otoronco.* They also paid homage to the coca bushes. They chew coca and have the *coca mama* [ceremony]. They kiss it and put it in their mouths. The people of Antisuyo made sacrifices to peaks and *huacas* of Sauasiray, Pitociray of two children, white guinea pigs, coca, seashells, feathers and *zanco* with blood. They did the same for many other *huacas* that they had. To avoid prolixity, I omit them. The Indians of the forest had no idols, but they did adore the jaguar, *otoronco,* and *amaro,* the serpent. In fear they adore them, not because they are idols, but because they are ferocious animals that eat people. They think that by paying homage to them, these animals will not eat them. They do not call it *otoronco* for fear, but *achachi yaya* [253] They call the *amaro* "*capac apo.*" Thus the Inca called himself Otoronco Achachi Inca, Amaro Inca.


270
26
IDOLOS I VACAS
DE LOS ANDESVIOS
sauasiray
pitusiray
otorongo
enla montana del antisuyo
delos

268/270. *Drawing 105. Idols and* huacas *of the Antisuyo, Sauasiray, Pitosiray*

[270 (272)]

Page 270/272, drawing 106. Idols and *huacas* of Collasuyo: Villca Nota / black llama / in Collao[254]

[271 (273)]

Idols and huacas *of Collasuyo, Hatuncolla, Puquinacolla, Urocolla, Cana,* *Pacasi, Pomacanchi, Quispillacta, Callavaya, Charca, Chuui up to Chirihuana, all the province of Collasuyo quarter*255

The people of Colla province—Puquinacolla, Calacirca, Suriurco—made sacrifices of black llamas, baskets of coca, ten one-year-old children, *cuis, mullo,* and *suri* [rhea] feathers.256 They burned the offerings, sprinkling it on the *huacas.* Those of Puquinacolla, Urocolla, made sacrifices of white llamas, called *cuyro,* clay table service, much *chicha* made of *cañaua* [grain mash], *moraya* [white *chuño*], *mullo,* food, fresh and dried fish. They threw it in the lake in the province of Puquina and it was consumed.257 To the *huaca* of Titicaca they made sacrifices of much gold and silver, garments and twenty children, two years old. The people from Pomacanchi made sacrifices to the peak of Canchicirca of gold, silver, and other things that they burned along with a boy and girl twelve years of age. They also made sacrifices to other *huacas* of which I do not write to avoid prolixity. In each town and province they adored their *huacas* as had been ordained by the Incas. The Inca was informed of all this, and these sacrifices were done in the presence of the *tocricoc* and *michoc,* Inca judge. These officials sent a *chasque* to the capital of the kingdom to inform about the sacrifices.

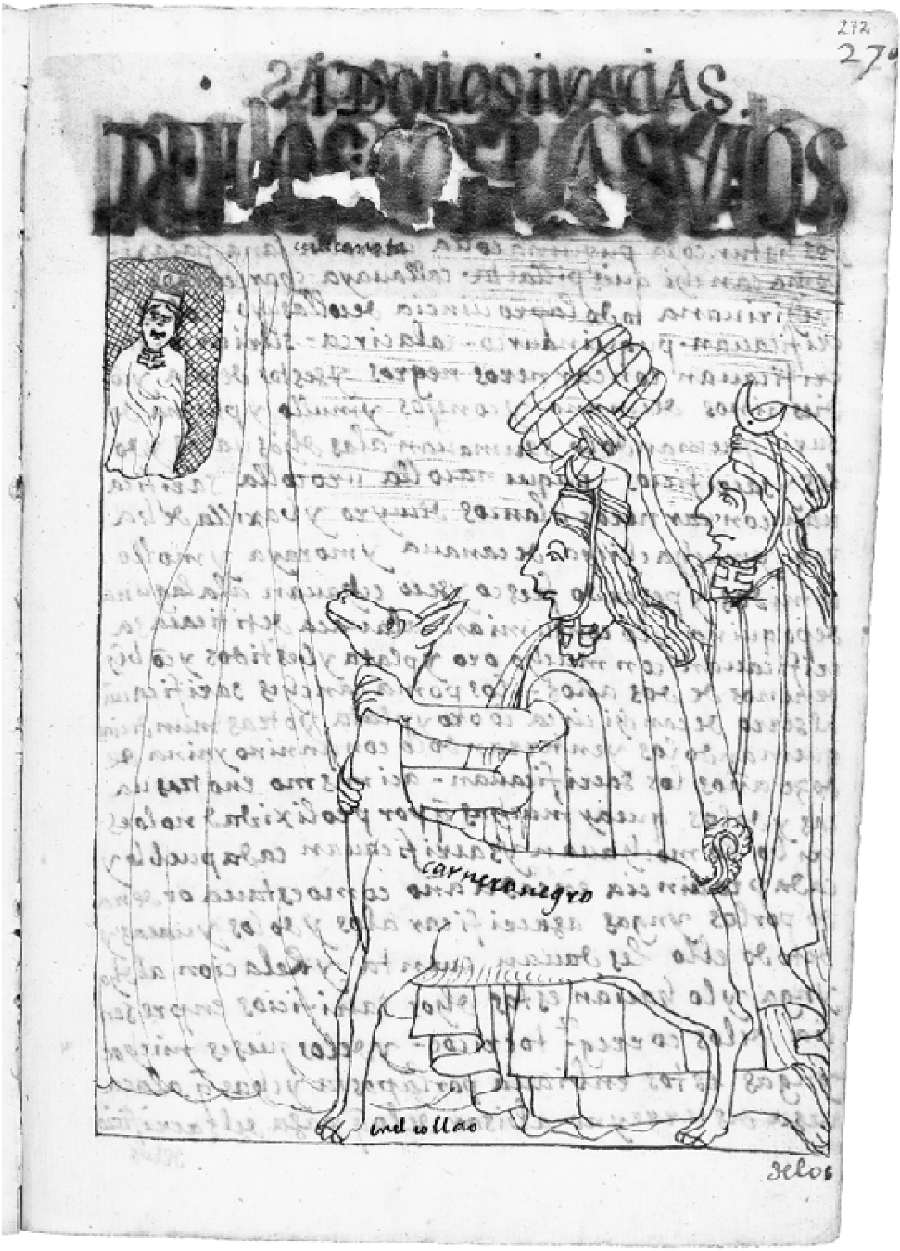
[272 (274)]

Page 272/274, drawing 107. Idols and *huacas* of Condesuyo: Coropuna / in the Condes

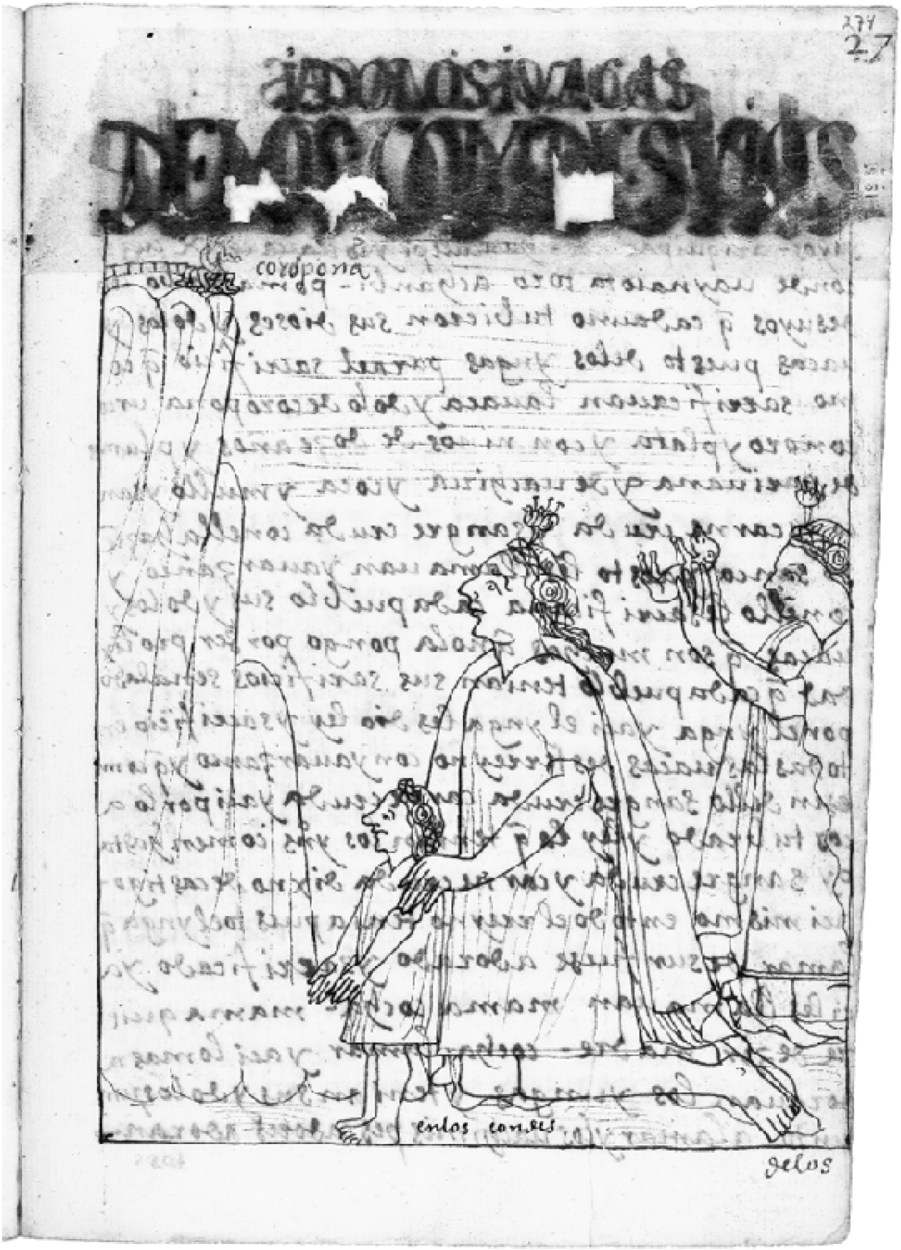
[273 (275)]

Idols and huacas *of Cuzco, Pomatambo, Collagua, Arequipa, Huaynacota, Huncullpi, Toro, Achambi*258

Each one of these provinces had its own *huacas* granted by the Incas for sacrifice. They made sacrifices to the *huaca* of Coropuna Urco with gold, silver, children twelve years of age, feathers of *pariuana* [flamingos], *uachiua* [Andean goose], coca, *mullo, zanco,* raw meat, fresh blood, with which they made *zanco.* This they called *yahuar zanco,* and each town made sacrifices with this *zanco* to their *huacas,* of which there are many. I will not include any more to avoid prolixity. Each town had their sacrifices designated by the Inca. Thus the Inca made the law of the sacrifices for all the *huacas* of this kingdom with *yahuar zanco.* They ate this fresh blood and raw meat. Thus to this day by custom and law the Indians take fresh blood and eat raw meat, for which they should be punished. In addition, in the whole kingdom the Inca required that the people adore and make sacrifices to the South Sea, which they called Mama Cocha; *mama* means "mother," and *cocha,* "the sea."259 The Yunca Indians and the *uachimis,* fishermen, adored the sea and had their idols there.[260]


272
274
IDOLOS I VACAS
DE LOS COLLASVIOS
villca nota
carnero negro
en el collao
idolos

270/272. *Drawing 106. Idols and* huacas *of the Collasuyo, Villca Nota*


274
27
coropona
enlos condes
gelos

272/274. *Drawing 107. Idols and* huacas *of the Condesuyo, Coropuna*

[274 (276)]

CHAPTER OF THE COMMON SORCERERS

There were common sorcerers in this kingdom, and there still are to this day. The following is about them. In the first place, there are bad sorcerers who use poisons to kill. They are called *hampiyoc.*[261] They kill with poison. Some die quickly, others slowly. The latter would dry up during a period of one year; then they get stiff like a stick and die. Originally only the Inca had poison, and no one else had it. On the Inca's orders the Indians who had poison were put to death. They were stoned with all their family; none survived except a nursing baby. These Indian sorcerers did *tinquichi* [bring-together rite]. They bring a man to a woman so that they would fall in love and the man would wither. They say that in a new pot, called *ari manca,* they burn with much fire fat with some filth. Then the sorcerer would summon the devil, and the sorcerer would act through the works of the devil. Both married and single people would tire and fall out of love, in accordance with what is stated above. The sorcerers speak to those of the inferno. They cast spells on people by doing ceremonies. It is said that they blow ground maize and ashes with the hair of the one they want to harm. For this purpose they try to steal the hair, burn it and blow it. In order to save themselves from the hands of justice, thieves, killers or sorcerers blow the dust of maize, which is *uayrap saran,* and bones of the dead. They blow it, and they say that in doing this, they have blown away justice and their opponent. As is their custom, when someone steals from the Indians, they take four ears of maize or potatoes from their *chacras;* they pull off the husk of the maize and tie it to a pole which they put in trees,

[275 (277)]

casting spells along the royal roads or where people go by so that the malefactor would notice that a curse had been cast on him. This custom was ancient. . . .[262] There are other sorcerers who do the following. They take a toad and then remove the poison from a snake. They say they speak to them and give the poison to men. Others, speaking to devils, take the toad and sew its mouth and eyes shut with thorns, tie its feet, and bury it in a hole where the enemy or the one they hate sits so that person will suffer and die. The toad does not die there, but just suffers. For this purpose they keep toads and snakes, feeding and caring for them. An Indian named Don Diego Suyca from the town of Santiago de Chipau did this. His own sister was a sorceress. The *corregidor* [official] Martin de Mendoza had the snakes burned in Lucana province. These Indians were banished to

Huancavilca.[263] Other sorcerers take a black and white thread twisted to the left and put it across the road. They stretch it and put it like the devil's lasso where their enemy will pass so the lasso will catch him, and the evil spells do their harm, which should make the enemy who breaks the thread fall into danger of getting sick, suffering and dying. For this purpose they take care to put out the thread when the enemy will go by. At that time the sorcerer awaits the enemy. Other sorcerers take ears of maize that they call *cutisara* [with the husk on], fat, hair, thorns and the hair of the enemy. They either snatch hair from their enemy or pay someone else to get the hair from the enemy. They bury all this in the enemy's *chacra,* in his house, or in a place where he sits, doing a thousand ceremonies so that the enemy will die, suffer hardships and poverty along with all of his family. Those who did this were punished by the district official Martin de Mendoza.

[276 (278)]

Other sorcerers take maize flour and ashes, which they blow while making curses. They curse the place where their enemies are, want them to turn to dust, to be deceived and suffer much evil. There were other sorcerers who are *uacanqui camayocs*[264] [love charm specialists]. They say that the *uacanqui* are birds of the Andes called *tuqui.*[265] Others say these charms were thorns, water, stones or tree leaves. Others say that they are *ychima* [vermillion] colors. Maids of the Spanish women, arrogant *chinacona* [Indian females], who are whores who work at inns or *tambos,* carry these *uacanqui.* They say that some Spanish women carry *uacanqui* to trick men out of their possessions. These *uacanqueras* make men kill themselves and spend all they have on these women. Thus such men end up poor. Other sorcerers go into caves to sleep, and they worship these caves saying: *machay mama ama micu uanquicho allilla puñuchiuay,* "Mother cave, do not eat me. Let me sleep well and keep me tonight." Saying this, they give the cave maize ground by chewing or coca. They spread this maize or coca on the cave. Even today the Indians do this. Other sorcerer-priests—when twins are born, a baby with a split nose, *huaca sinca,* or the baby comes out feet first, *yayuma uisama aualla*—they say that it is the son of Santiago or, before, the son of *yllapa* [lightning] and *cori* [gold]. They do not want visitors to see these unusual children. They put no salt on food, restrict their diet, and men do not sleep with their wives. Also if some man or woman dies, the Indians do not salt their food, restrict their diet, and avoid their wives. They put ashes on the doors of their houses that night. They stay up all night, get drunk doing *pacarico.* They all dance, eat raw meat, and drink fresh blood for five days or so. This is done to this day. I have seen it with my own eyes. They say, "*Camiuanchicmi ricu uanchic*";

“They will scold us if they see us.” Thus those who do these things do not like me.

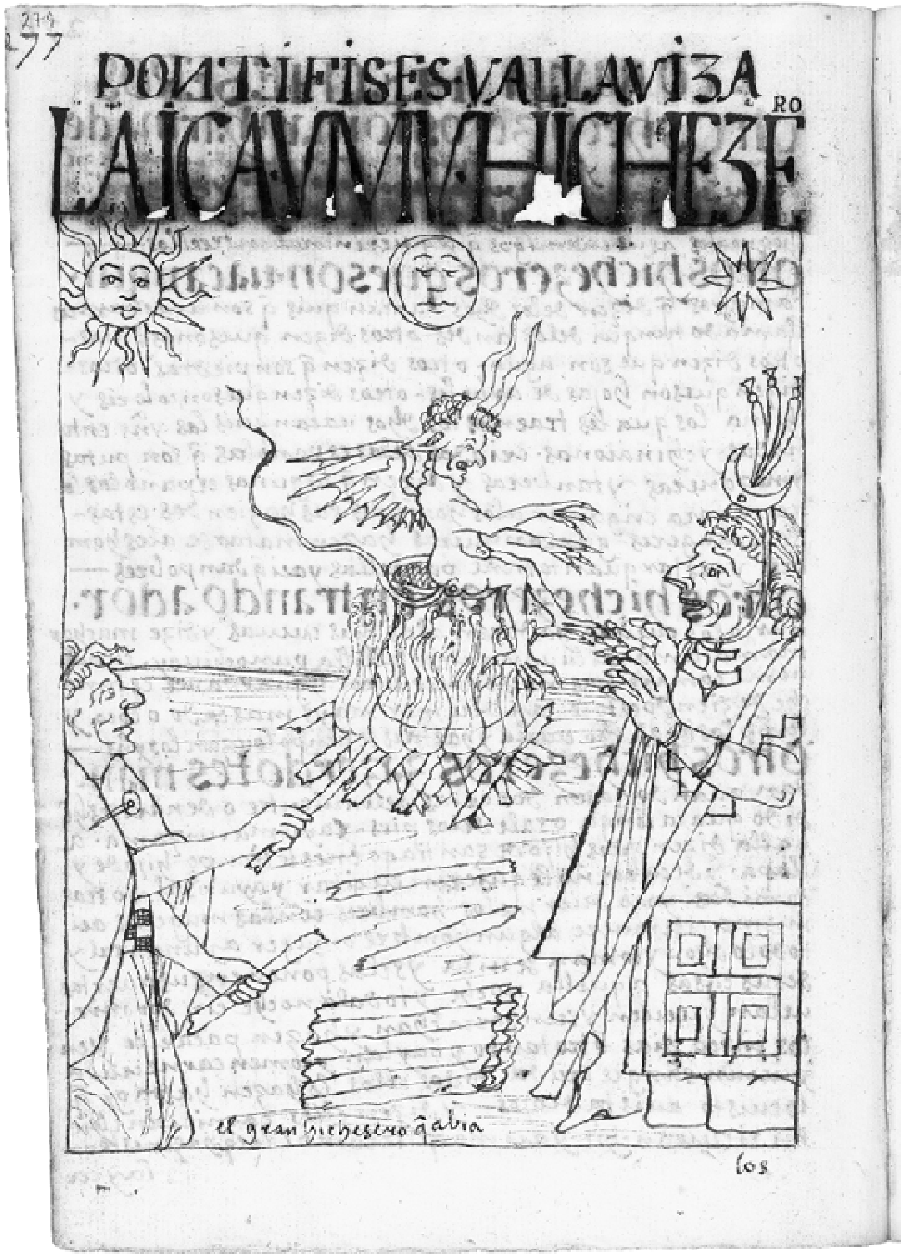
[277 (279)]

Page 277/279, drawing 108. High priests, *huaylla uisa, layca, umu,* sorcerer: the greatest sorcerer that there was

[278 (280)]

High priests, conde uisa

The high priest-sorcerers, *laycacona umocina uisacona camascacona,* that the Inca had were worshipped and respected. They say that these sorcerers use a new pot called *ari manca.* They heat it with nothing inside. Then they take human fat, maize, *zanco,* feathers, coca, silver, gold and all kinds of food. They put this into the pot, burn it, and the sorcerer speaks to the devils inside the pot. These high priests would ask about joining men and women or about killing someone by giving them a mouthful of poison. They know the future. In order to know what there is and what is happening in the world, all sorcerers, both men and women, start by speaking with the demons of the inferno. May God save the Christians! May Jesus and Maria be with me! Amen. This is written to punish the idolaters who are against our Holy Catholic faith. These high priests did ceremonies with llamas, guinea pigs, and human flesh that was given to them by the Incas. These *uisa* from Conde and Huaylla and *laycacona* take fat and blood, which they blow to the *huacas,* making these demons speak. Other sorcerers took fat from llamas, snakes, mountain lions and other animals along with maize, blood, *chicha* and coca, burned it and made demons speak through the flames. The sorcerers ask questions, and the demons respond, telling of the present and future. In this way the sorcerers know. All those who chew coca are sorcerers who speak to demons; whether drunk or not, they go crazy by chewing coca. May God save us. Sacraments cannot be given to those who chew coca. During the time of the Incas there were goblins and evil spirits among the Indians. Thus there were ghosts from the four quarters of the empire: Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo, Condesuyo. . . .[266] They say that all the souls of the dead were there suffering hunger, thirst, heat, cold and fire.


279
277
PONTIFISES VALLAVIZA
LAICA VMV HECHEZERO
el gran hechesero q abia
los

277/279. *Drawing 108. High priests,* huaylla uisa*,* layca*,* umu*, sorcerer*

[279 (281)]

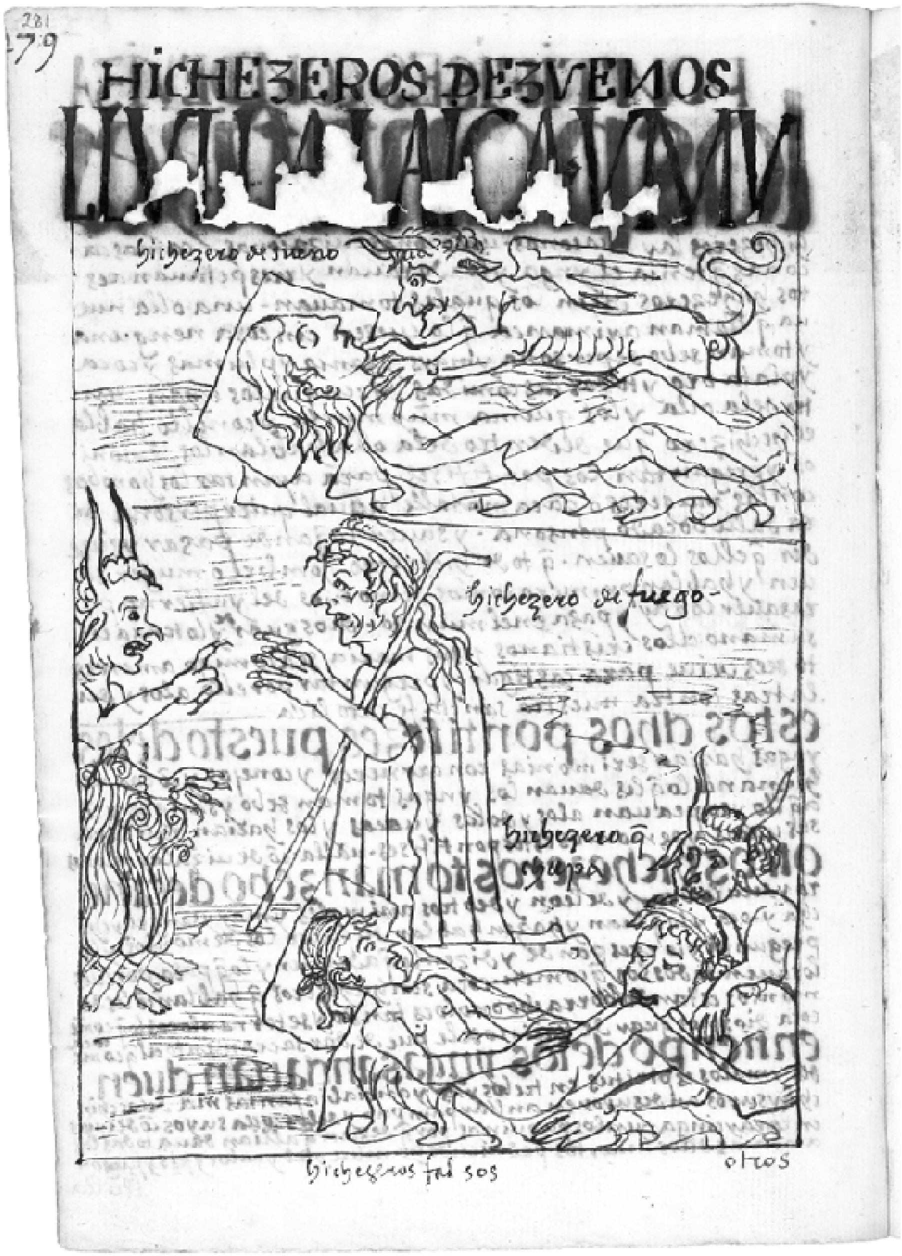
Page 279/281, drawing 109. Sorcerers of dreams, *llulla layca, umu* [deceitful sorcerers, sorcerer-priests]: sorcerer of sleep / sorcerer of fire / sorcerer who sucks / false sorcerers

[280 (282)]

Sorcerers who suck

Other sorcerers speak with demons and suck. They say that they suck the sickness out of the body and that they take out bits of silver, pebbles, twigs, worms, toads, straw or maize from the body of sick men and women. These are false sorcerers. They deceive the Indians and the devil. All they want to do is cheat them out of their property and teach the Indians idolatry. They say there are illnesses called *taqui oncoy, chirapa oncoy, puquio oncoy, pacha macasca capac oncoy, huaca macasca puquiop tapyascan sara papa ormachiscan oncoycona.*[267] All of this is idolatrous sorcery that the Inca taught the sorcerers.

Other sorcerers sleep and dream that they speak with demons who tell them all that there is, what is happening and what the sorcerer wants and asks for. These are sorcerers of dreams. At dawn they offer sacrifices and worship demons. These are subtle, secretive sorcerers who deceive the people. The high priests, like cardinals and bishops, were appointed by the Incas as caretakers for the principal *huacas,* except for the *huaca* of the Inca, as has been stated. The minor priests who had large salaries were caretakers for Pachacamac, Aysavilca, Lati, Sulco, Pariacaca, Muchucavilca, Uatacocha, Paucaray and other important *huacas.* The major priests of the sun and Huanacauri were *uisa* from Huaylla and Conde. Certain priest-sorcerers were like canon priests; they acted as caretakers for volcanoes of this kingdom that were *huacas:* Sauasiray, Pitosiray, Ausancata, Coropuna, Surivillca, Quichacalla.[268] These priest-sorcerers of the Incas were paid. The priest-sorcerers who served in *uamanis*[269] for *apachitas,* common *huacas,* were numerous in this kingdom. These priests took confessions. They deceived men, saying that the *huacas* eat, drink and speak, when in fact they do not. Thus there were *huacas* in the whole kingdom, and those who did not keep them were killed. All that has been written about the priest-sorcerers I know for a fact because I served under Cristobal de Albornos, general inspector of the Holy Mother Church. This priest destroyed all the idols and sorceries of the kingdom. He was a Christian judge.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279
HICHEZEROS DEZUENOS
LLVLLA LAICA VMV
hichezero de sueño
hichezero de fuego
hichegero q̃ chupa
hichegeros falsos
otros

279/281. *Drawing 109.* Llulla layca, umu, *deceitful sorcerers and witches*

[281 (283)]

Page 281/283, drawing 110 Evil omens, *atipaya, acuyraqui* [evil omen, misfortune]: *tapacuy yaycuan uanazacmi* [a butterfly approached]; *nina nina curucta ayzaycuuan huarmi uañunca* [a large insect has brought a worm, my wife will die]; *astaya uanozacmi* [Bad luck! I will die]. / omens / *chusic* [barn owl] / *tuco* [horned owl] / *pacpac* [pigymy owl]

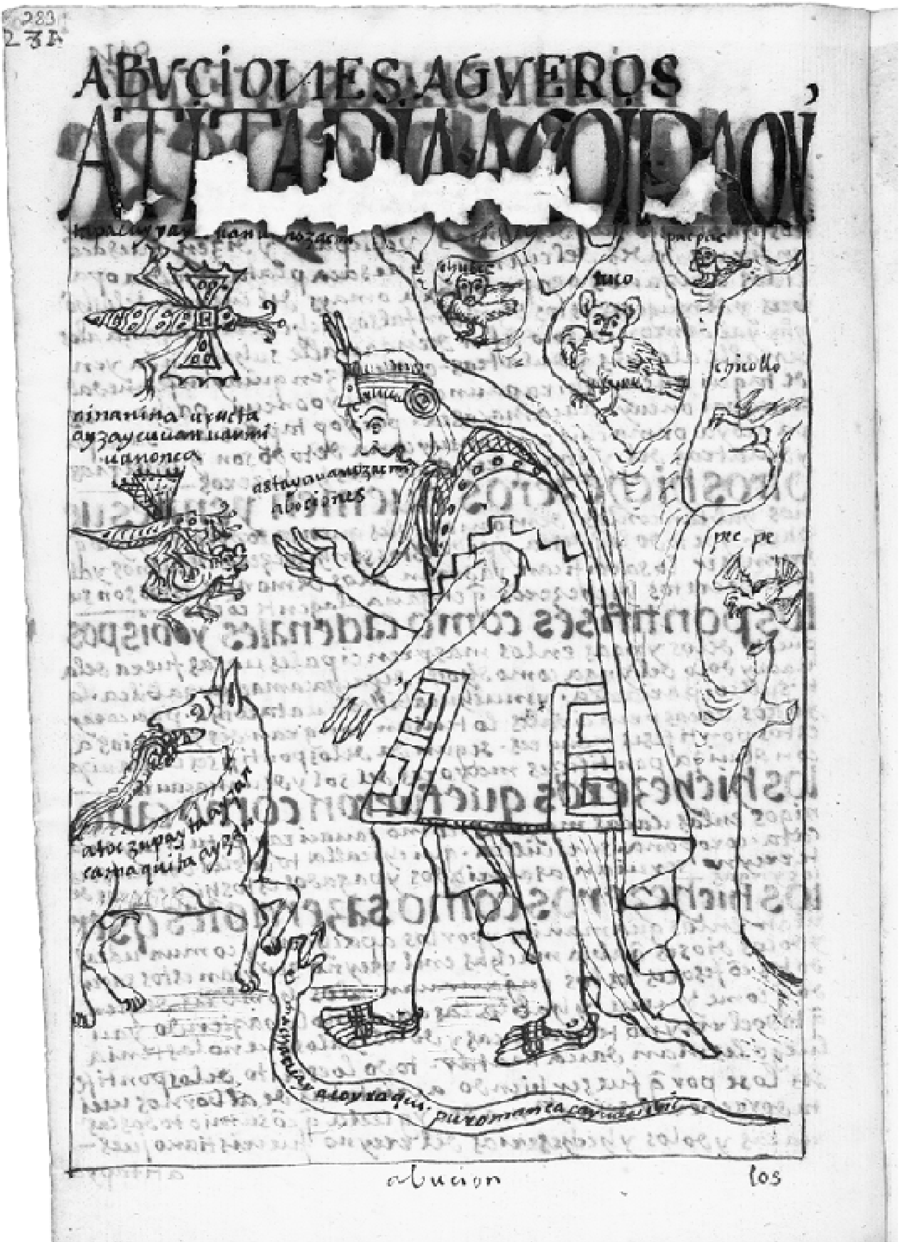
/ *chicollo* [a bird] / *pecpe* [a small bird] / *atoc supayta ayzan camaquita ayzan* [The fox drags the devil, drags his creator.] / *machacuay acuyraqui puromanca cay uasi chic* [Serpent of misfortune, our house will be destroyed.] / evil omens

[282 (284)]

Evil omens

These are the evil omens that were accepted by the Indians in the ancient times of the Incas. Even now they believe that *atipaya, tapya uanmi* [evil omen, I have been cursed], *acuyraqui* [misfortune], *tiyoyraqui* [calamity]. When animals appear or enter their houses: snakes, barn owls, pygmy owls, bats. The call of *tuco, chusic, pacpac, pecpec, chicollo: cayaycuuan* [owls and birds: they call me].[270] *Taparnacu yaycuuan* [A moth has entered into me]. *Uru nina ayacta ayzaycuuan* [A fire wasp has brought a cadaver]. *Ychapas maycan uañoson?* [Perhaps someone is going to die?] *Atoc mi supay ta ayzan uarmitam ychapas carita* [The fox drags the devil, a woman or perhaps a man]. On hearing the foxes howl or some other animal, the Indian soothsayers say that the heads of living people come out and move about, or over the arms, legs, guts of men or women. They say that these Indians will die or leave the land or their women, or their husbands or the children from their parents. Or they will drown in the rivers, fall over a cliff, be burned up or hang themselves as they do now. Or as the Chanca Indians hang themselves while drunk.[271] All the demons and Satan will take them to his house, the inferno. There is another evil omen, *atipaya—acuyraqui.* If there enters into the house a barn owl, bat, moth, snake, or if a mushroom appears in the house, or there be many fleas, they say, "*Carcouanchicmi uañozunmi tucusunmi*" [They eject us, we will die, we are finished]. They say that all will die, for that reason [the animals] enter. Believing this evil omen, they consume everything they have in the house. Each day they get drunk without remembering God, the Virgin Mary or the saints.

Soothsayers and Indians believe in dreams, in the time of the Inca and at the present time. When they dream of an *uru nina* [fire wasp], they say they will get sick. When they dream of an *ande chicollo* [a bird], a *uaychau* [tyrant bird] or a *chiuaco* [thrush], they say they will have a fight. When they dream of an *acuyraqui* [misfortune], *mayuta chacata chimpani* [approaching a bridge, a river], or *inti quilla uañun* [an eclipse of the sun, the moon], they say their father or mother will die. When they dream of *quiroymi lloccin* [a tooth coming out], their father or brother will die. *Llamata nacani* [I slit the throat of a llama], the same will happen. When a woman dreams *rutuscam canique* [her hair was cut], she will become a widow. *Moscuspa yana pacha uan* *pampas cam cani—callanpatam riconi zapallotam paquini moscuypi* [In my dream, I am buried with a black shroud, I see a mushroom, I grab a *zapallo* (squash), in my dream]. They believed that when they had these


283
281
ABUCIONES AGUEROS
tuco
chiullo
pre pe
ninanina uyacta
ayzaycuuan uanmi
uanonca
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abuciones
atoc zupay
campaquita ayzan
acoyraqui
abucion
los

281/283. *Drawing 110. Superstitions and omens:* atipaya*, bad omens;* acuyraqui*, misfortunes* dreams of evil omens, they were going to die themselves, or their parents or their brothers, or that they would each have to leave their land.

They had another type of evil omen by rolling their eyes: *ñaui paña ñaui ricu zacmi uaca sacmi pitachi ricu sac* [I will see with the right eye, I will cry with the one I see]. *Chaquimi sicsen runam samonca puri zacmi* [If my foot aches, someone will come, or I will leave]. *Alli rinrimi chunyan allin runachi rima uan* [If my good ear rings, perhaps a good person will speak to me]. *Ychoc rinrimi chunyan mana allitachi rima uan* [If my left ear rings, I will probably receive bad news]. *Uazaymi rapyan macauancam* [If my back trembles, I will get punched]. The Indians believe in these evil omens even now.

Curses that they use among themselves

First they say:

supay apasunqui—maypi ysmoc—tantay uarina puric—mana pacuspa causac—ayamanpas chunca mita cutic—runa camac niquip micuscan—yntip llacsacan—pachap mill puscan—amatac cay uatauanpas causanquicho—hinantiqui colloc—mana pacuspa causac maypi ysmoc—uachapocuspa uanoc mana surcayoc uachoc zuua—misti uaza pacusca—misti uatanaypi yumasca—misti palla pacusa—ysullaya upza pacusa.
[The devil will take you where it rots. In rags, like a deer living without being able to graze. You will turn into a cadaver ten times. You will be devoured by your creator. The sun will weaken you. The earth will swallow you. Neither will you live all this year. Your lineage will be exterminated, living always without food where it rots, dying at birth, faint hearted, adulterer, thief, half-caste's behind, consumed like grass, engendered on the whipping post of the half-caste, half-caste lady, consumed like grass, bastard, animal, consumed like grass.]

All of these curses were used before and are still used now at this time with little fear of God, Our Lord and Creator.

Every year they find evil omens when they harvest maize, potatoes, or *ocas* [tubers], when two ears of corn grow together, two potatoes together, or are much bigger than usual. They say this is a very bad sign, that they will die. In order to avoid death, they dance all night, *pacarico.* They spend the night without closing their eyes, singing, "*Arauayo, arauayo, arauayo.*" They sing all day, drink, get drunk, chew a lot of coca, eat raw meat without salt; this they call *pacarico.* They do the same, drinking and singing all night, for a sick person to get well. They also do the same when there is a pestilence, doing *pacarico.* They also do this for the *rotochico* [first haircut ceremony] and *huarachico* [maturity rite]. They are all the same idolatrous ceremonies, practiced by the Inca, *ñaupa pacha* [in ancient times] of the Indian *huaca muchas* [idol worshipers]. Now those who revert to these practices deserve punishment. All that has been told about the sorcerers I saw when Señor Cristobal de Albornoz, inspector for the Holy Church, punished a great many Indians. Señor Albornoz was a very Christian judge who punished everyone.

[284 (286)]

Page 284/286, drawing 111. Processions, fasts, and penitence, *vacailli, zazicui, llaquicui* [mourning, fasts, sadness]: penitence

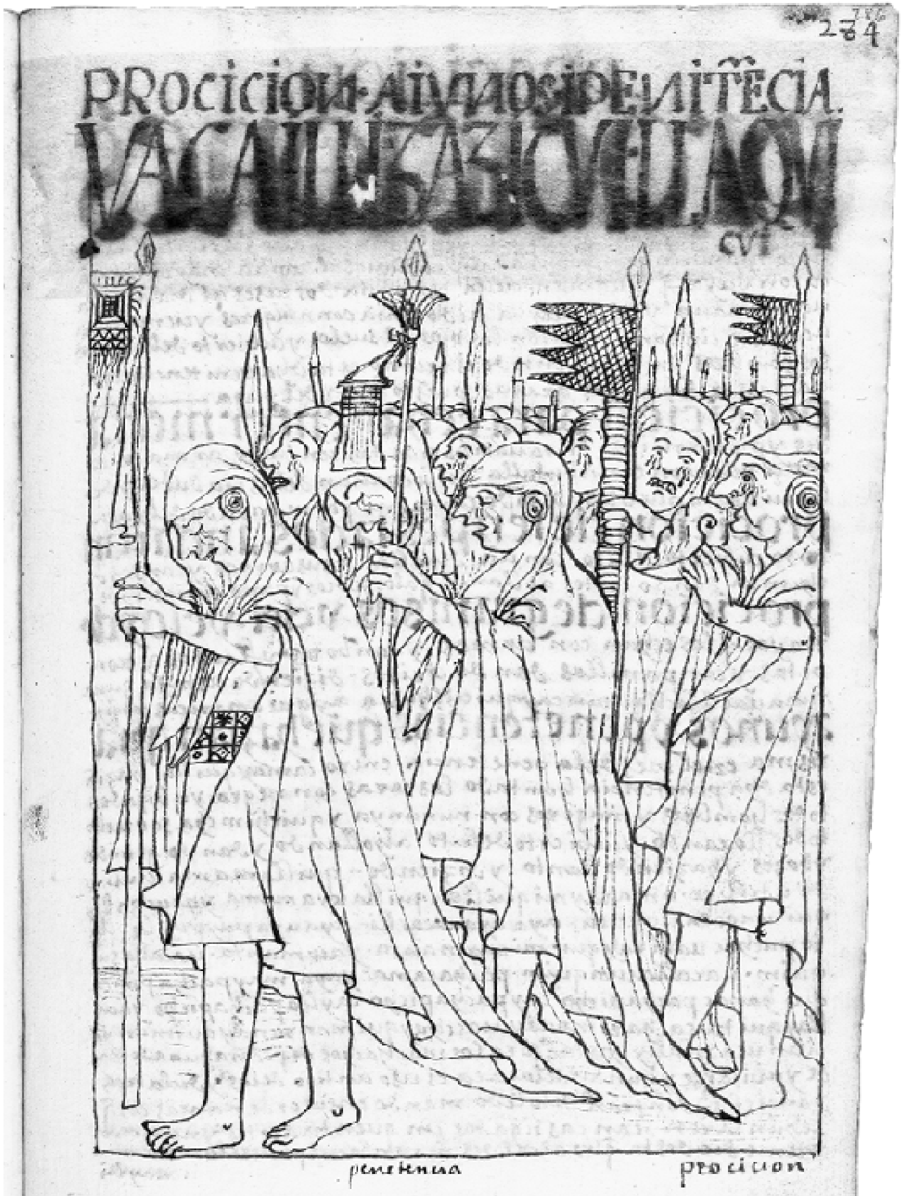
[285 (287)]

Processions, fasts, penitence, and sacrifices done by the Incas

For a month all the men and women of the kingdom did not eat any delicacy nor did they use salt. They ate uncooked white maize with *yuyos* [herbs] called *ciclla.* This they ate two times a day, for lunch and supper. The men did not laugh nor sleep with their wives. The men and women of this kingdom were always sad and did not converse. They turned their eyes toward the ground and dressed in mourning clothes. The Inca imposed this penitence with grave punishment. It was the law of the Inca.

The procession to avoid sickness and pestilence: They struck at each other with lighted torches, armed as if they were fighting in a battle. This way they ejected sickness and pestilence from their cities and towns in the kingdom on the orders of the Inca.[272]

Storm processions: They dressed in mourning clothes, carrying weapons with small flags, spears of *chunta* [hard palm wood]. They would shout so loud that the sound would carry to the hills and bluffs.


284
PROCICION · AIUNAOS I PENITECIA
VACAILLI · ZAZICUI · LLAQUICUI
penitencia
procicion

284/286. *Drawing 111. Processions, fasts, and penitence:* vacailli, zazicui, llaquicui

Hail, ice and lightning procession: They expelled the storms with weapons, drums, flutes, trumpets and little bells, shouting, saying, "*Astaya zuua runa uacchachac cuncayqui cuchuscayque ama ricuscayquecho!*" [Ay, ay, thief, plunderer, I will cut your throat. Grant that I never see you again!]

During the month of January, Camay Quilla, they went on fasts and did penitence like Lent. For this penitence they smeared black on their faces; both men and women also used *ñuñuya* [red paint] and *quichimicha* [soot]. Dressed in mourning, they all cried, sobbing and moaning. They would say:

Quilla mama [Mother moon], during the month of October: uma raymi quilla—quilla coya mama—yacuc sallayqui—unoc sallayqui—aya uya uacaylli—aya uya puypuylle—lluto puchac uamrayqui—micuymanta yacomanta—uacallasun-quim—ucallasunquim pachacamac yaya—maypachapim canqui—huacac pachapicho cay pachapicho—caylla pacha picho—yacullayquita cacharimouay uacchay-quiman runay quiman.
[Month of the principal festival, queen mother Moon, lovers of rainwater, lovers of lakewater, ay! Notice our tears, ay! Notice our weeping, your tender suffering children, weeping, weeping, for food, for rainwater, Pachacamac, father. Where are you? In what high place? In this world? Near the earth? Send us rain, to your needy people.]

In this way up to now the boys have followed the law and smeared their faces, asking their god for rain. This idolatrous custom is ancient. Thus Señor Don Francisco de Toledo gave the ordinances that those who smeared their faces be punished with fifty lashes. There is no redress for this because the officials are to blame.

[286 (288)]

[Chosen women][273]

The Sun and the *huacas* had Indians in their service called *yanayaco* and *uayror aclla,* the nuns of their gods.[274] These girls could not speak to any man during their entire lives. They had pasture lands called *intip moyan uayror aclla* [the Sun's pastures for the chosen women]. They had livestock, herders and sown fields, and guanacos and vicuñas that were called *intip llaman* [the Sun's llamas], and geese called *uachiua.* At that time the gods, idols of this kingdom had property.

God sent pestilence in the time of the Incas and at present also. God also sent punishment. In the time of the Inca it rained fire on the town of Cacha in the Collao.[275] It rained sand. The volcano Putina erupted and covered the city of Arequipa and the whole region.[276]

The illnesses of the measles and smallpox caused great harm during the time of Inca Huayna Capac. A great many people died and even the Inca himself. They say that he went into a cave in a stone in fear of this disease, and he died inside there.[277]

Many people die from earthquakes. During the time of Inca

Pachacuti it did not rain for ten years. This reminds one of the seven years of hunger in Egypt. They say that at this time stones burst to bits, crops froze, hail fell on the crops, pestilence of worms destroyed the crops in the fields, and moths got into the houses.

There was also pestilence of mice that destroy from the highland to the plains; pestilence of birds, tinamous, screeching parrots, *chiuillos* [black birds], deer, skunks and foxes.[278]

All the pestilence in the time of the Incas and the present time were punishments sent by God. The old men and women say that God tempted the Indians in every town and came in the form of a poor hermit who begged in the name of God for garments, food and drink. These people say that God came more often when the towns' people were having celebrations in the public squares and not giving alms; he returned for that [to punish them].

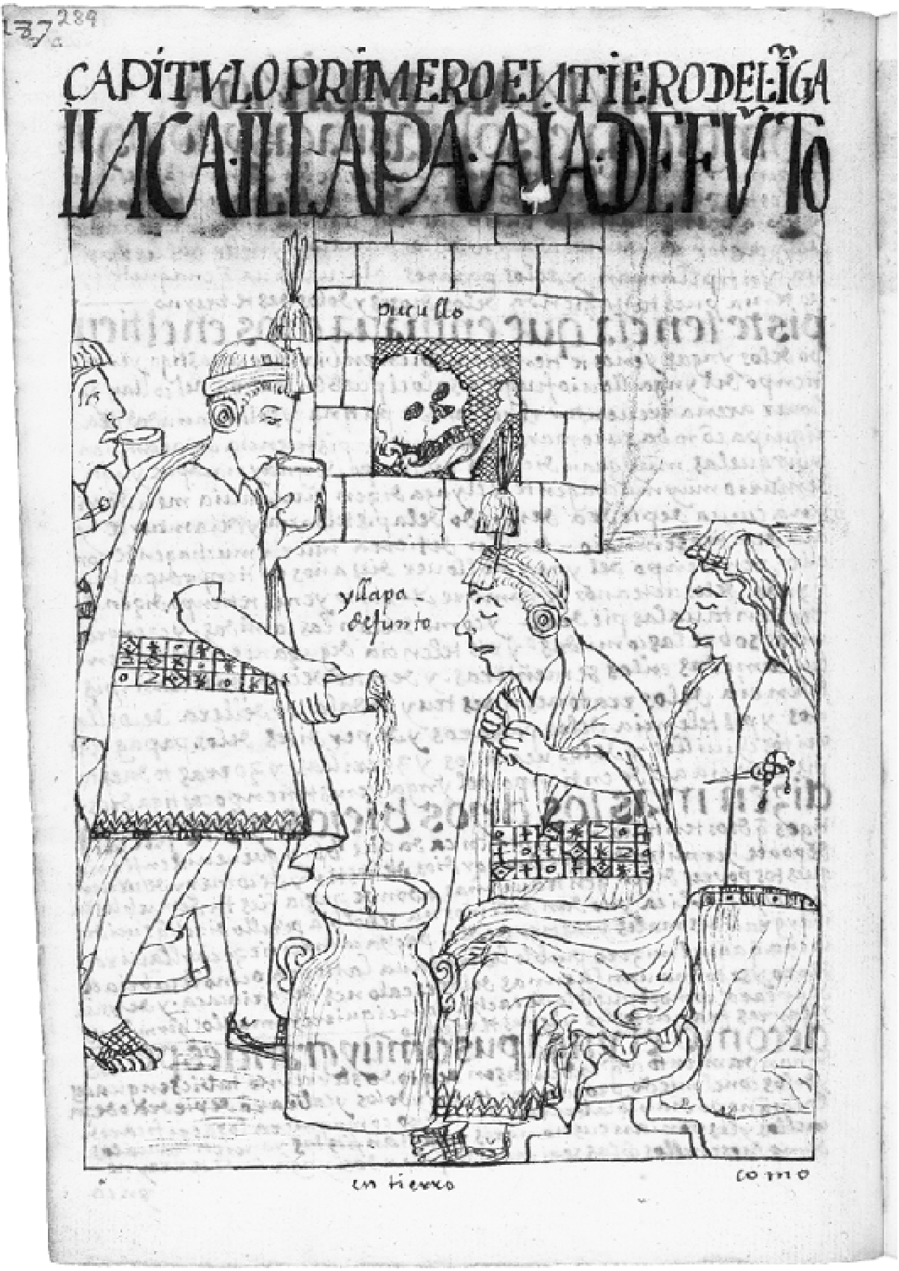
They say there were catastrophes and punishments sent by God, Pachacamac, Ticzicaylla Viracocha.[279] The earth swallowed the poor people, or if not, the mountain was covered, and lakes appeared on the sides of Pariacaca and Ysua de Apcara, the same as the town of Cacha.[280] Thus the Indians of this kingdom love hermits and Franciscan friars.

The Inca went to great pains to make sure his order to have *huacas* was obeyed throughout the kingdom. Through fear, the people went to great lengths to make idols of stone and wood. If this were not possible, they made idols of clay. They made sacrifices to these idols, gave them names and had festivals in their honor. Thus demons entered into the idols with the ceremonies done on the orders of the Inca in this kingdom.

BURIALS

[287 (289)]

Page 287/289, drawing 112. First chapter of the burial of the Inca, Inca *yllapa aya,* dead body: *pucullo* [tomb] / *yllapa,* dead body / burial


287 289
CAPÍTVLO PRIMERO EN TIERO DEL ĨGA
INCA ILLAPA AIA DEFVNTO
pucullo
yllapa defunto
en tierro
como

287/289. *Drawing 112. Burials of the Inca: Inca* yllapa aya*, the deceased Inca, his corpse*

[288 (290)]

Burial of the Inca

The Inca was buried and embalmed without moving his body. He was given eyes and a face that made him look as if he were alive. He was also dressed in fine garments. The dead Inca was called Yllapa.[281] All other dead were called *aya*. The Inca was buried with elaborate dinner ware of gold and silver.

The Inca's servants and women he loved were killed, including the *coya* the Inca loved the most. Before strangling these people, first they would get them drunk, open their mouths and blow coca powder in there. They were all embalmed and placed beside the Inca. For one month the body would be mourned and celebrated with weeping, songs, music, dancing.

At the end of the month, the bodies would be buried and taken to the vault they call *pucullo*.[282] They had a great, solemn procession during that whole month until the burial. They refrained from using salt and customary foods. They made offerings of gold, silver, livestock, garments and food throughout the whole kingdom. Similar funerals were held for the major lords, *capac apo,* but not for anyone else.

After the burial, the next month all the legitimate children or illegitimate ones and the nobles throughout the kingdom did penitence and fasted. During the third month the legitimate children went into the Coricancha, Temple of the Sun, to offer sacrifices and prayers.

If there were one, two, three or four children of the deceased Inca, the Sun would select the successor. The Sun could select any of them, the eldest or one of the younger ones. If the Sun picked the youngest, he would take the *borla*.[283] He would be lord and king. The others remained *auquicona,* princes. The Inca's nephews and grandchildren were also princes. The new Inca was obeyed by his brothers and all the other lords of the kingdom.

[289 (291)]

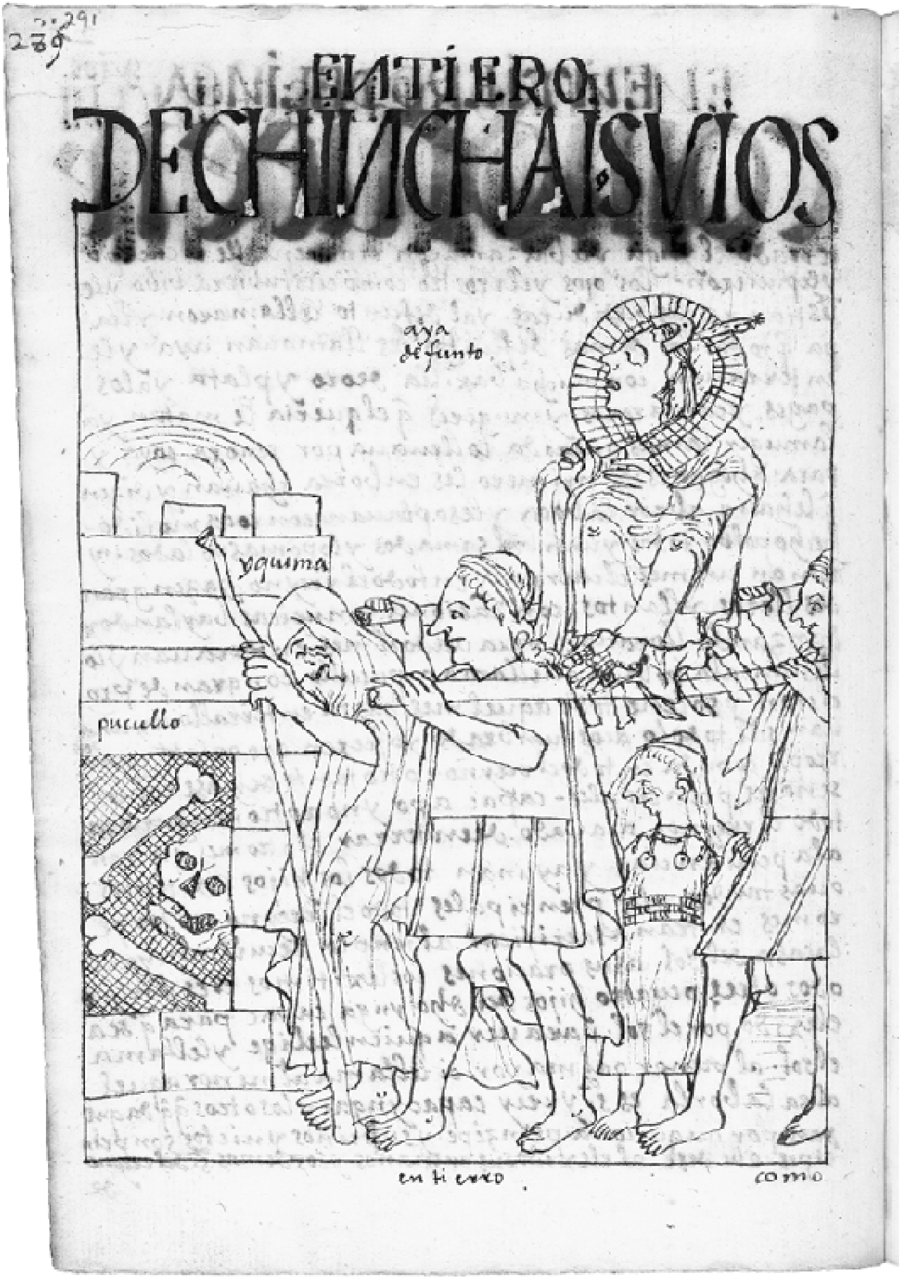
Page 289/291, drawing 113. Burial of the Chinchaysuyos: *aya* [the deceased] / *yquima* [widow] / *pucullo* [tomb] / burial

[290 (292)]

Burial in the Chinchaysuyo quarter

How the Indians of the Chinchaysuyo quarter were buried in the times of the Incas.

When someone died, the burial did not take place until five days had passed. That night they stayed awake and refrained from using salt or any delicacies. They killed a llama and ate the meat raw or cooked, but without salt or chile pepper. They also drank the fresh blood or made *llapisca* [mash] with potatoes and fresh blood. They give the dead one food and drink, much more to the dead Inca and *capac apo*. That is the big meal of fresh blood and raw meat.


291
289
ENTIERO DE CHINCHAISVIOS
aya defunto
yquima
pucullo
entierro
como

289/291. *Drawing 113. Burials of the Chinchaysuyos*

After eating that, they all cry, sing their songs, dance, play music, shouting and mourning. The one who cries the most, they get drunk, and he has more meat and food. The leader of the singing who has a good crying voice gets a leg of llama meat. They all get drunk.284

It is said that they wash the dead body and dress it in garments, feathers, jewels of silver and gold. The body is placed on a litter and taken in a procession. As has been stated, each *ayllo* and lineage sings, jumps and cries, as was their custom.

On the fifth day, the body is taken in procession for burial; this is called *pichicanmi* [the fifth day]. The same is done after ten days; this is called *chuncanmi* [the tenth day]. The widow dresses in mourning garments that cover her face. Her hair is cut short. After six months, the same. After a year, the same.

The good widow has this celebration last two years. In each celebration of the deceased there are many sermons given by the old Indians, *curacas, camachicoccona.* There, all the close relatives get together. They are threatened with severe punishments, and it is ordered that they be hard workers, honor justice, the Inca and the lords.

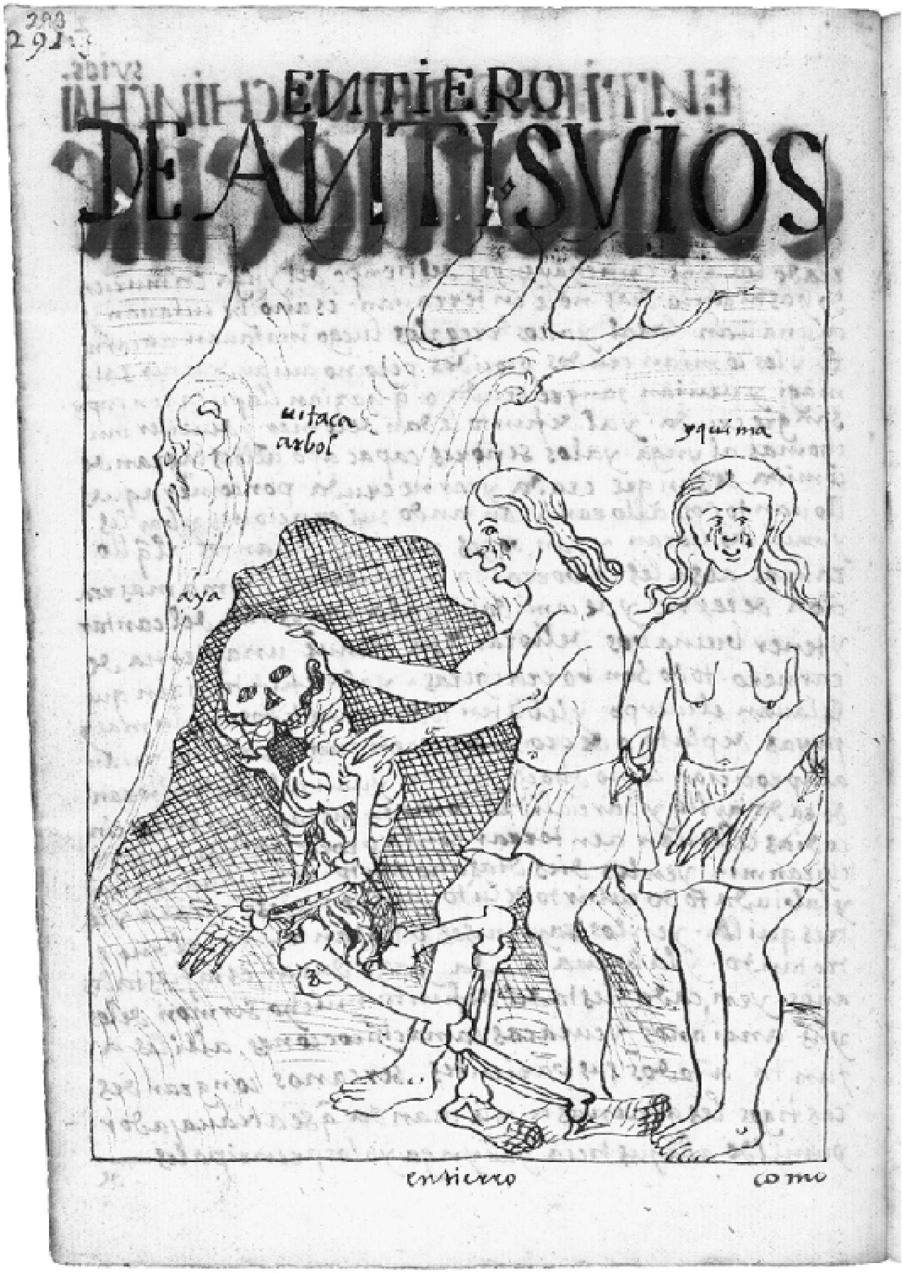
[291 (293)]

Page 291/293, drawing 114. Burial of the Antisuyos: *uitaca,* tree / *yquima* [widow] / *aya* [the deceased] / burial

[292 (294)]

Burial in the Antisuyo quarter

How the Indians were buried in the Antisuyo quarter. It is said that they cry all day and hold a great celebration. During this celebration they cry and sing their songs. They do not have ceremonies like the Indians of the highlands nor those of the *yuncas.* The Indians of Antisuyo live in the eastern forest; they eat human flesh. Thus as soon as one dies, they start to eat all the flesh, leaving only the bones. As soon as one stops breathing, they dress the body in feathered clothes that they make; they remove the feathers, undress the body, wash it and start to cut it into pieces. The Indians take the bones, and without the men or women crying, they carry the bones to a tree called *uitaca;* worms in this tree made it an evil omen. They put the bones in there and cover them very well. After that they never see the bones nor do they remember the deceased. They do not have ceremonies like the highland Indians.


293
291
ENTIERO
DE ANTISVIOS
uitaca
arbol
yquima
aya
entierro
como

291/293. *Drawing 114. Burials of the Antisuyos*

There they even put gold, silver and coca in the mouth of the deceased and bury him with his *ojotas* [sandals], garments and food. Women are buried with their silver *topos;* they tell them to take the pins. To this day they have this custom. When the priest is not looking, they bury the deceased as was done *ñaupa pacha.* They never forget this.

[293 (295)]

Page 293/295, drawing 115. Burial of the Collasuyos: *ayan utapa* [house of the dead] / *amaya* [the deceased][285] / burial

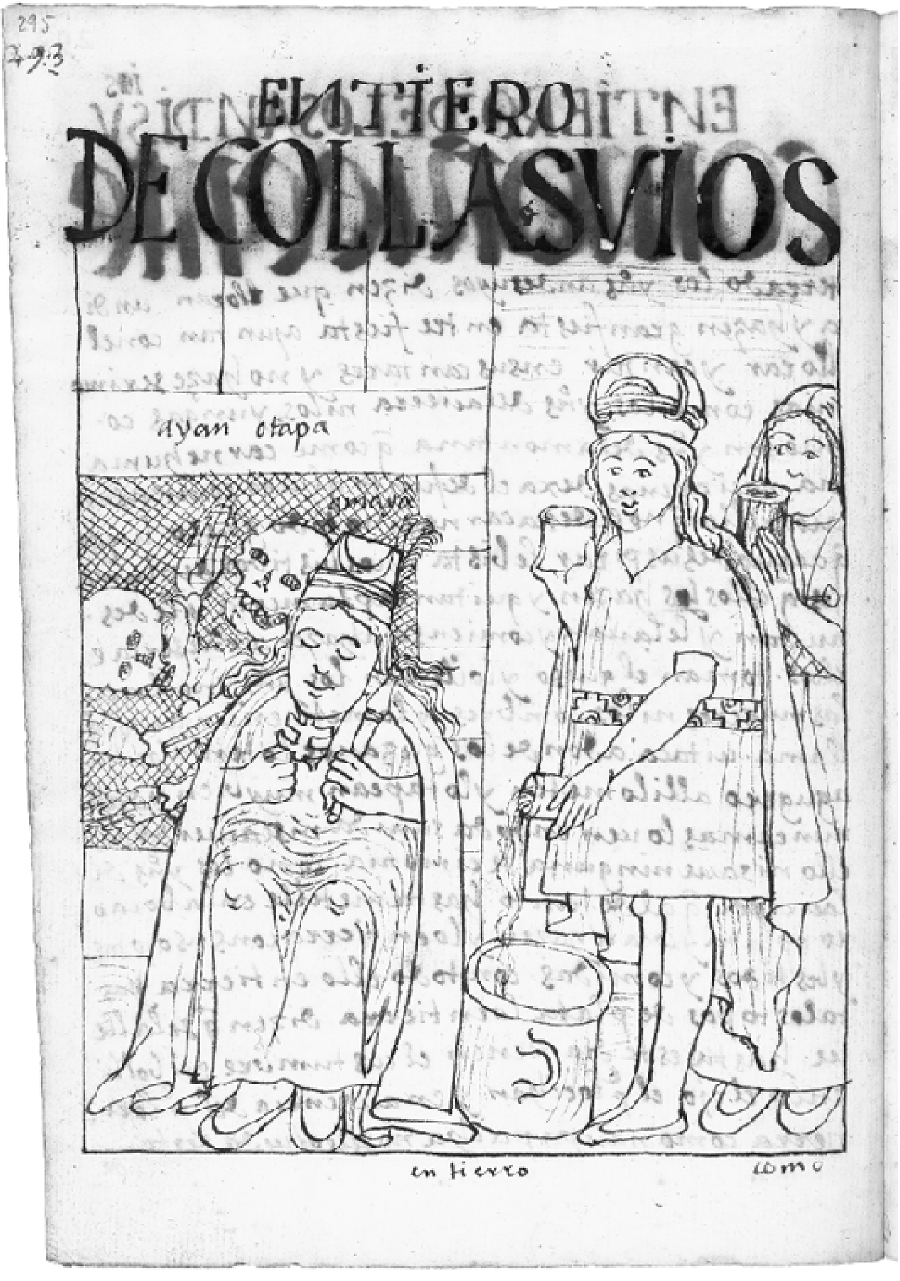
[294 (296)]

How the people of Collasuyo quarter were buried

They dress the body and cry the first day. Five days later they bury the body in a seated position, fully dressed, with dinner ware of gold, silver and clay. If the deceased is poor, they give him a lot of food. Other Indian men or women take the deceased to where other dead relatives, father, mother, brothers and friends are. They give the deceased food, *chicha,* water, gold, silver, dinner ware, garments and other things. With this they bury the deceased in five days, as has been stated. After ten days they cry again and give him the same. Then they burn these things. They say that when the flames of the fire crackle, the deceased receives the gift. The people of Chinchaysuyo and Antisuyo go straight to Caraypampa. The people of Collasuyo and Condesuyo take their dead straight to Puquinapampa and Coropuna, where they get together.[286]

They say there are many festivities and conversation among the deceased men and women. Passing there, they go to another place where they suffer from much work, hunger, thirst and cold or hot weather.

Thus they are buried with their food and drink. The living always take care to send the dead food and drink. Six months later they have another celebration of the deceased, and a year later another. They do not take the dead out of the burial place for a procession like they do in the Chinchaysuyo quarter, but rather they leave the dead in their tomb, which they call the town of the dead: *amayan—marcapa—hiuirinacan ucanpuni cunahuchasa camachisi* [the dead in their place are fed by mortals who sin].[287]


295
293
ENTIERO
DE COLLASVIOS
ayan otapa
en tierro
como

293/295. *Drawing 115. Burials of the Collasuyos*

[295 (297)]

Page 295/297, drawing 116. Burial of the Condesuyos: *amaya nacan utap naca* [houses of the dead] / *cau quiro manata mallco* [Where have you entered, chief?][288] / burial

[296 (298)]

How the people of Condesuyo were buried

They buried the dead in a way very similar to those of Collasuyo. They abstained from salt and did the *pacarico,* eating raw meat, drinking fresh blood, a common practice from the time of the Incas until the present. But it is said that people of Condesuyo take the entrails, embalm the body, dress it in fine garments and cry. At this time they drink a lot of *chicha* and put silver in their mouths. It is also common to put silver and gold in the mouth of the deceased. They say that salt decomposes; thus they say that the dead decompose; in order to avoid dying sooner, they abstain from salt.[289]

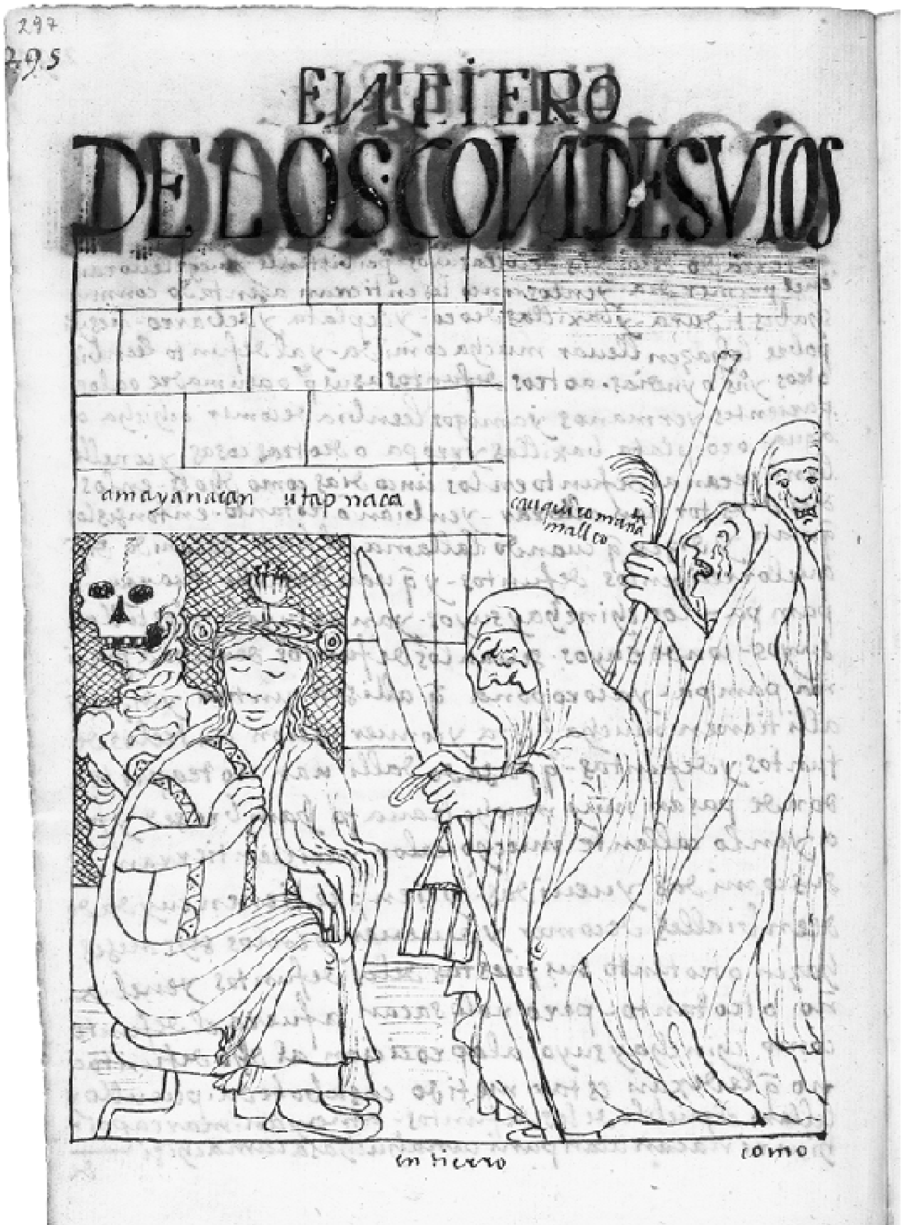
In order to bury the dead, they build a chamber that is like a stone oven. They paint it white and other colors. This tomb is called *ayap llactan, amayan marcapa* [town of the dead].[290] Others did burials by boulders on high peaks. There are large bones in ravines; these bones are from the first inhabitants, Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purun Runa and Auca Runa. The dead were buried in *pucullos* from the time of Auca Runa.

When someone dies, at once they kill a llama to carry the *quipi* [backpack] and *cocaui* [ration of food]. Other llamas were killed after five days, ten days, six months and one year.

The above-mentioned celebrations are common in this kingdom and still practiced. I have seen with my own eyes all that has been described. The priests of the Indian parishes permit it because they are more interested in their offerings left at the foot of the altar than anything else. When a priest is informed of such acts by a ladino Indian, the priest has the Indian thrown out of town.[291]

[297 (299)]

How burials were done by the Indians of the yunca, *the coastal plains up to Quito and the New Kingdom of Granada*[292] It is a single burial, the *muchic alco micoc,* dog-eater.[293] They buried the dead with dogs, the same as in the Valley of Jauja, the Huanca, *alco mico,* Quito, *alco mico.* All of these people buried their dead with dogs and a sacrifice. First the Indians of the plains cried, saying, "*nanu, nanu, nanu.*" They eat and drink until they go crazy. They abstain from salt like the highland Indians. If they have meat, they eat it, but they have more fish and shrimp.


297
295
ENTIERRO
DE LOS CONDESVIOS
amayanacan
utap naca
anquicomarca mallco
en tierro
como

295/297. *Drawing 116. Burials of the Condesuyos*

First they remove the entrails from the deceased and remove all the flesh. Then they put the entrails and the flesh in a new jar. They wrap the bones in a cotton blanket and sew it. Ropes made of agave that they call *toclla* are bound at intervals around the bundle. Then they paint the bundle in colors. The bundle and the jar of entrails and flesh are placed in the burial chamber, where the bundle is seated with the father, mother and relatives, but no one from another *ayllo.* Thus burials were done by the Indians of the *yunca.*

These were the customs of the Indians of this kingdom during Inca times and at the present time.

Five days after the burial, the widow, brothers and other relatives go to wash at the *tincoc yaco* [confluence of rivers]. They bathe themselves and all their clothing. Then they try to find out if they will die soon where they bathe. All of these towns have ancient structures, a chamber with an entrance and an exit. If one takes too long to leave, it is a bad sign; the person will die soon. Others make rounded ditches; channels carry water from above, and below there is only one ditch. The widow releases the water from above; if the water joins equally, they say it is a good sign; she will not die. If the water does not flow from the other channel and does not join equally, they say it is a bad sign; she will soon die.

On these occasions they leave their mourning clothes, *chumpi, uincha, ojotas,* as a sign. In some towns they stay at the ditches where they bathe. They twist some black and white threads to the left into a lasso that they toss across the water so that the people will see it.[294]

During this idolatrous *pacarico* ceremony they drink and dance all night.

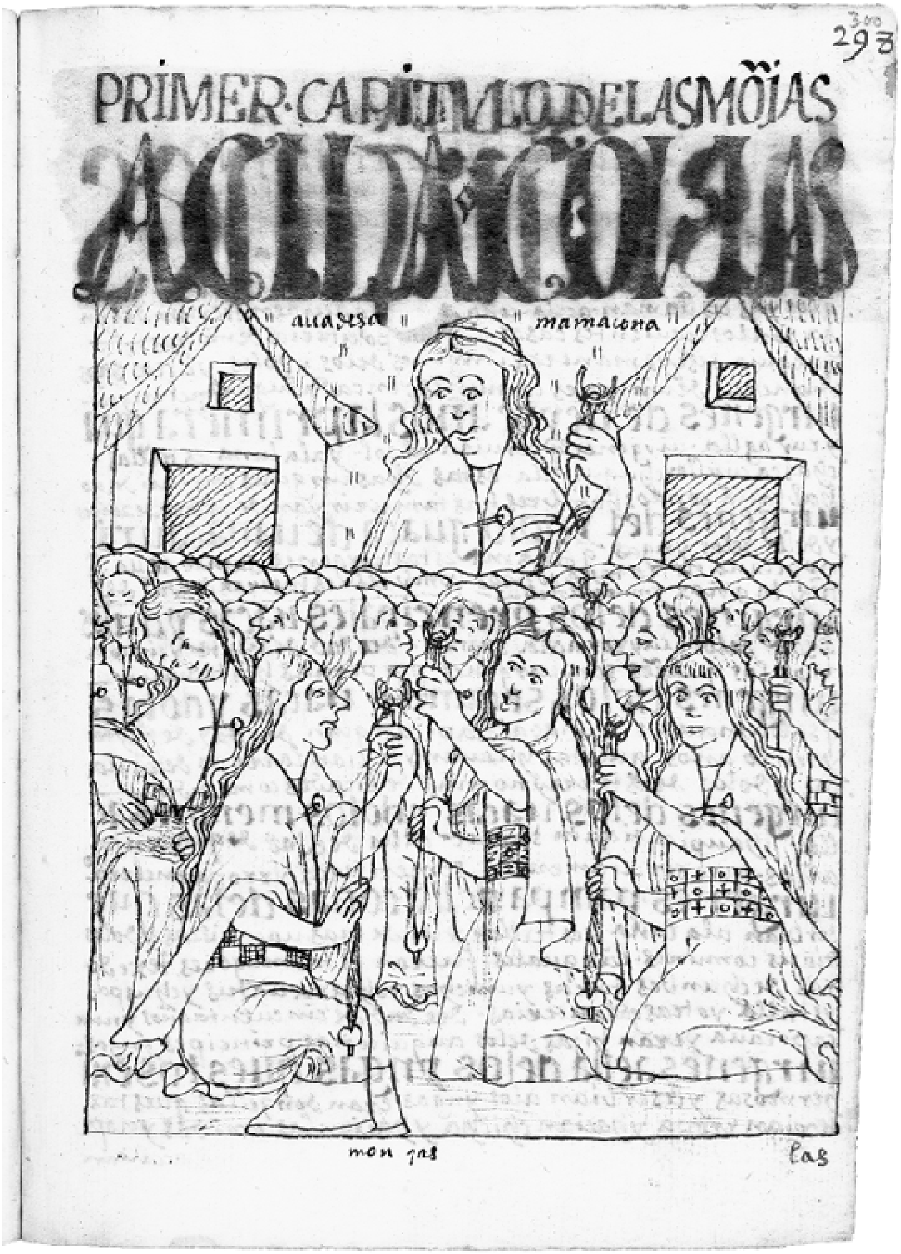
The Nuns

[298 (300)]

Page 298/300, drawing 117. The first chapter of the nuns, *acllaconas* [chosen women]: high priestess / *mamacona* / nuns

[299 (301)]

During the time of the Incas there were virgins called *acllacona* who were cloistered. There were six groups of virgins dedicated to their idols, and another six groups of common virgins in the kingdom. The first virgins, *uayrur aclla* [high priestess]. They were consecrated to the cult of the Sun, the Moon, stars, *chasca cuyllor* [Venus] and *chuqui ylla* [lightning].295 These virgins did not speak to any man in their lifetime. They started this service at twenty years of age.


300
293
PRIMER CAPITVLO DE LAS MOJAS
ACLLACONAS
auasesa
mamacona
mon gas
las

298/300. *Drawing 117. The chosen virgins, or* acllaconas

There were virgins of the *huaca* of Huanacauri, a sacred shrine of the Incas.[296] These ladies were called *sumac aclla* [beautiful chosen women]. They did not sin nor have any dealings with men. They were thirty years old.

There were also virgins of the major *huacas*. These women were called *uayror aclla sumac* [most important chosen beauties]. They were twenty-five years old and remained chaste until death.

The virgins of the secondary *huacas* were called *sumac acllap catiquin.* They were thirty-five years old. These ladies spin and weave the garments of delicate cloth for the *huacas* of this kingdom.

There were virgins of the minor *huacas.* These women were called *aclla chaupi catiquin sumac aclla.* They were forty years old and worked in the fields and made garments.

There were virgins called *pampa acllacona* [peasant priestesses] who served the Moon, the stars and other common *huaca vilca.* These women were weavers of *chumpi, uincha, chuspa huatu* [cords for hanging a pouch], *chuspa ystalla* [women's pouches] and other fineries. They were fifty years old. They never sinned and were daughters of *auquicona,* Inca princes.

There were *aclla,* virgins, of the Incas. These were beautiful and served the Incas. These ladies were chaste and they made garments, *chicha,* and cooked.

[300 (302)]

They were twenty-five years old.297

There were common virgins, *aclla pampa ciruac,* throughout the kingdom.

These virgins were placed in houses, *aclla uasi.* They had fields, *acllap chacran,* whose crops were for the royal *tambo* and for celebrations. There were also *sapsi* fields and garments. This was observed and reported by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. It was ordered that all of the single women and widows work in the *sapsi* and make garments. The single men were to work as herders. At the age of six, boys were to leave catechism classes and go to work in the common fields. This refers to boys, not girls.298

Some of the *aclla,* virgins were singers and musicians, along with musicians who played the flute and drums. They performed for the Inca and his principal wife, the *coya,* and for the *capac apocona* and their wives. They also performed at festivals, Easter, marriages, baptisms, *rotochico, huarachico,* as well as yearly and monthly festivals.299 All this was done on orders of the Inca. These girls were twelve years old, chosen for their good singing voice and attractiveness.

There was another house of *aclla* called *uiñachicoc aclla* [growing maidens]. These little girls started at four years of age. They learned to work, spin, weave and do the other things they were told to do. This apprenticeship lasted until the girls were ten years old. They learned the duties of a woman.

Another house, called *mamacona,* was for common Indian women. They were also virgins, chosen as weavers of garments and to work in the *chacras*. There were many of them, and they were from fifty to one hundred years old. These maidens worked: *purun huarmi, acllacona, viñay* [virgin women, chosen, always chaste].

Another *acllacona* house was of the Inca. Some of these girls were corrupted concubines of the Inca. They were the daughters of lords, and their only task was to make garments for the Inca; the cloth used was better than taffeta or silk. They also made a special *chicha* called *yamur tocoy asua yamur*[300]

[301 (303)]

that was so good it matured in one month. They also made fine food for the Inca. These ladies were thirty years old. They never sinned with anyone, not even if she were the woman of a poor Indian. These ladies did not sin with anyone during their entire lives. After their husbands died, these ladies did not commit adultery. If they had known the God who created them and redeemed them, there would have been many saints in this kingdom.

Women were not selected by the Inca nor by the lords nor Indians in this kingdom, but rather the Inca received word from the Sun and the high priest. Then the Indians were given virgins by the Inca. The woman would not have spoken to the man, nor would he have spoken to her. The man was in Quito, Chile or some other place when he was given the woman. Then a dowry was given to the woman due to her poverty, and the man became part of the family, *masa tucuni villani.*[301]

[301 (303)]

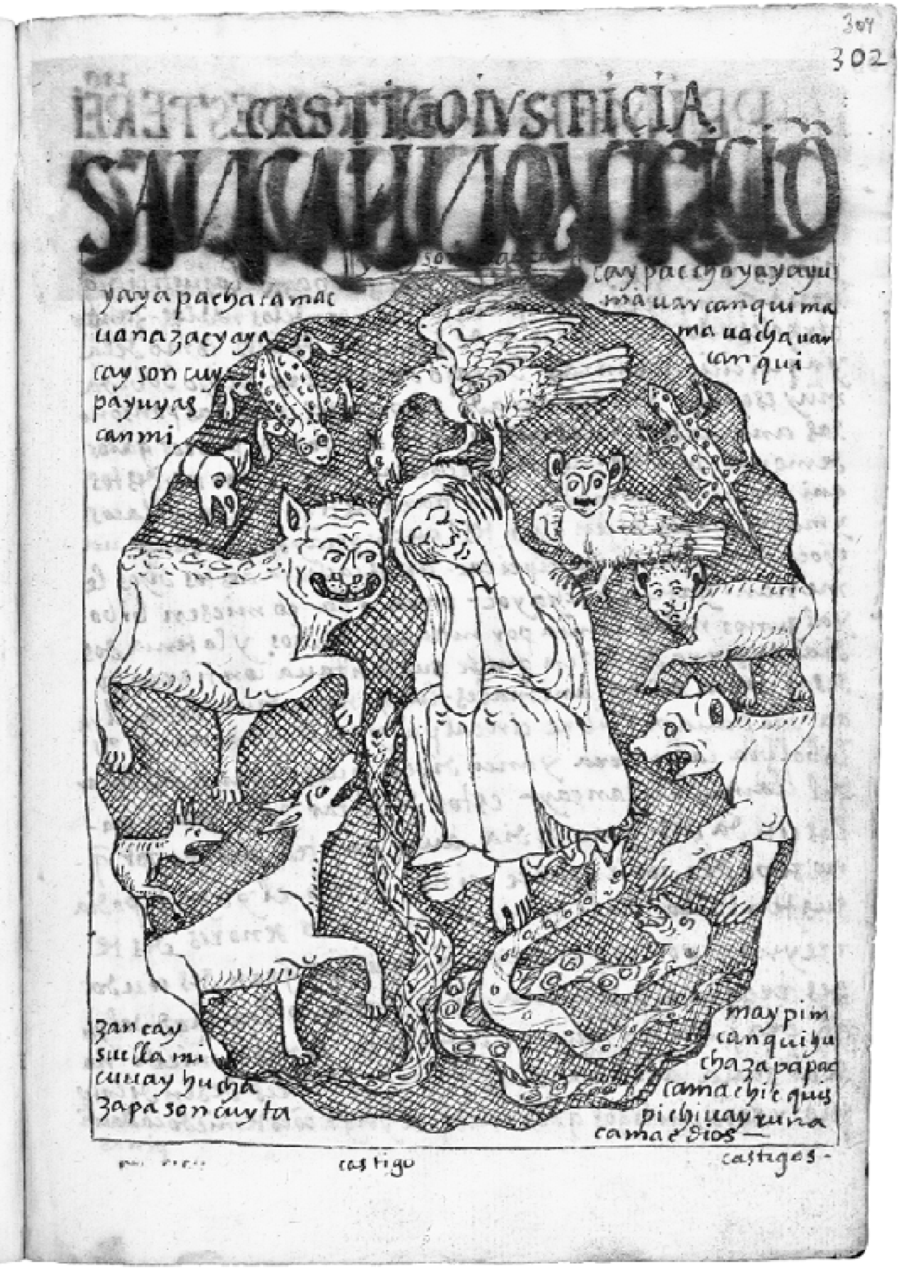
FIRST CHAPTER OF JUSTICE

On the system of justice, punishments, prisons and jails of the Incas, other lords and the royal counsel in this kingdom to punish wrongdoers.

Traitors, *yscay sonco auca,* were sentenced to the *sancay* [dungeon].302 There were jails in cities, towns and villages, *uatay uasi, piñas* [prisons].

[302 (304)]

Page 302/304, drawing 118. Punishment, justice, *sancay* [dungeon], Inquisition: *yscay sonco auca* [traitor] / *yaya pachacamac uanazac* [Father, Pachacamac, I will learn my lesson.] / *yaya cay soncuypa yuyascanmi* [Father is my heart's memory.] / *caypaccho yaya yumauarcanqui* [Father, did you beget me for this?] / *mama uachauarcanqui* [Mother, did you give birth to me for this?] / *sancay suclla micuuay huchazapa soncuyta* [Prison, eat my wicked heart once and for all.] / *maypim canqui huchazapapac camachic* [Where are you, creator of sinners?] / *quispichiuay runa camac dios* [Save me, creator of man, God.] / punishments


307
302
CASTIGO IVSTICIA
yaya pachacamac
uanazacyaya
cay son cuy
payuyag
canmi
cay paccha yaya yayu
ma uar canqui ma
ma uacha uar
canqui
zancay
suclla mi
cuuay hucha
zapa son cuyta
maypim
canquihu
chazapapac
camachic quis
pichiuay runa
camac Dios —
castigo
castiges -

302/304. *Drawing 118. Punishment and justice:* sancay*, perpetual incarceration; Inquisition*

[303 (305)]

The first punishment of this kingdom [of the Incas and their council of state (p. 306)]

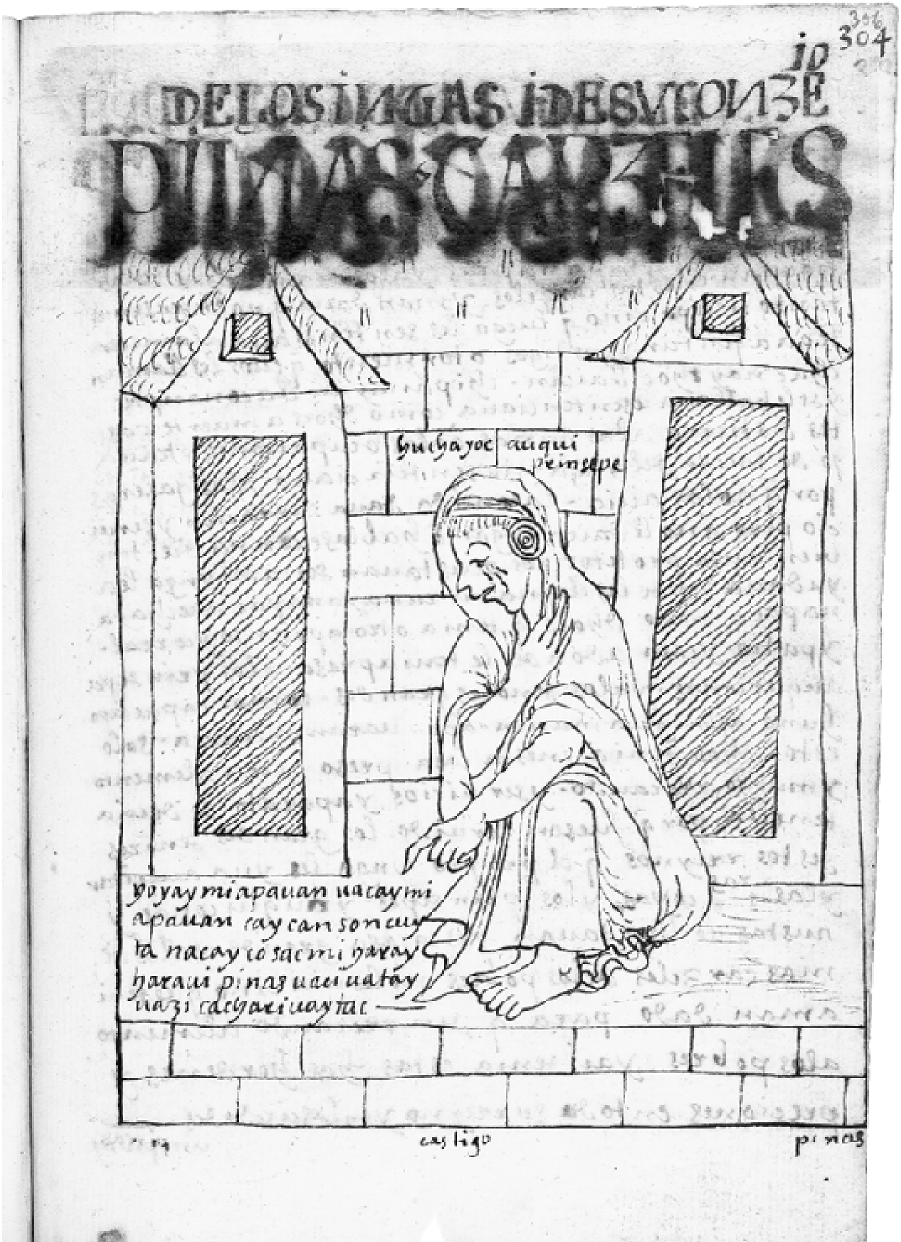
On the punishments, prisons and jails that the Inca had for administration of justice in this kingdom to castigate wrongdoers.

Sancay were dungeons for traitors and major crimes like the Inquisition. These *sancay* were subterranean, very dark vaults; inside there were serpents, poisonous snakes, carnivorous animals, mountain lions, jaguars, bears, foxes, dogs, wild cats, vultures, eagles, barn owls, toads and lizards. These animals were very apt for punishing the villains, delinquent wrongdoers, *auca, yscay sonco, suua* [thieves], *uachoc* [adulterers], *hampiyoc* [sorcerers],303 *inca sipsicac* [one who gossips about the Inca] and *apuscachac* [one who is arrogant]. This *hatun huchayoc* [major delinquent] would be thrown in the dungeon so that he would be eaten alive. By a miracle of God some of these prisoners would live after two days in the dungeon. They say such people would survive by eating dirt and avoiding these animals. In this case the Inca would let the person out and consider him guiltless. Thus he was pardoned and regained his honor. In this way they say some escaped from this dungeon called *sancay*.

These jails were in the cities and could not be anywhere else because the Inca had to maintain them. Other lords of this kingdom could not have them either. In the first place, these jails were needed only in the cities. In the second place, the Inca himself was the arbiter of justice. In the third place, in this way there would not be a rebellion; there were lords descended from the ancient kings of the land who were more powerful than the Inca.304 By taking this measure, these lords remained silent.

[304 (306)]

Page 304/306, drawing 119. *Piñas* [prisons], jails: *huchayoc auqui* [delinquent noble], prince / *yuyay mi apauan uacaymi apauan caycan soncuita nacay co sacmi haray haraui piñas uaci uatay uazi cachariuay tac* [My thoughts take me, weeping takes me. This bad heart, I will sacrifice it. *Haray haraui,* jail house, let me out.] / punishment


306
304
10
DE LOS INGAS I DE SV CONZE
PIÑAS CARZELES
huchayoc auqui
prinsepe
yoyaymi apauan uacaymi
apauan cay can soncuy
ta nacay co sacmi haray
haraui pinaz uaci uatay
uazi cachacuaytac
castigo
piñas

304/306. *Drawing 119. Jails of the Incas and their council;* piñas, *captive*

[305 (307)]

The second punishment [of the Inca (p. 308)]

Piñas [prisons], the second jail, where the lords and the rest of the Indians were punished.

The Inca ordered that justice be swift, that sentences be given right away whether it be the death penalty, punishments or torture, which they call *chacnay thocllauan, chipanay uillaconanpac* [torture with a cord and a gag used to get a confession]. As has been stated, if found guilty, the sentence could be death, lashes or forced labor in the mines or other work for the Inca. No one was sentenced to the galleys because they had none. Prisoners were given food, but they were not allowed to speak to anyone. There was a protector of those close to the Inca. This protector was called *runa yanapac uaccha yanapac* [he who helps the poor]. They had a house with a special room, corral or patio for the princes, *auquicona,* the great lords, called *capac apo, huno apo* [chief of ten thousand], *uamanin apo* [regional chief], *huaranca curaca* [chief of one thousand]. Only these officials were securely held prisoners in this house with food and excellent services. It had to be thus because this large house and the rest of the jails for the poor were visited by the great lords of this kingdom including the Inca himself, the *coya,* princes, *auquicona, ñustacona.* They did not go unless they had the order to give food to the poor. Thus they had these orders in the whole kingdom, including the cities.

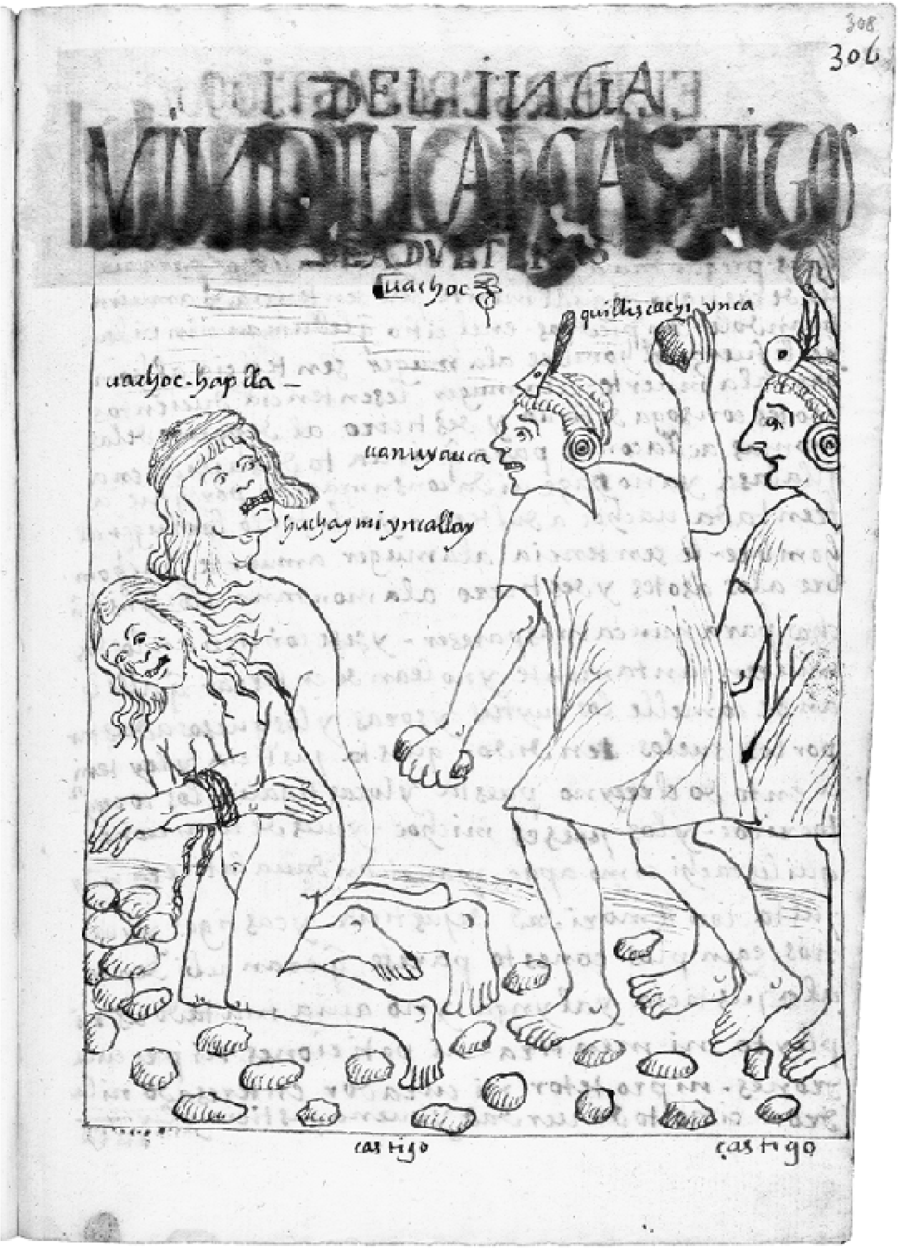
[306 (308)]

Page 306/308, drawing 120. *Uinpillay* [place of punishment near Cuzco], punishment of adulterers: *uachoc* [adulterer] / *uachoc haplla* [violent adulterer] / *uañuy auca* [Die, enemy!] / *huchaymi yncallay* [It is my fault, my Inca.] / Quilliscachi Inca [a tribe in the valley of Anta] / punishment

[307 (309)]

The third punishment [of the Inca (p. 310)]

Punishment of adulterers: Both parties in a case of adultery were given the same punishment, which was the death penalty. This was done by throwing stones at them in the place they call Uinpillay. If a man raped a woman, the man was sentenced to death. The woman was given two hundred lashes with a *toclla,* rope, and banished to the place where the *acllacona* live. There she was to serve all her life. She did not live with her husband anymore because she was dishonored, *uachoc* [an adulteress].


308
306
uachoc
quilliscachi ynca
uachoc. hapilla
uaniy auca
huchaymi ynalloy
castigo
castigo

306/308. *Drawing 120. Capital punishment by stoning of adulterers, or* uachoc

If a woman raped a man, she was given the death penalty; the man got lashes and banishment to the Chuncho Indians of the *montaña,* to never return.305 If both parties consented, they died together, and they would not be buried, but rather they were eaten by wild beasts and their bones were left on the ground.306

This was the system of justice that prevailed throughout the kingdom. Those in charge of sentencing were the royal officials, *tocricoc,* judges, *michoc,* and a commissioner, Quilliscachi *simiapac* [a gossip from the Cuzco area]. Thus this land had a good system of justice that inspired fear, punishments and good examples. It seems that with this system the people obeyed the laws of the Inca; there were no killers, nor disputes, lies, petitions nor thieves, but rather truth, justice and good laws.307

[308 (310)]

Page 308/310, drawing 121. *Anta caca arauay* [bare stone gallows in Anta] / punishments of virgins: *tasquecona uacllispa huchallicoccona* [young ones who transgressed] / Equeco Inca / Anta Caca, causes sorrow / punishment308

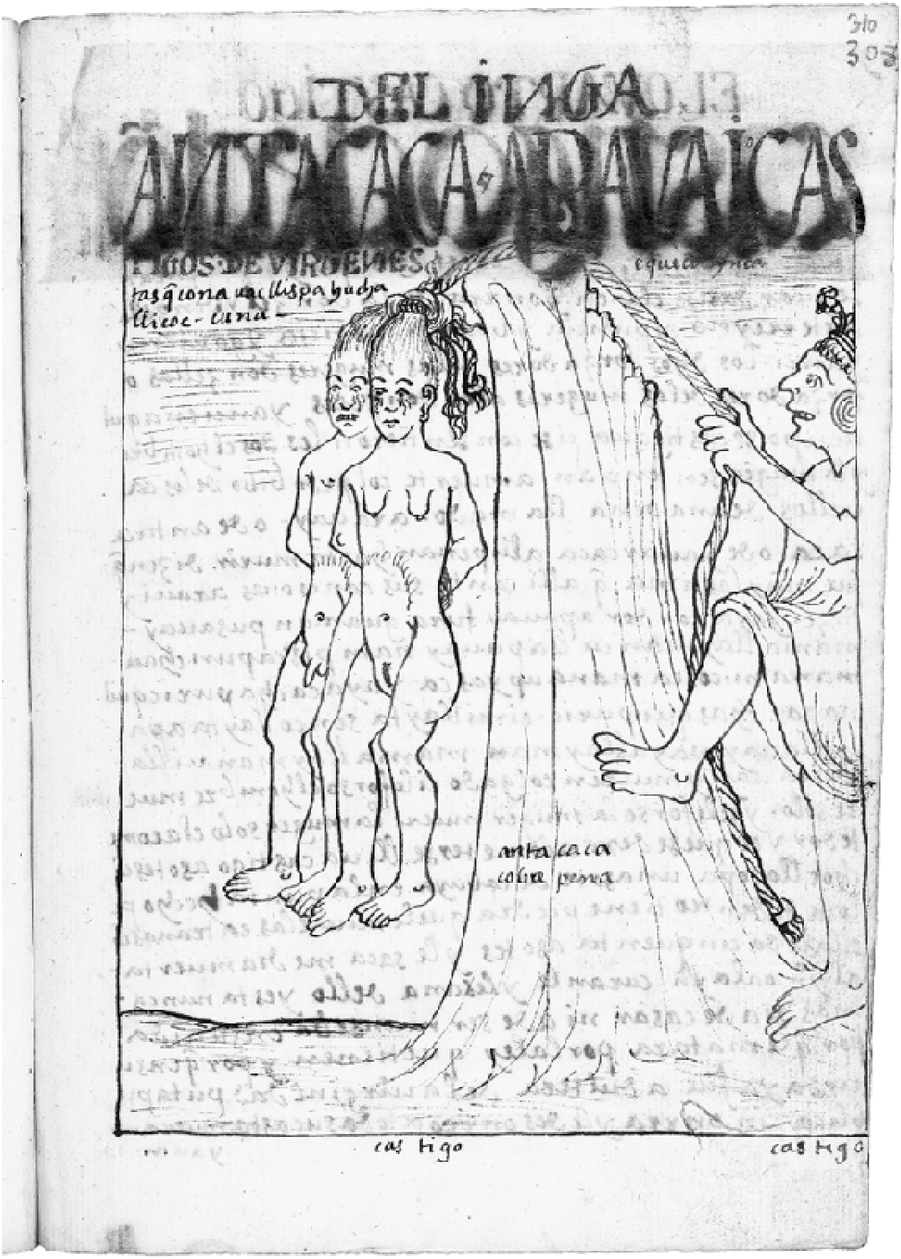
[309 (311)]

The fourth punishment [of the Inca (p. 312)]

This was a punishment of young women and young men in order to make them behave properly and protect the virtue of the youth of this kingdom, to keep order, fairness and governance. Thus rapists of maidens and women who raped young men, as well as the man and woman who both consented, were punished in olden days. They were sentenced to die by being hanged by the hair from a bare stone gallows called *arauay* or Anta Caca or Yauar Caca.309 There they suffered until their death.

They say that it was a pity; there they sang their songs, *araui,* and said:

yaya condor apauay tura guaman pusauay mama llayman uilla puuay ñam pisca punchau mana micosca mana upyasca yaya puric quil ca apac chasqui puric—cimillay ta sonco llayta apa pulla uay yaya llay man mama llay man villa puya uay
[Father condor, take me. Brother hawk, guide me.
Inform my mother for me. It has been five days,
without eating, without drinking. Sent as a messenger for my father.
Take my word, my heart. Inform my father and my mother for me.]310


310
308
DEL INGA
ANTACACA
HIJOS DE VIRGENES
tasqicona uacllispa hucha llicoc-cuna
Anta caca
colla puna
castigo
castigo

308/310. *Drawing 121. The Inca's punishments in* Anta caca *of youthful fornicators,* tasquecona uacllispa huchallicoccona

If a man rapes a women, the man dies alone. If a woman rapes a man, she dies alone. The attacker of one who did not defend himself gets punished, which means lashes with *chocсllo copa,* a whip of agave fiber; it has a ball with a rock inside at the end; it crushes one's bowels. The guilty one gets fifty lashes with this, which leaves the

Indian half dead. They cure him and he gets well. An adulteress can never marry nor be a concubine in her life because if she did, she would be killed according to the law they have and because in her life she committed adultery, losing her virginity; this makes her a public whore with no honor, and a dishonor to all her people. Let her die.

[310 (312)]

Page 310/312, drawing 122. Yauar Pampa, punishment,311 those who kill with poison, *hampiyoc collayoc runa uatoc* [sorcerers who kill with poison]: Mayo Inca / *Amatac,* Inca [No, Inca.] / *Uañuy runa micoc* [Die, man-eaters.] / punishment

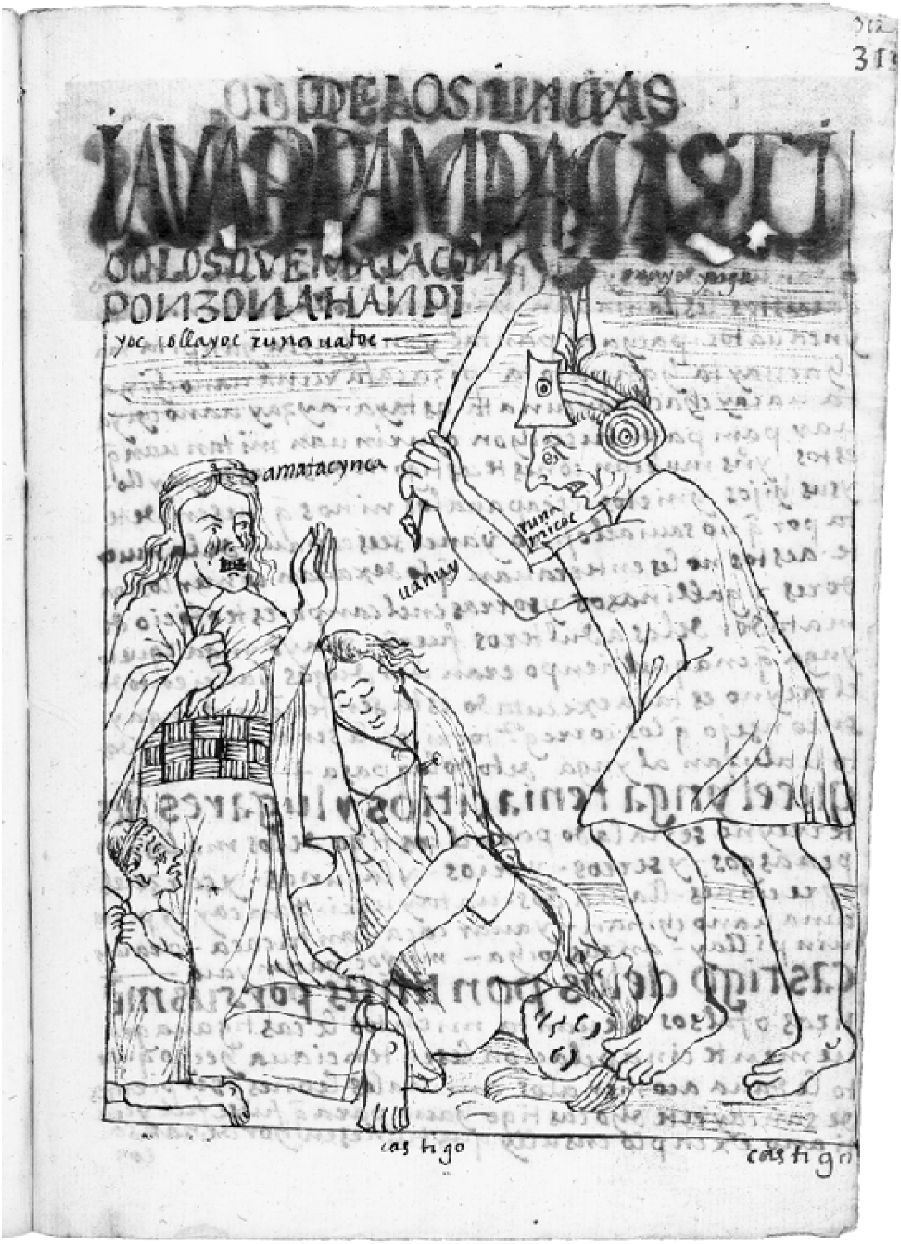
[311 (313)]

The fifth punishment [of the Inca and his justice (p. 314)]

Punishment of those who give potions and poisons that kill the Indians: These were called *hampiyoc—collayoc runa uatoc inca uatoc—pacha ta pantac yma hayca hampita machacuayta hanpatota pisaca runa uañochinata uacaychac—caycunata astaya ayzay uañochi yauar pampapi tucuchon churinuan mitanuan* [poisoner, diviners, sorcerers, Inca sorcerers, confounders, medicine keepers: snakes, toads, tinamous; these are men who use these things to kill—a curse on them; take them away; let them end up in a field of blood with their children and their cohorts.]

These Indians died with this punishment, which included their lineage, *ayllo,* children and grandchildren. Young grandchildren still nursing were exempted because they did not know sorcery and they were not killed. Those who were killed did not get a burial, but rather were left to be eaten by condors, vultures and foxes in the countryside.

The official executioners of adulterers were from Mayo Inca and Equeco Inca, who were hangmen at that time. Thus these sentences were carried out all over the kingdom. The Inca and his council, district officials, *tocricoc,* did the sentencing and informed the Inca of all that happened. The Inca had places in this kingdom designated for punishing wrongdoers; these included crags, hills, rivers, lakes, jails and prisons called *uatay uasi, sancay, piñas, runa uanochinan, arauay,* Yahuar Caca, Anta Caca, Uinpillay, Ancas Cocha, Muyoc Hatun Yaco.312


312
311
DE LOS INGAS
LA YAVAR PAMPA CASTIGO
DE LOS QUE MATA CON
PONZONA HANPI
yoc collayoc runa uatoc
amatacyma
uanuy
runa micoc
castigo
castigo

310/312. *Drawing 122. The Inca's punishments in Yauar Pampa of those who poison and kill others,* hampiyoc collayoc runa uatoc

The high priests were severely punished with no recourse for lies and insubordination. They were quartered; their remains were given to wild animals, mountain lions, serpents in the *sancay*. This punishment was given to set a Christian example of law, so as to have an ordinance.[313]

[312 (314)]

These were the laws of the princes, great lords, high priests and priest-sorcerers. The law of their deities was enhanced by the priests in such a way that, though they were not absolute lords, the deities were feared as well as the laws and justice of the Inca and the great lords of this kingdom.

Punishment of virgins of the temples and deities: As soon as they were sentenced, they were hung alive by the hair from a crag called *arauay,* even though they are seen to speak, converse, send another to speak on their behalf, on the pretext of sinning with men. Seeing this, they were sentenced as an example for the other virgins, priestesses, *acllacona* of their deities, so that they would not break their law and vow to remain virgin. Not even the Inca and his high priests would dare speak to these virgin *acllacona.* If these virgins kept the law of their deities, they would be saints.

Punishment of the great lords and nobles of this kingdom, as has been stated, and the *auquicona* Inca rebels, including the *capac apocona:* The punishment was the *sancay.* If this seemed appropriate, they might be given alive to be eaten by the Chuncho Indians.314 In this way they were executed.

Punishment of the noble ladies, the *coya,* the *ñustas, pallacona:* It was ordered that they be tormented with the *toclla, uasca* [ropes]. If they were found guilty, they would be given to the Indians of Antisuyo,315 who would eat them alive. This sentence was enforced.

Punishment of poor women: If they were found guilty, they would be thrown into a raging river, *uatanay mayo.* There they died. This sentence was enforced.

Punishment of the viceroys, *capac apo,* high judge, court officials, local magistrates, constables, royal attorneys, and other judges:316 The royal attorneys were Quilliscachi, Equeco.317 They revealed lies to the Inca. If they were *simiapac* [gossipers], the wrongdoers were condemned in this kingdom. They were put in the *piñas.* If they were found to be guilty, they were sentenced to death, an exemplary punishment.

[313 (315)]

Punishments for gentlemen called *allicaccona,* who were lords, by order of the Inca, *churimpi camachicoc, curaca huno, uaranca, pisca pachaca, pachaca, pisca chunca, chunca, pisca* [officials, lords and chiefs]:318 These government officials from the *pisca pachaca,* chief of five hundred tribute-paying Indians, were punished with *hiuaya rumi* [a heavy stone]. This stone, about half the size of an adobe brick, was dropped from a height of about five feet on the back of the wrongdoer. Some died on the spot; others survived half dead, but recovered, though they remained crippled. This sentence was carried out.

Punishment of drunkards: They were called *haplla haplla machasca* [violent drunkard], *suua, uachoc, pallco* [liar], *yscay sonco.*[319] These expressions of sins applied to the drunkard; therefore he was given the death penalty. If a drunkard made a pass at a woman, became unruly or talked nonsense, he was sentenced to death and executed. All the Indians present were ordered to jump up and down on the drunkard's belly so that he would vomit the bile and *chicha.* In sentencing the drunkard, the Inca would say: "*astaya—ayzarcoy—sarocuychic tahuantinsuyo—hapllacta llullata yscay sonco machascata*" ["Unfortunate, drag him away. Stomp on that man from Tahuantinsuyo—two-faced drunkard."]. Thus he dies.[320]

There were punishments for liars and perjurers, who were called *llulla rimac pacha pantac; llullata inti uaca vilcata pacha mamata sucaric*[321] [telling lies confuses the world, lying to the Sun, lesser deities and Mother Earth]. These liars were punished with a whip called *uauquin sonco,* a woven cord of agave. At the end of this whip there was attached a double leather the size of a child's shoe. The liar was given twenty lashes with this whip, which ripped his guts. This was the punishment for perjurers, *cacimanta nacacuc.*

There were punishments for lazy, filthy pigs who keep nothing clean. Those who had dirty heads and faces, bad breath, dirty feet, hands, wore dirty clothes

[314 (316)]

were given fifty lashes with a *uaraca* [sling]. As an additional punishment a dirty man or woman was forced to drink all the filth from their body, face, head, feet and hands. If one did not weed and fertilize his *chacra,* all the bitter and not bitter grass was crushed and saturated with urine. For being lazy and dirty they were forced to drink two *queros* [wooden tumblers] or large *mates* [gourd vessels] in the town square. These were the punishments for dirty and lazy people.

There were punishments for traitors of the Inca ruler, the great lords, the Sun, according to the law of the Inca.

Also punished were those who made vessels for drinking *chicha* from human skulls, necklaces with human teeth, flutes from human bones, drums with human skin called *runa tinya* [small human-skin drums], which is: *aucap uma nuan upya sun—quirunta ualcari sun—tullunuan pincullu sun—caranpi tinyacu sun—taquecu sun* [from the enemy's skull we will drink. We will wear a necklace of teeth. The bone flute we will play. On skin we will drum. We will dance].[322]

There were punishments for playing games. Those caught would get fifty lashes on the arms and hands with a *uaraca.* In Inca times there were no games, not for lords nor poor Indians, except on the orders of the Inca. Everyone in the kingdom had to work. If they did not have anything else to do, they made rope, brought firewood and straw for their houses, wove *cumpana* [cloth], made *ojotes,* or softened leather. The Indians kept busy with these tasks.[323]

There were also punishments for those who did not obey instructions by their father, mother, elders, authorities or old women. Boys, girls, youngsters were sentenced to *rinrita tipci* [ear pulling]. The elders who had long fingernails would pull the child's ears so hard that tears would gush out of their eyes, and the child would cry. Elders would give older offenders fifty lashes with the *ricuc uaraca* [rawhide sling]. These punishments were carried out.

There were punishments for murder of any sort, whether it be an Indian man or woman. A murderer would be stoned to death. One who injured another, pulling out his eyes, teeth, or breaking an arm or leg, would be given the same punishment as the one he had injured and no more. These were the sentences that were carried out for these offenses.

[315 (317)]

FIRST CHAPTER OF THE CELEBRATIONS

Easter-like celebrations and dances, taquis of the Incas, capac apocona, leaders and common Indians of this kingdom, those from Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo and Condesuyo

The dances and *arauis* [festive songs] have no sorcery, idolatry or incantations, but rather enjoyment and festival. If there were no drunkenness, these affairs would be most enjoyable.

These are called *taqui, cachiua* [choral songs], *haylli* [farmer's chants], girl's *araui* [narrative songs], boy's *pincollo* [small flute], herdsman's celebrations, *llama michics, llamaya* [herder's songs], *pachaca harauayo* [farmer's songs], and the people of Colla—*quirquina, collina, aymarana*—of the girls, *uanca* [girls' songs], of the boys, *quenaquena* [cane flute].324 Every *ayllo,* lineage, of this kingdom has these festivities. No one should say anything nor should any judge interfere with the work these poor people do for their enjoyment as they get together to sing, dance and eat.

[316 (318)]

Page 316/318, drawing 123. Songs and music, *araui* [narrative songs], *pincollo* [young men's flute songs], *uanca* [girl's songs]: *sinca urco* / *quean calla* / *pincollona* / *pata* / hill / *uiroy paccha* / *collque machacuay* / *cantoc uno* / *uaca punco* / *uatanay mayo* / songs and music325

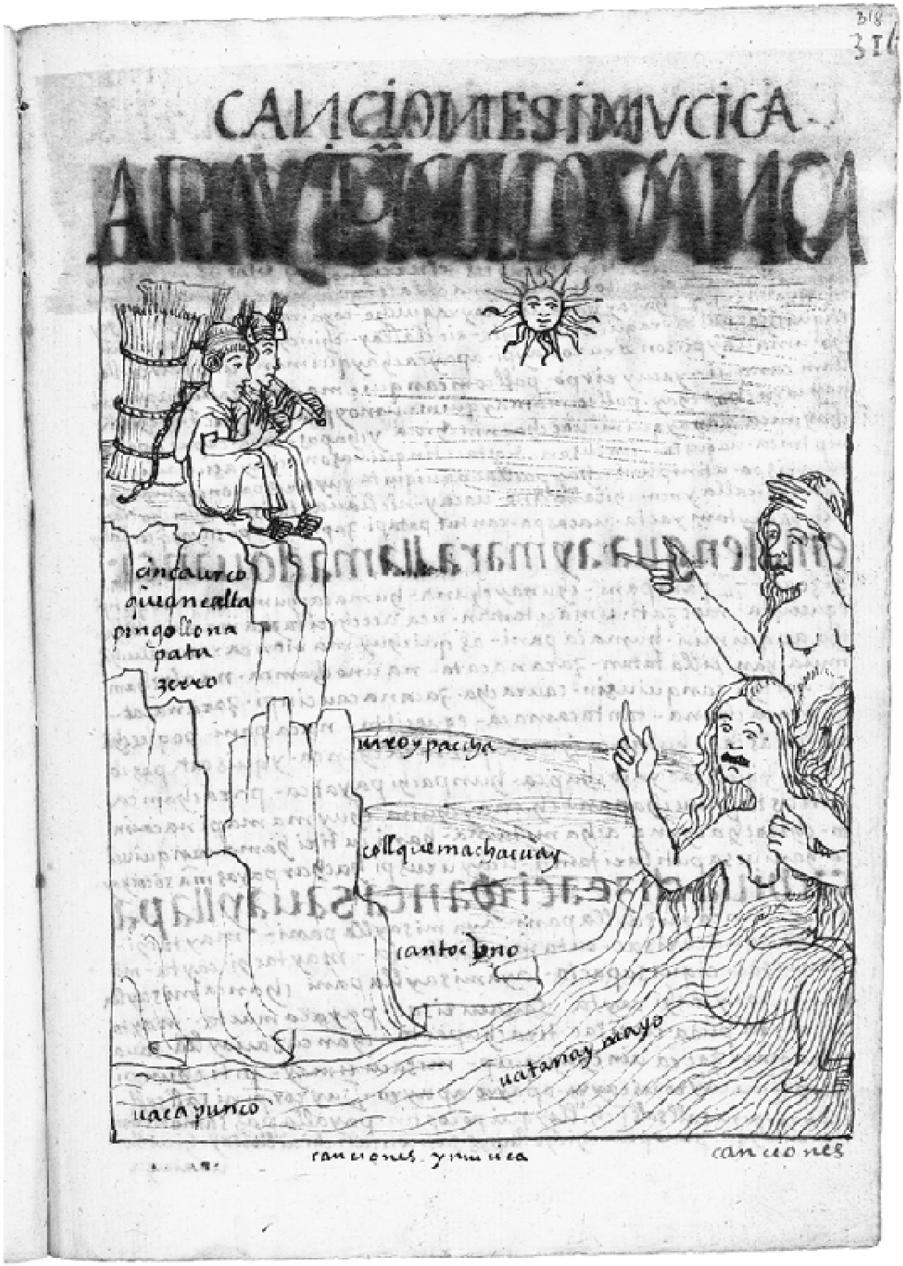
[317 (319)]

Music

There were songs and music of the Inca and the rest of the lords of this kingdom. The Indians had the *araui, uanca, pincollo, quenaquena.* In the general language, Quechua, it goes like this:

haray araui—acoyraquicho—coya—raquiriuanchic—tiyoyraquicho—ñusta—raquiriuanchic—sicllallay—chinchircoma—captiquicho—umallaypi—sonco ruro-llaypi—apaycachayquiman—unoy rirpo—llullam canqui—yacuy ripro—pallcom canqui—maytac—zallayuan—caynayconicho—chay pallco mamayquim—uñuy-pac raquicninchicca—chay auca yayayquim—uacchacninchicca ychapas—coya capac apo dios niptinca—uaquitac tinquiuason—diostac—tincuason—chay asic nauiquita yuyarispa—utinipuni—chay pucllac nauiquita yuyarispa—on-coyman chayani—chicalla inca—chicalla cino—uacay niclla uaytas—suncoyoc-cho tianqui—yacuytam yacta—uacaspa—cantur patapi zapi uaycopi suyayque cicllallay. . . .

[Love song. Is it misfortune, queen, that separates us? Is it a calamity, princess, that separates us? Is it because you are my blue flower, my yellow flower? In my head, in the heart, I would keep you there. Like a reflection on the water you are illusory. Like a reflection on the water you are deceptive. Where are you? Will I rest with my beloved? That deceptive mother of yours, who insists on separating us. That enemy father of yours, who causes our poverty. Perhaps, queen, the all-powerful deity wills it.[326] We will meet each other. Let the deity unite us! Those bright eyes of yours, as I remember, I admire them. Those playful eyes of yours, as I remember, I feel faint.[327] It is true, Inca; it is true, lord. You make me cry. Is your heart a flower? You are crying in the village. On Cantur hill, in Saphi ravine, I await you, flower, my love. . . .][328]


318
316
CANCIONES I MVCICA
ARAVI PINCOLLO VANCA
cincaurco
quiuancalla
pingollona
patu
zerro
uiroy paccha
collquemachacuay
canto de uno
uatanay ciayo
uaca punco
canciones y mucica
canciones

316/318. *Drawing 123. Songs and music,* araui: pincollo, *song of young men;* uanca, *song of young women*

[318 (320)]

Celebration of the Incas

Page 318/320, drawing 124. *Uaricza* [dance], *araui* [narrative song] of the Inca, He sings with his *puca llama* [reddish-brown llama]: *y, y /*

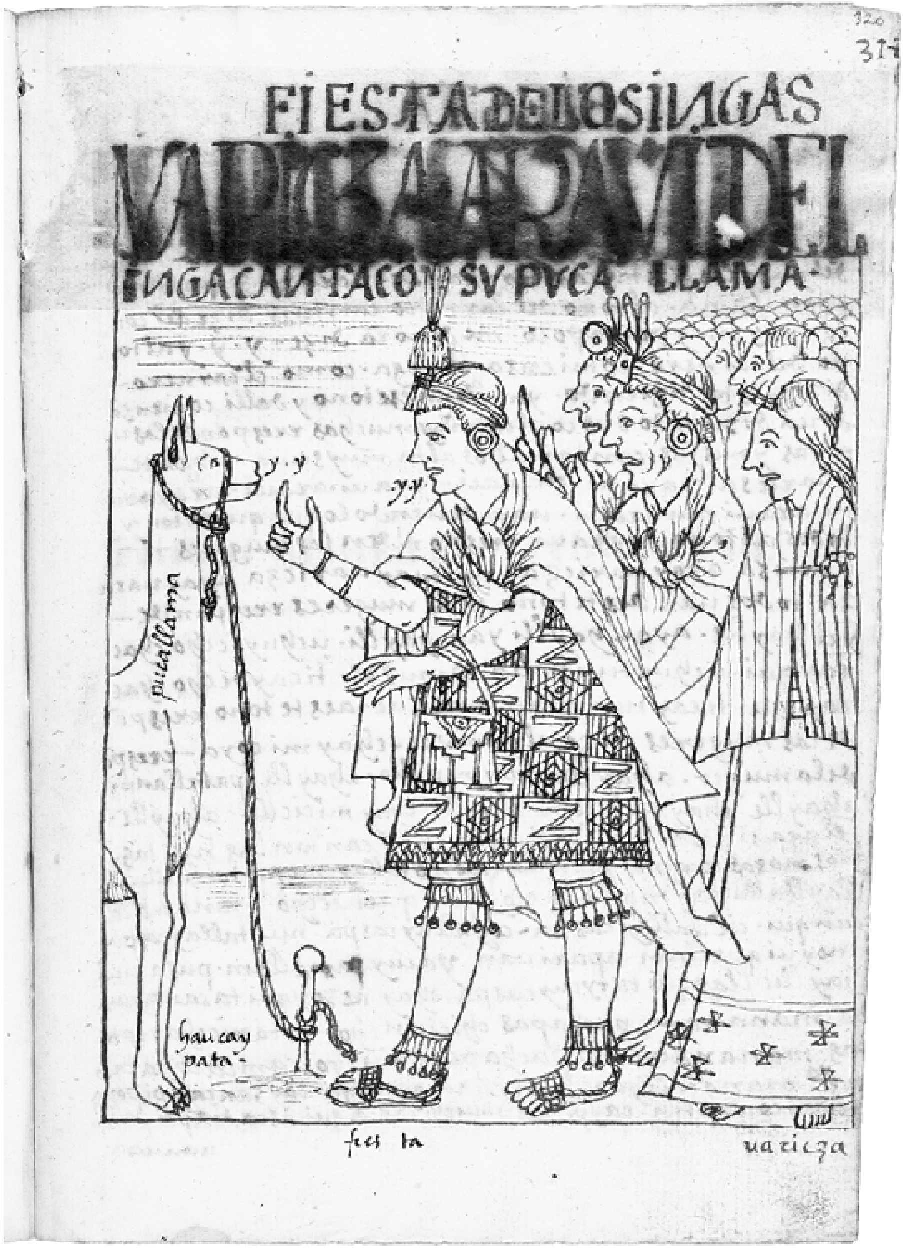
[319 (321)]

Uaricza haraui [dance-song] of the Inca, the celebrations, song and dance, *uaricza* that they sang to a *puca llama.* It goes like this. With a very slow beat, for half an hour he says "*y, y, y*" to the llama. The Inca starts like a llama; he says "*yn.*" He carries this tune, and from there he sings many ballads. The *coyas* and *ñustas* respond. They sing in a high very soft voice. They say, "*araui arauy—aray aray—araui yau araui.*" They say whatever they want, all to the tune of *araui.* The women answer "*uarisca ayay uaricza—chamay uaricza ayay uaricza.*" They all sing in this way.

The *haylli* [farmer's chant]: "*ayau haylli yau haylli—uchuyoccho chacrayqui—uchuy tunpalla samusac—ticayoccho cacrayque—ticay tunpalla samusac*" [*Ayau haylli yau haylli.* Do you have chile peppers in your field? I will come disguised as a chile pepper. Do you have flowers in your field? I will come disguised as a flower]. In this way the women answered. The man says: "*chaymi coya*" [Here it is, queen]. The woman answers: "*ahaylli.*" The man: "*chaymi palla*" [Here is the lady]. The woman: "*ahylle pata llanpi ahaylle*" [*Ahylle,* only on high.] The man: "*chaymi ñusta*" [Here is the princess]. The woman: "ahaylle." The man: "*chaymi ciclla*" [Here is the flower]. The woman: "*ahaylle.*"

The sad *araui* sung by the *ñustas* and the lads play the *picollo.*

Morcotollay—morcoto—llulluchallay llullucha—mana soncoyqui queuiccho-mana uaca cunqui—cillallay caspa—coyallay caspa—ñustallay caspa—unoy uiquellam—apariuan yacuy parallam—pusariuan chay llicllay quita rycuycuspa chay acsoyqutia cauaycus pa—mana nam pacha pas chiciancho—tuta riccharipti pas—manantac mi pacha pacrinicho—camca coya cam—mamanachi yuyariuan-quicho—cay sancaypi poma atoc—micouaptin—cay pinaspi—uichicasca quicasca tiapti—palla
[My tender, tender one, doesn't your heart ache? You will not cry since you are my little flower, my little queen, my little princess. A big tear has fallen, like rain water brought to me by seeing your shawl, gazing at that skirt of yours. Now in the world nightfall does not arrive. By night I awaken horrified. In the world it does not dawn. You, you are queen. Will you remember me? In this prison of mine, the puma and the fox eat me. In this dungeon confined, tied like an animal, noble lady.]


320
317
FIESTA DE LOS INGAS
UARICZA ARAUI DEL
INGA CANTA CON SU PUCA LLAMA
y.y
y.y
pucallama
haucay pata
fiesta
uaricza

318/320. *Drawing 124. Feast of the Incas:* Uaricza*, dance;* araui*, song of the Inca. He sings with his red llama.*

[320 (322)]

Page 320/322, drawing 125. Celebration of the people of Chinchaysuyo, *uaucu taqui* [song and dance]: Guanocpampa / Paucarpampa / celebration[330]

[321 (323)]

Celebration of the people of Chinchaysuyo quarter

It is called *uaucu.* The maidens and ladies sing and play the drum:

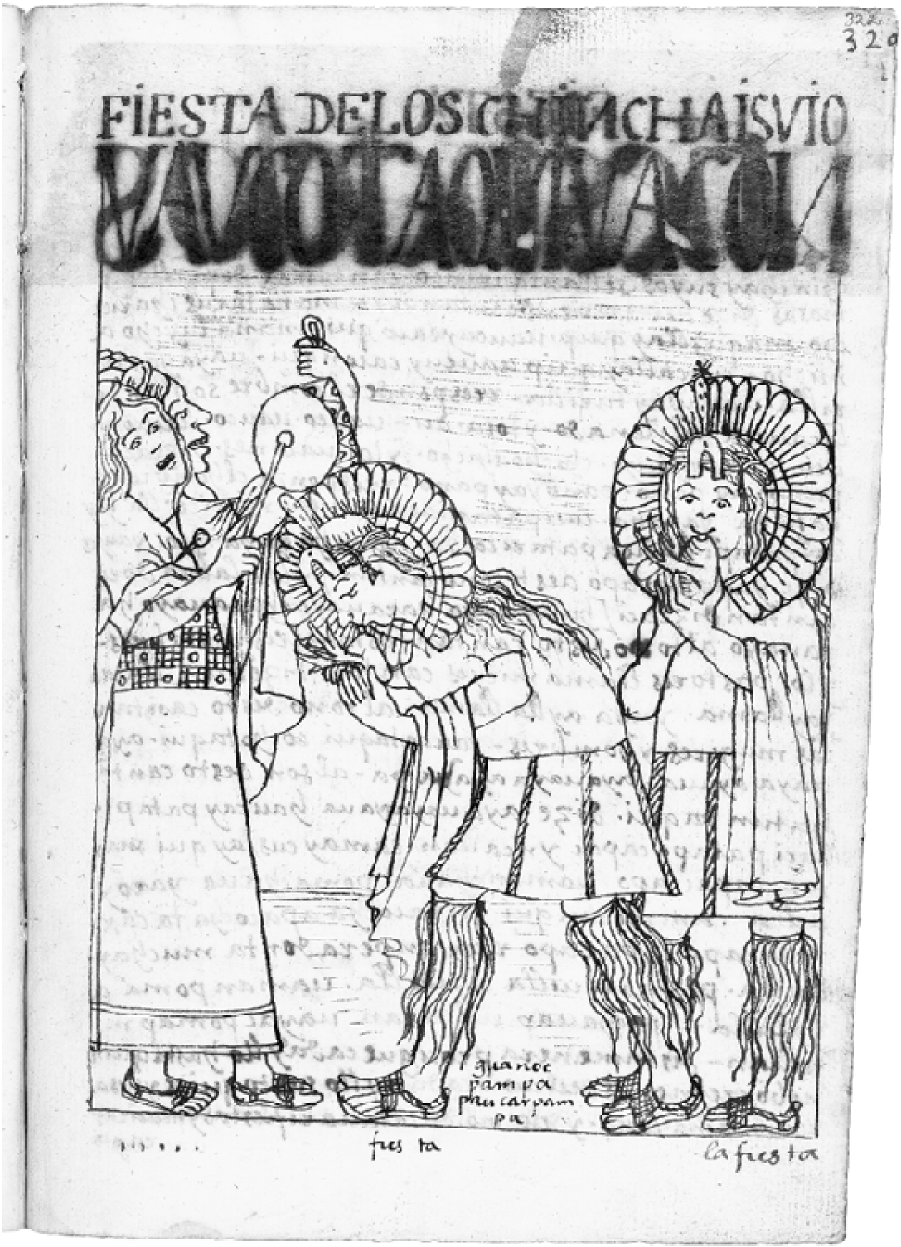
mana taruscha riccho maquillayquip uaucuycaconqui mana luycho amicho cinca-llayquip uaucuycaconque uayaya truilla. . . .[331]
[If the deer does not appear, you dance with a deer head in your hand. If there is no deer, you dance with the deer head held by your mouth. Ay, dear brother. Ay, dear brother. . . .]

The man answers, blowing on the deer head, and plays in this way:

Uauco uauco uauco uauco chicho chicho chicho chicho
[Celebrate . . . pregnant lady . . .]

To the tune of this they sing *atun taqui,* saying:

Ayauaya ayauta haucaypata pi—cucipata pi capac yncauan camay cuscay qui miami—capac apo Guaman Chaua—Poma Chaua—Yaro Villca—camcho canqui Viracocha apa cochata Cajamarcapi capac apo rrey enperadorta muchay coclla—payuan uillana coclla Uaman Poma Ayalalla apo chauap uilcallan uayac pomap mitallan
[Ayauaya ayauta. In Aucaypata, in Cucipata,[332] with the powerful Inca, which one is your captain? Are you the great lord Guaman Chaua, Poma Chaua, Yaro Vilca, are you Viracocha? By Lake Apa in Cajamarca to the powerful lord, emperor king, offering homage, conferring with him is Guaman Poma de Ayala, the noble Apu Chaua, Uayac Poma's companion.][333]


322
320
FIESTA DE LOS CHINCHAISVIO
guanac pampa pucarpampa
fiesta
la fiesta

320/322. *Drawing 125. Feast of the Chinchaysuyos,* uaucu taqui

In this way each *ayllo* proceeds up to Quito and the New Kingdom of Granada,334 from Cuzco each *ayllo* has its *taquis* and *arauis,* which they call *caua,* and of the youth, *cata uari,* celebrations and music.

[322 (324)]

Page 322/324, drawing 126. Celebration of the people of Antisuyo quarter, *caya caya, huarmi auca* [enemy woman]: *curipata anti* 335 /

celebration

[323 (325)]

Celebration of the people of Antisuyo quarter

From Cuzco to the eastern slopes of the Andes up to the North Sea is forest.[336] They sing and dance *huarmi auca anca uallo*. There are many infidels. The Antisuyo people and the Chuncho people sing and dance, repeating *caya cayaya*. . . . To this rhythm they sing and dance, saying whatever they want. The women answer singing *cayay caya,* and they play the flute, which they call *pipo*. They celebrate with this music. They do a circle dance holding hands. All the men dressed as women with their arrows dance *huarmi auca*. They also sing to the rhythm of the drum: *huarmi auca*. . . . Others sing, each one with their *ayllo*. The Tambopata have their *taquis, hayllis, arauis* of the girls, and the boys play the *pincollos*.[337]

The tribes of Antisuyo and the Chuncho tribe are Indians who go naked, and they are called *anti runa micoc* [Antisuyo man-eaters].[338] These Indians are from the eastern Andean forests. In the other part of the highlands the Ancauallo Indians[339] are similar to other Indians of this kingdom, but they are infidels. They have wars among themselves. They can not come here, but must remain there. The Indians of the Antisuyo quarter are also infidels.

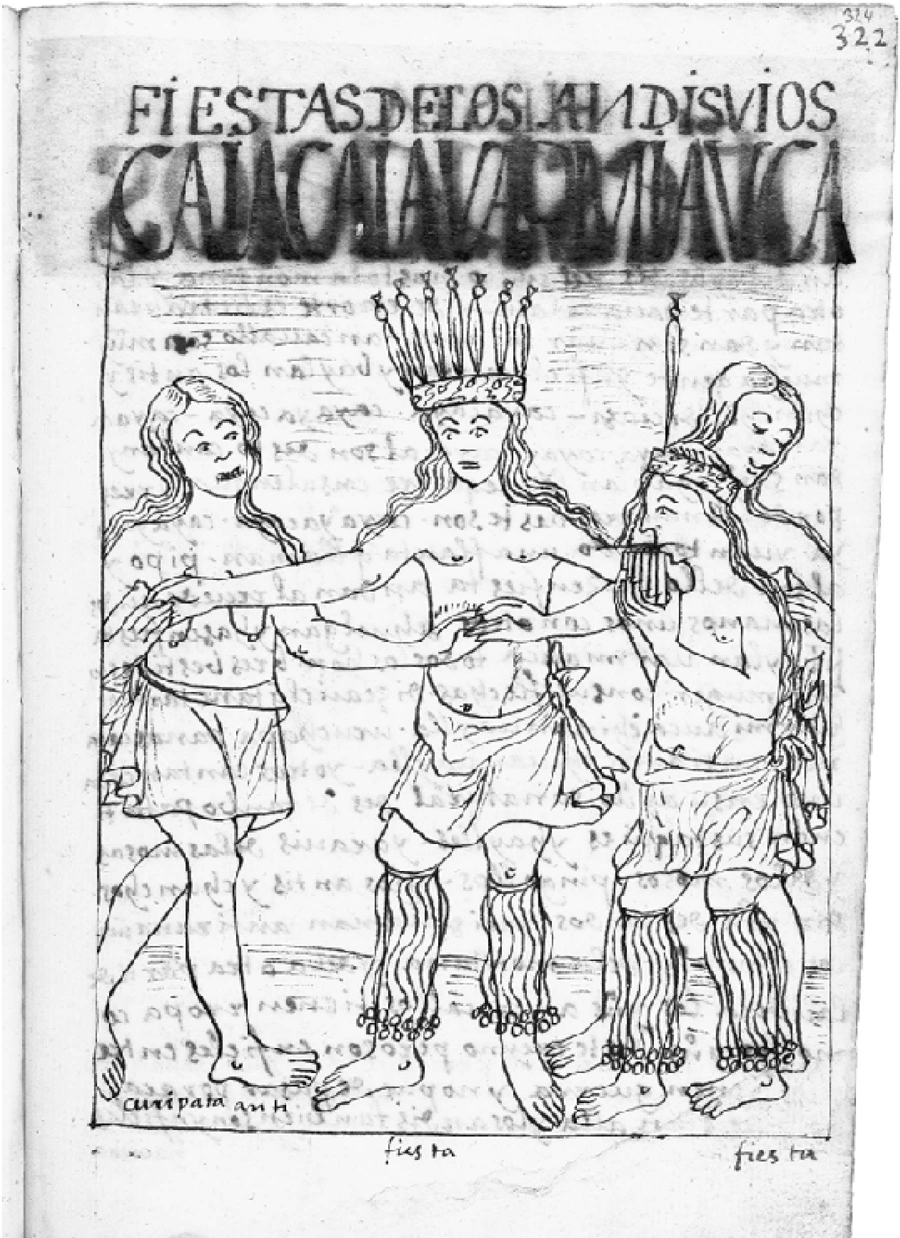
[324 (326)]

Page 324/326, drawing 127. Celebrations of the people of the Collasuyo quarter, Hauisca Mallco, Capaca Colla [Hauisca chief, great lord of Colla]:[340] Collapampa [the *meseta* in that quarter] / Sanchalli[341] / the celebration

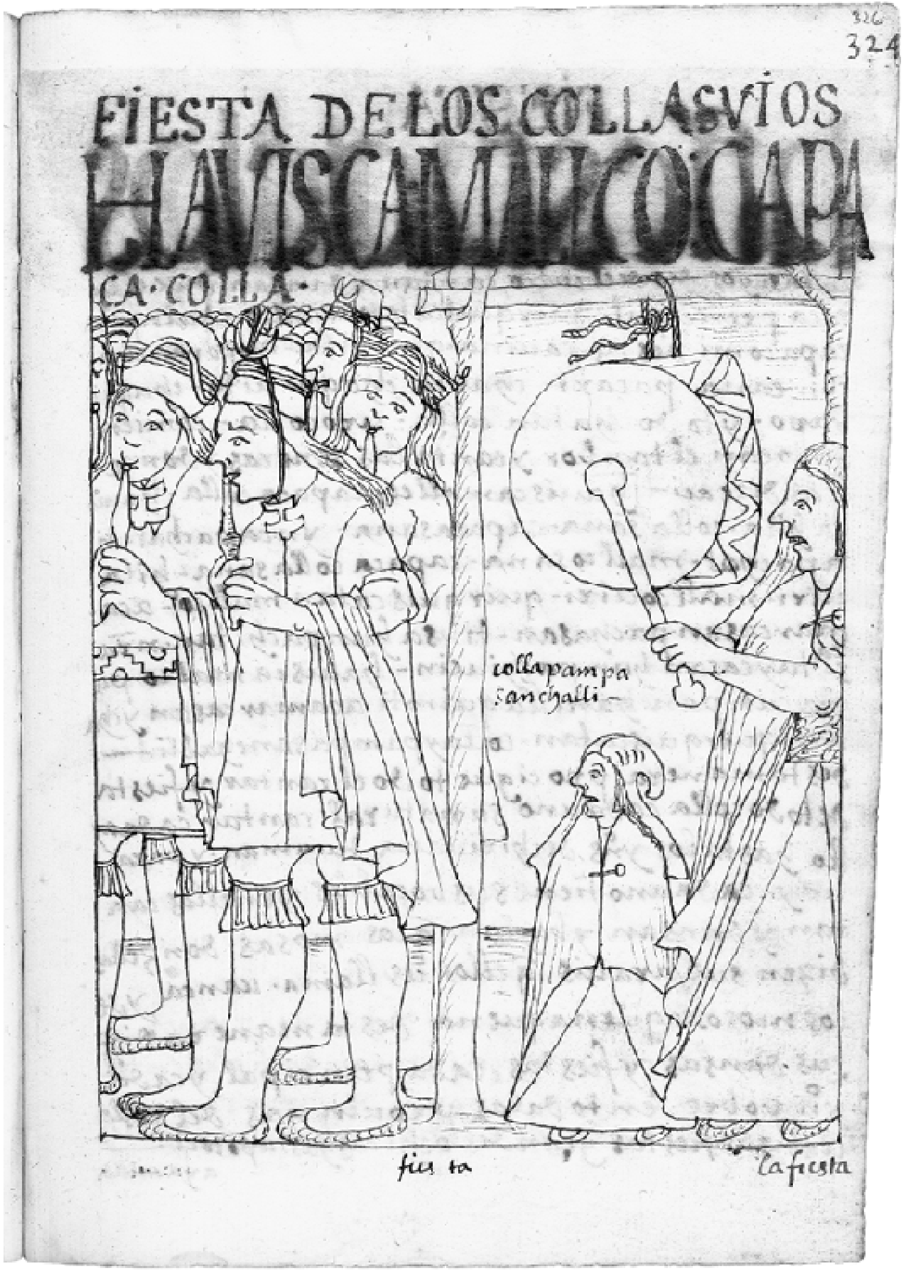
[325 (327)]

Celebration of the people of the Collasuyo quarter

In the celebration of the people of Collasuyo quarter there is dancing and singing. The principal chief says: *quirquiscatan mallco* . . . from Cuzco, Cavina, Quispillacta, Pomacanchi, Cana, Pacasi, Charca, Chucuito, Chuquiabo, all of Hatuncolla, Urcocolla:[342] *hauisca mallco capaca*. . . .[343]


324
322
FIESTAS DELOS ANDISVIOS
CAIACAIA VARMIAVCA
curipata anti
fiesta
fiesta

322/324. *Drawing 126. Feast of the Antisuyos of the female enemy,* caya caya, huarmi auca


326
324
FIESTA DE LOS COLLASVIOS
CA · COLLA ·
collapampa
sanchalli
fiesta
la fiesta

324/326. *Drawing 127. Feast of the Collasuyos*

This is the way the song and celebration goes in the Collasuyo quarter. Each one sings in their own way, each *ayllo* up to the Chriguana Indians, and those of Tucuman and Paraguay. Each one has their words, and the boys and girls sing and dance; the girls sing their *arauis,* which they call *uanca,* and the boys play the *quenaquena.* All the people of the provinces of Collao up to Potosi, both lords and poor, do their big and small celebrations in this way.

[326 (328)]

Page 326/328, drawing 128. Celebrations of the Condesuyos, Aya Milla, *saynata:*344 Coropuna345 *pampa saynata* [mask] / the celebration

[327 (329)]

Celebration of the people of the Condesuyo quarter

The celebration of the Condesuyo quarter, which included from Cuzco, Yanauara, Pomatambo, Cuzcoconde, Qullauaconde, Arequipa. They sing and dance the *saynatas* and other songs and music. It goes like this: "*aya milla saynata.*" The man answers: *"a a o a a o.*" The woman says: *"cayquiro pimanata saynata* . . . *The man answers: ocaropimanha* . . . *halla ana ana.*"346

In this way the four quarters of the empire, the Quichua, Aymara, Colla, Sora, have their expressions and *taquis.* Some Condes have their own expressions, and thus the Collas347 sing thus: "*Mallco.* . . ."348

[328 (330)]

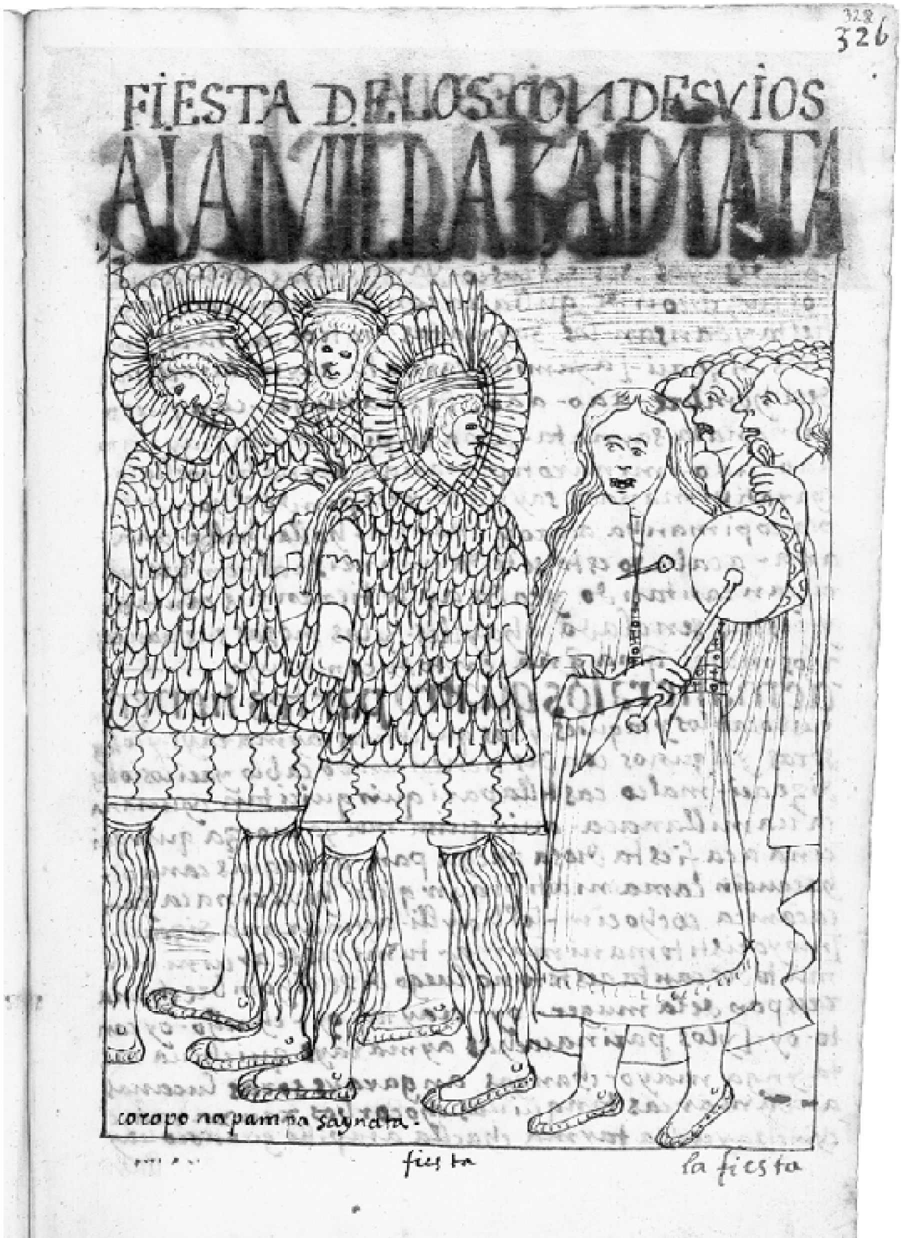
. . .[349]

Royal palaces of the Incas, principal lords of this kingdom, stature and pleasures that they have and still have to this day

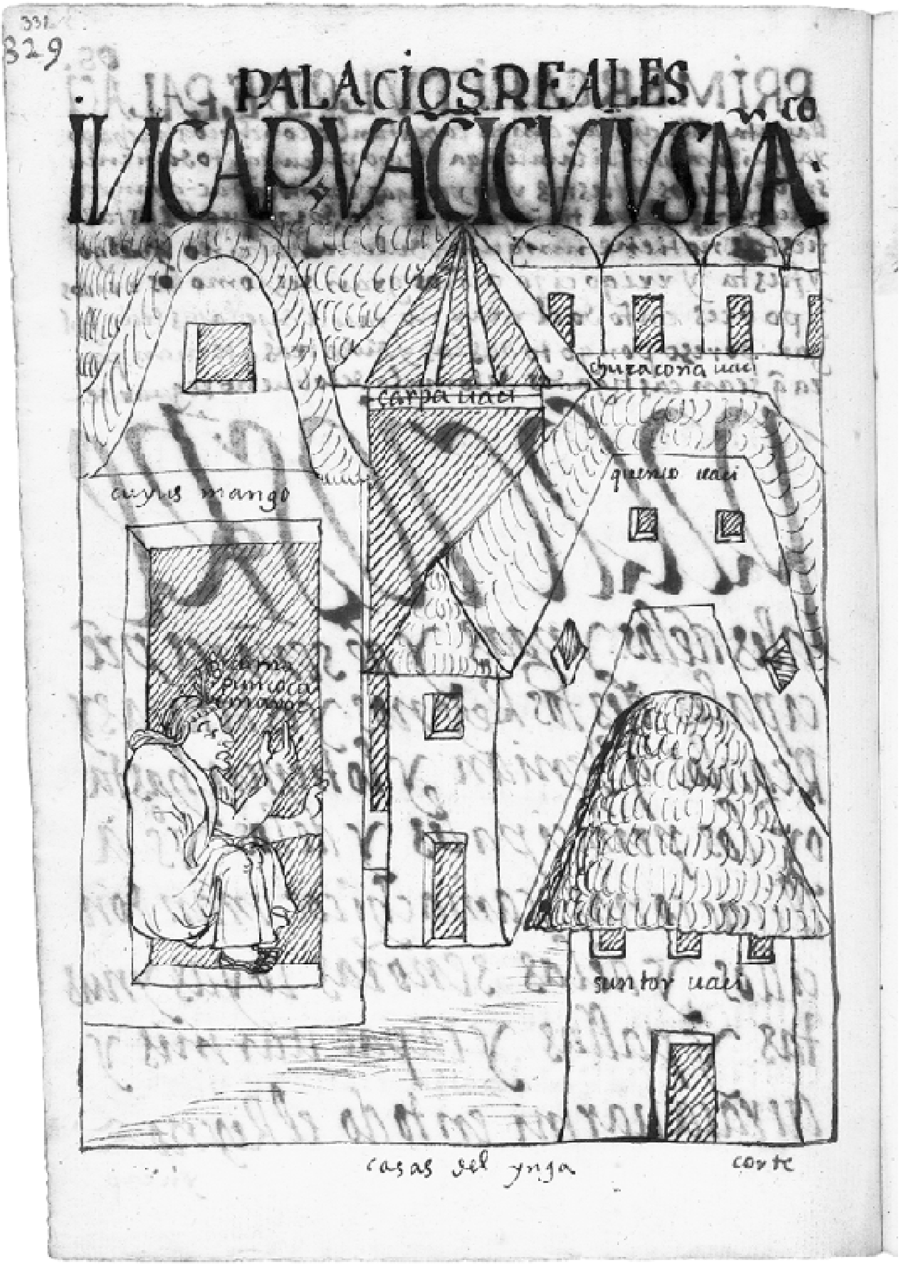
This was also for the *allicaccona* Indians, *camachicocs* [officials]; and for the *coyas, ñustas, pallas, capac* huarmis, *curaca huarmis* in the whole kingdom.

[329 (331)]

Page 329/331, drawing 129. Royal palaces, *Incap uasi* [the Inca's house], *cuyus manco* [guard house?]:[350] *cuyus manco / carpa uasi* [house with awning] / *churacona uasi* [storehouse] / *quenco uasi* [curved house] / *suntor uasi* [circular house] / *cumo punco camayoc* [humpbacked door official] / houses of the Inca[351]


328
326
FIESTA DE LOS CONDESVIOS
corovo napampa saynata.
fiesta
la fiesta

326/328. *Drawing 128. Feast of the Condesuyos*


331
329
PALACIOS REALES
INCAP VACI CVIVS MAÑCO
churacona uaci
carpa uaci
cuyus mango
quenco uaci
suntor uaci
casas del ynga
corte

329/331. *Drawing 129. Royal palaces,* Incap uasi*; the Inca's house,* cuyus manco

[330 (332)]

The court, royal palaces and houses of the Incas called *cuyus manco, quenco uasi, muyo uasi* [round house], *carpa uasi, suntor uasi, marca uasi* [attic of a house], *puñona uasi* [sleeping quarters], *churacona uasi* [storehouse], *aca uasi* [*chicha* storehouse], *masana uasi* [drying house], *camachicona uasi* [counselor's house], *huaccha uasi* [poor house]. The *capac apocona, apocona, curacacona, allicacona* [lords and officials] had the same. They had a house in accordance with their rank in this kingdom, and did not go beyond their authority.

The Inca would go hunting for deer or tinamous in a place they call *moya* [orchard-garden]. No living soul would take anything, only the Inca, the *coya,* would hunt with *toclla,* lassos, throw the *riui* [bolas] and *pupacona llicacona* [birdlime net].352 The Inca enjoys himself with his wife, the *coya,* the *auquicona, ñustas, capac apocona,* and *apocona* in the orchard-garden called *moya* that the Inca had as a yard for celebrations.

There were also jesters whom they called *sauca rimac, cocho rimac.*353 These were Indians from Huancavilca. There were also buffoons called *llamallama, hayachuco,*354 who were Indians of the *yunca, chucareros, sauca chicoc, acichicoc, puquis colla, millma rinri.*355

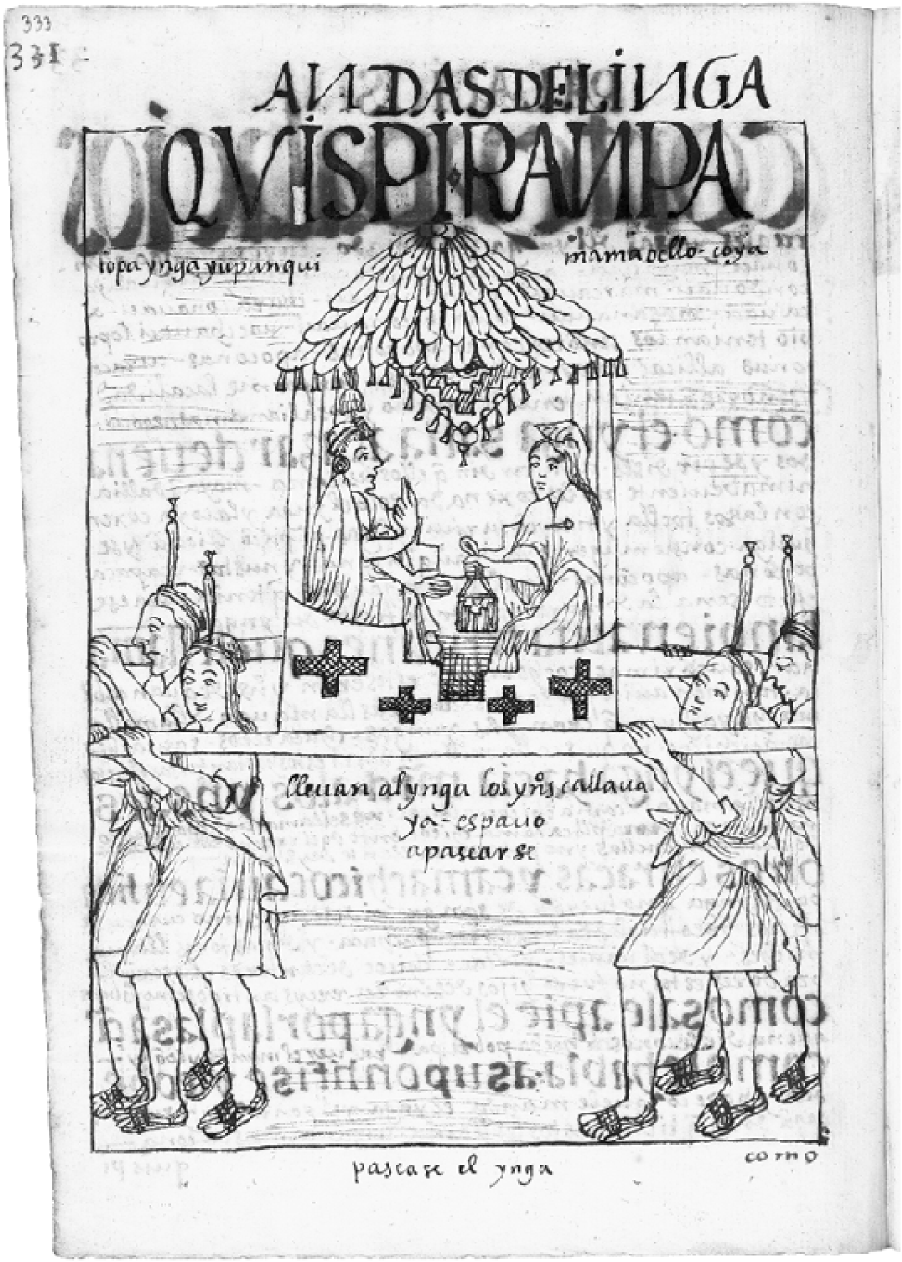
The Inca favored certain Indians who were called *camachicoc allicac.* They were not called *apo,* but rather *chunca camachicoc* [superior of ten], *pisca camachicoc* [superior of five] in this kingdom. During the time of the Incas there were other *curacas* and *camachicoc* who were not of noble lineage, but rather *curacas* chosen from farmers, *pachaca;* herders, *llama michic;* builders, *pirca chicoc;* stone cutters, *luccric.* These were not the sons of lords or kings of ancient times, but rather ordinary Indians.

Sometimes the Inca would go on foot through the square without anyone recognizing him, acting like a poor man in order to see the world and what was there.

The Inca would speak to his priests; they would obey him and do what he ordered. The priests called *uisa* had advisers known as *camascacona.*

[331 (333)]

Page 331/333, drawing 130. The Inca's litter, *quispi rampa* [decorated litter]: Topa Inca Yupanqui / Mama Ocllo, *coya* / The Callahuaya carry the Inca slowly on a ride.356 / The Inca takes a ride.


333
331
ANDAS DEL INGA
QVISPI RAMPA
topa ynga yupanqui
mama ocllo coya
lleuan al ynga los yñs callaua
ya espacio
apasear se
pasease el ynga
como

331/333. *Drawing 130. The Inca's litter of precious stones,* quispi rampa

[332 (334)]

[The Inca][357]

The Inca fought his enemies from the litter.[358] He hurled stones of fine gold from his *pillco rampa* [reddish litter] at his enemies Apo Pinto, Guayna Pinto.[359] Huayna Capac Inca conquered the provinces of Quito, Cayambe, Ciccho, Lataconga, Huancavilca, Cañari, Chachapoya, and Chupaycho.[360]

The Inca created coca and taught the Indians how to chew it. This is an idolatrous habit. They say it sustains users, but I do not believe this. It is a rather wicked vice, like the Spaniards who smoke tobacco, an impertinent vice. But a drunken Indian who chews coca is certainly a public sorcerer and priest of the Inca.[361]

Gifts were brought to the Inca, his wife the *coya,* and the important lords of the kingdom. The rest of the *capac apocona* were given presents by the Indians.

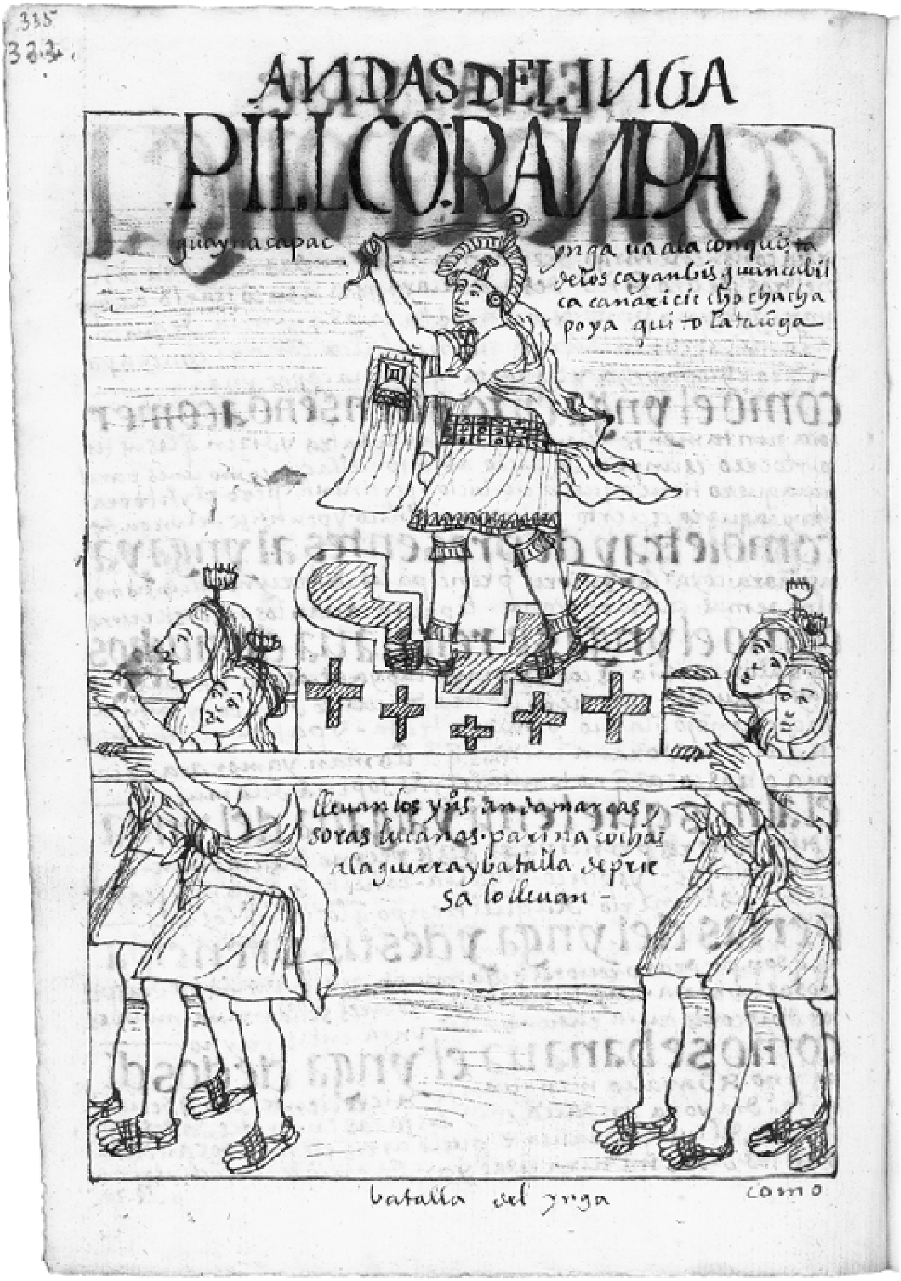
The Inca gave himself many gifts. He ate special maize, *capya utco sara;* and *papas mauay* [early potatoes] and *chaucha* [small potatoes]; a white llama called *cuyro;* and *chiche* [small fish], white rabbit, lots of fruit, ducks, and smooth *chicha* that matures in one month, called *yamur aca.* He also ate other things that the Indians did not touch on pain of death. The Inca and the principal lords of this kingdom had musk and civet. They called musk *ciyaya* and civet *yspinco.* This was used to perfume the Inca's quarters, which smelled like incense during Inca times.

The Inca and his lords had precious stones and pearls. Pearls were called *quispe,* precious stones *umiña, cuychi,* and *uaccri,* and necklaces were called *mullo.*[362]

The Inca bathed every two days, but not at the time of the waning or waxing moon because they say that at those times illnesses, physical calamities, and death are more likely. At that time the winds and elements are disconnected from nature and are in contact with the body.[363]

[333 (335)]

Page 333/335, drawing 131. The Inca's litter, *pillco rampa* [reddish litter]: Huayna Capac Inca goes to conquer the provinces of Cayambe, Huancavilca, Cañari, Ciccho, Chacapoya, Quito, Lataconga[364] / The Inca took soldiers from the provinces of Andamarca, Sora, Lucana and Parinacocha[365] to do battle. / They moved quickly as they carried him, / battle of the Inca.


335
333.
ANDAS DEL INGA
PILLCO RAMPA
guayna capac
ynga ua a la conquista de los cayanbis guancauilca canari cicho charcha poya quito latacunga
lleuan los yns. andamarcas soras lucanas. para yr a la guerra y batalla de priesa lo lleuan –
batalla del ynga
como

333/335. *Drawing 131. The Inca's red litter,* pillko rampa, *used in war*

[334 (336)]

*[On the Inca]*366

The Inca went on trips with his footmen wearing helmets, carrying banners, trumpets, flutes, and dancing *taquis.* He also took the nude Chuncho Indians.367 The Inca goes in full dress and in control on his *quispi rampa* with his *coya.* He also goes into battle on his litter. The Incas and *capac apo* had big drums with which they enjoyed themselves; they had *poma tinya* [a puma skin drum]; shell trumpets, *uaylla quepa, pototo;* flutes, *pincollo, antara, pipo, catauari, uaroro, quenaquena, chiuca.*[368] In this kingdom there was music and *nucaya*[369] of the Yunca Indians of each *ayllo* for the celebrations of the Inca and the lords.

Since the Inca loved the important ladies of Collasuyo, Canchi, and Pacage[370] more than any others, he would return from his journeys by this route very often. The Inca did not favor those of Chinchaysuyo quarter. The *coya* was jealous.

The patio of the Inca's house had many birds, monkeys, macaws, big parrots, little parrots, parakeets, small falcons, doves, *cucuri, chiuillo* [black birds], *chayna* [finches] and many other birds from the Andes and from the coastal Yunca region, *viscachas* [rabbit-like animals], a lake with fish, fountains, *uiruy paccha, cantoc paccha.* There was a garden and orchard for the Inca's recreation. The principal *capac apo* of this kingdom also had excellent fields of vegetables and *yuyos* nearby.

They had drums made of important men who were rebels and traitors—the whole body dressed in a suit, turned into a drum. These were called *runa tinya* [human drums]. The body was as if the man were alive. The man's own hand tapped on his stomach. The drum head was the man's stomach. The skulls of other rebels were made into *mates* for drinking *chicha.* Flutes were made of their bones, and their teeth were made into necklaces.

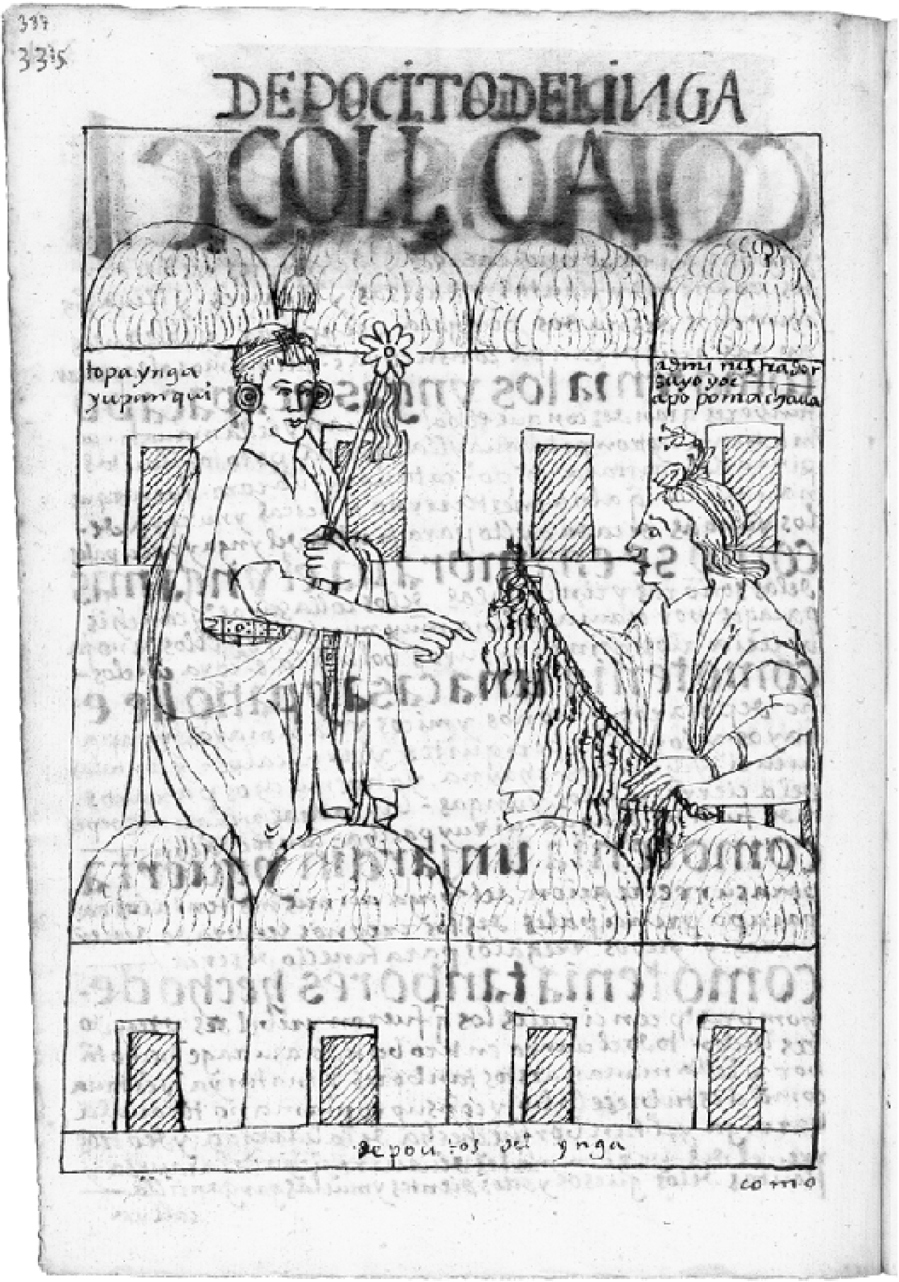
[335 (337)]

Page 335/337, drawing 132. The Inca's storehouses, *collca:* Topa Inca Yupanqui / administrator, *suyoyoc* / *apo* Poma Chaua[371] / storehouses of the Inca

[336 (338)]

Storehouses

The Inca maintained storehouses called *collca* in this kingdom. In the provinces there were storehouses[372] with *chuño, muraya, caya, charqui,* and wool.


337
335
DEPOCITO DEL INGA
COLLCA
topa ynga yupanqui
admenestrador suyoyoc apo pomachaua
depocitos del ynga
como

335/337. *Drawing 132. Storehouses of the Inca,* collca

There were storehouses in Huanuco Pampa, Jauja, Apcara, Sora, Chincha, Antisuyo373 in the whole kingdom and on the plains. They kept maize, sweet potatoes, chile peppers, cotton, *macnu* [dried vegetables], coca, *rumo* [manioc], and all their food in these *collca.* They come from the *chacras,* fields, and *moyas* for the *sapsi* storehouses, the Inca's *chacras,* and *yupacona chacras,* which belong to the community. The administrators of each province have to supervise the *chacras* of the Inca, the *aclla;* of the Sun, of the Moon, the *huacas vilca;* of the pontiffs and main caciques, *capac apo, apocona, curacacona, allicacona, camachiccocona, michoc* Inca *quillis cachi* [lords, officials, and judges]; the *uaccha runap chacras* [orphan's fields] of this kingdom.374

The Inca had authority over everything, both strong men as well as women of spirit.375 For fighting in wars, the Inca recognized the strength of the Indians of Chinchaysuyo quarter. Although they are small in stature, they are very brave. They build up their strength by eating maize and drinking maize *chicha.* The Indians of Collasuyo quarter are not very strong or brave. They are big, fat, soft, not worth much because they eat *chuño* and drink *chicha* made of *chuño.* Those from the Chinchaysuyo quarter have an abundance of food. They also have more livestock . . .376 and the best pots, *cumbi,* fields, and officials, *luccric, pircac chicoc, auca camayoc,* captains of *pucaras,* fortresses.377

The Inca admired fast runners who

[337 (339)]

could fly like a deer. He had many brave young men race uphill, downhill, across the flat land; the winners ran like hawks in flight. A good man could walk for seven days. In one day he would go from Cuzco to sleep at Vilcas, and from there on to Tayacaja, to Anchicocha, arriving at Los Reyes de Lima for lunch.378 The Inca called these men *aya poma, aya uaman, aya condor* [mountain lion, hawk, and condor spirits]. They were respected.

The Incas had great fortresses at Sacsahuman, Suchona, Callispuquio, Chingana, Puca Marca; an underground hole reaches to Santo Domingo, Coricancha of Cuzco.379 These were the great *pucaras,* fortresses, of the Inca in the kingdom.

The Inca had vices and ear piercing, ancient customs of the *capac apo* Incas, and other *auquicona* Incas, common Incas, Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, Anta Inca, Tambo Inca, Quehuar Inca, Huaroc Inca, Quilliscachi Inca, Quichua, Yanhuara . . . [and even] *puquis colla, milma rimri* [imbeciles].380 Each one according to his social status pierced their ears with the ceremonies used during the time of Inca rulers.

In the big patio of his house the Inca had *tinri,* dwarfs; *cumo,* hunchbacks; split-nosed people, *chicta sinca huaca,* both male and female.381 There were many of them, and the Inca supported them and provided them with *chacras* near the cities. These dwarfs, hunchbacks, and split-nosed people married their own kind in order to multiply. During the great Easter celebrations the public square was stocked with a large baskets of coca called *auancari.*[382] Large llamas . . . brought the baskets of coca. The load made some of the llamas fall down; others threw off the load.[383] The Inca and the rest of the lords laughed and enjoyed themselves in this celebration in the cities.

[338 (340)]

[It was approved (p. 339)] that there was no tribute

No tribute was paid to the Inca, his *coya,* or the principal lords, but rather in this kingdom Indian men and women served not captains nor any person. The lord and council of each town were under the obligation to give *mitmae,* Indian settlers, for every occupation and work. Everything else they gave to officials for metals, gold, silver, tin, copper; Indian laborers, quarrymen, bricklayers, pot makers, carpenters, silversmiths, painters, needle workers, fine cloth workers, singers, flute players, drummers, musicians, barbers, clerks, accountants, jesters, foremen, laborers, judges, high priests, priests, virgins, administrators, waiters, pages, servants, helmet makers, harness makers, captains, generals. As payment, the Inca gave these officials three or four women, *chacras,* garments and other valuables. These men were free, as were their women and children, in this kingdom. The same was given to the *apocona, uamanin curacas.* There were no other lords other than these who obeyed and served in the kingdom. And they were given Indian litter bearers. The bearers from Callahuaya went short distances, while those of Lucana went longer distances.[384] The carriers were called *yncap chaquin* [the Inca's feet]. They were given llamas, maize, potatoes, chile peppers, salt, wool, cotton, fish, shrimp, *chicha,* rabbits. They were even given *huaca mullo* [a sacred seashell], and *ocororo, cancaua, llullucha, murcota* [herbs, acquatic plants]. These things were used as tribute. It did not cause as much affliction as it does now. It did not bother the poor Indians. Now to say "tribute" means a slavery that causes great harm to the poor Christian Indians.[385]

There were palaces in all the cities, towns and villages of this kingdom, royal palaces of the Inca, princes, palaces of great lords, *capac apo.* There were also royal squares, *aucaypata* plazas, where people would go for walks, and Cusipata [the Cuzco market], where they sell, *cato* [market]. There are similar squares in all the cities, towns and villages of the Indians.

[339 (341)]

The Inca paid for all the wars and battles. He gave arms to his captains and Indian soldiers. The Inca honored them, fed them, paid them, gave them choice women. The Inca also maintained captains and Indian soldiers to guard his fortresses. These men are called *sayapayac* [young helpers], *pucara camayoc* [fortress officials], *aucauan tincoc* [soldiers], *pucara uacaychac* [fortress guards].

Very dignified were the *coya,* the *ñustas, pallacona,* other ladies, wives of the *capac apocona, apocona,* and the daughters and sisters of the important caciques of this kingdom.

When the Inca went for a walk, he was accompanied by the viceroy *capac apo,* Guaman Chaua, and all of his counselors, judges, *presidentes,* advisers, princes, great gentlemen, secretaries of this kingdom—Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, *auquicona,* captains.386

The Inca had great wealth in *cori,* gold; *culqui,* silver; *umiñas,* precious stones; *pachas,* garments; *canchas,* patios; *moyas; chacras,* fields; *llama,* livestock, and other riches in this kingdom.

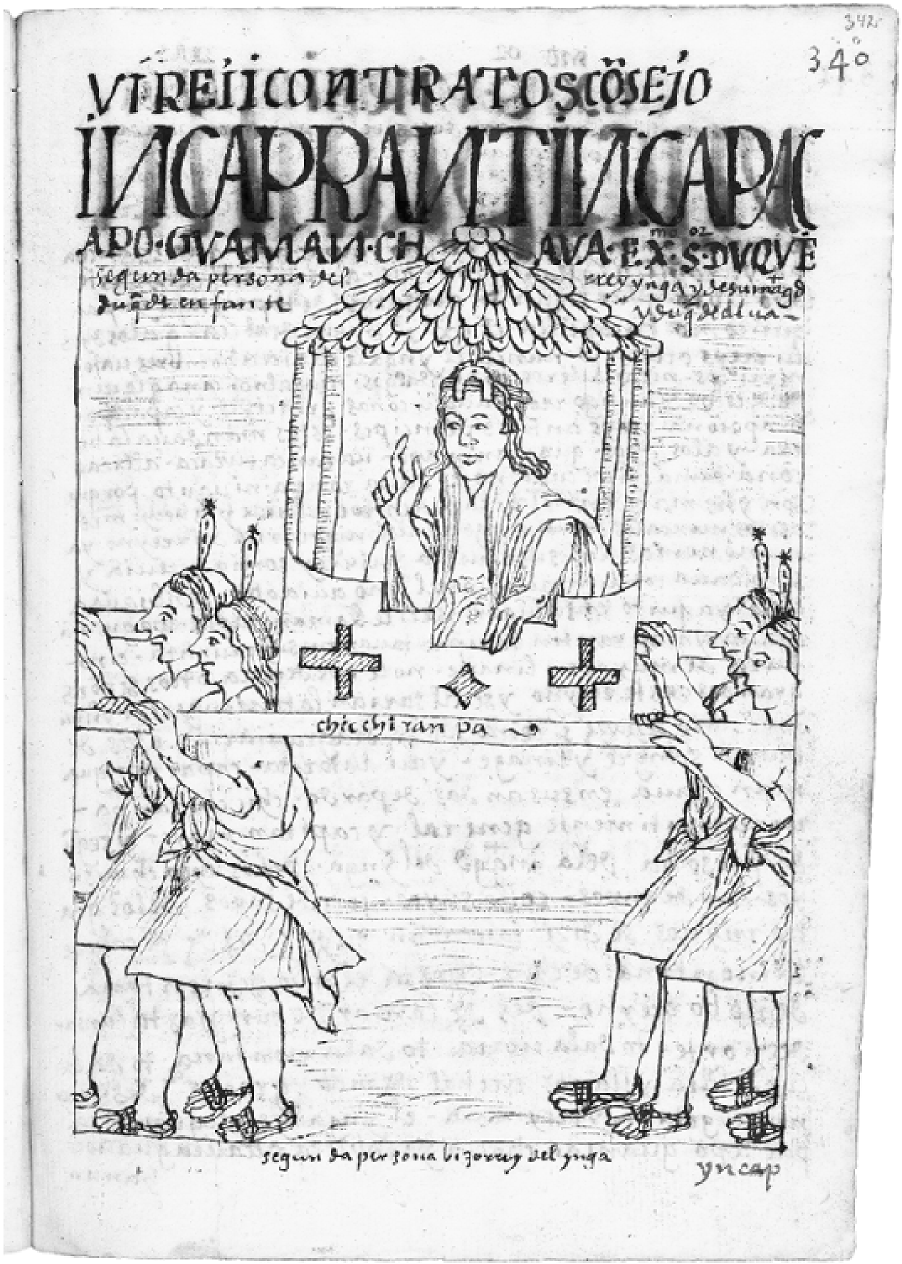
The Incas were gentlemen of stature and well formed. They had trim and beautiful *coyas, ñustas, pallas,* like those of Chinchaysuyo; not the fat, soft people of Collasuyo, nor the skinny ones of Condesuyo, nor the skinny, poor postured, arrogant, false traitors of Antisuyo, just like the people of Chile.387

At that time, as has been stated, there were also priests, officials, authorities. The lords of this kingdom visited the royal *tambos,* and not so much harm was done then as now. It seems to me that there were many Christians, and if they did not have *huacas,* idols, they would have been Christians and would have been baptized as such. Now they are all Incas, Spanish kings—more than Inca, worse than Inca. They do so much harm and depopulate the land of this kingdom. The Indians are forced to be tribute payers and slaves.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS

[340 (342)]

Page 340/342, drawing 133. Viceroy and contracts, council, Incap Rantin Capac Apo [the Incas's replacement great lord], Guaman Chaua Excellency Duke, second person of the Inca king and his Majesty, duke prince, duke of Alba: *chicchi rampa* [brown litter] / second person, viceroy of the Inca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340
VIREII CONTRATOS CÕSEJO
INCAP RANTIN CAPAC
APO GVAMAN CHAVA EX S DVQVE
segunda persona del ynga en fan te
chicchi ranpa
segunda persona bisorrey del ynga
yncap

340/342. *Drawing 133. The Inca's council:* Incap Rantin Capac Apo*, the great lord who represents the Inca; Guaman Chaua, most excellent lord*

[341 (343)]

Most excellent lord viceroy

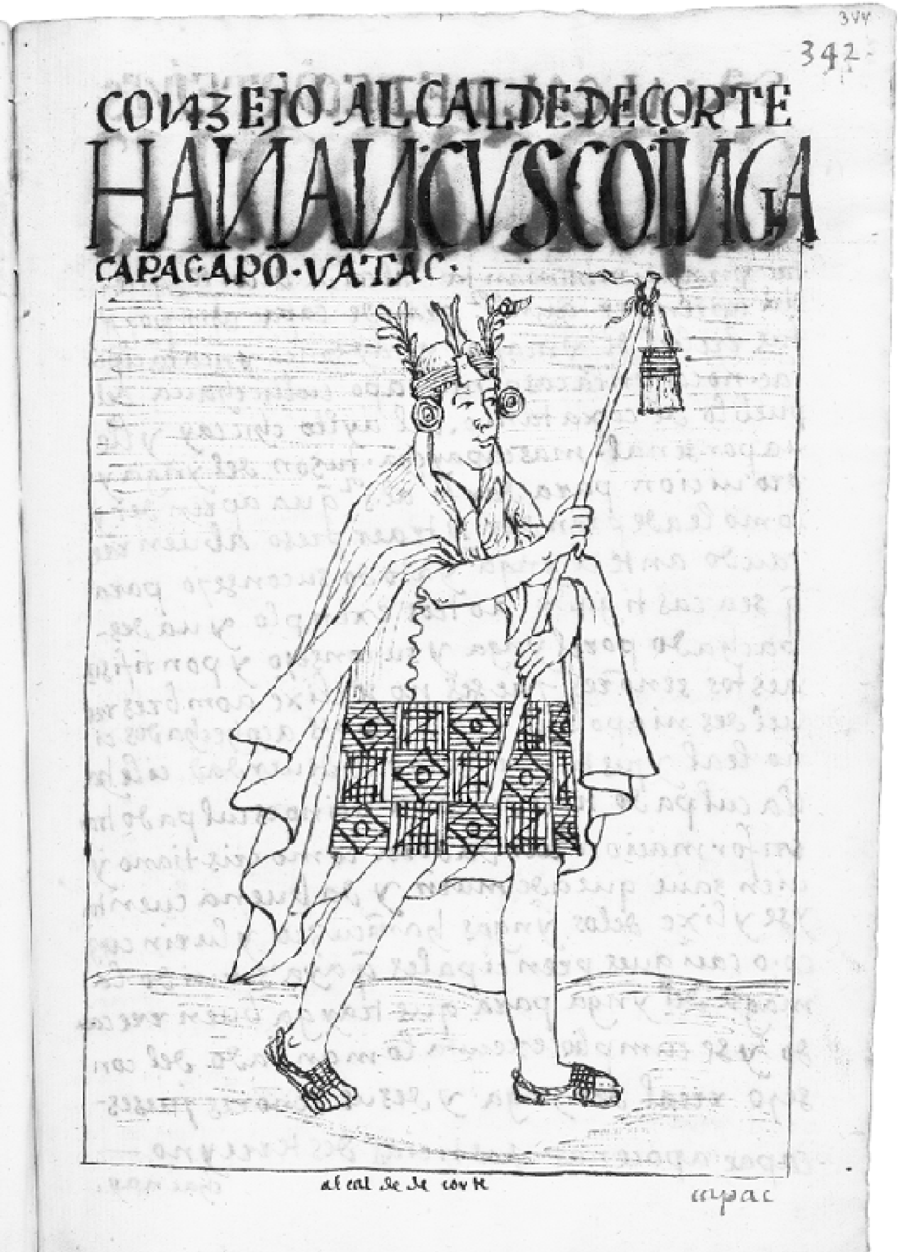
Incap Rantin [the Inca's replacement], viceroy of the Inca and of this kingdom, *capac apo* Guaman Chaua Yarovilca Allauca Huanuco, grandfather of the author of this book. This Guaman Chaua was the second person of Topa Inca Yupanqui, as well as in Castile his excellency the Duke of Alba.388 These viceroys, or councilmen, under the Inca never selected men of low birth, nor rich men, gentlemen, *hidalgos,* nor wise men, but rather insisted on direct descendants of ancient kings, *auquicona,* princes, *capac apo* or *apocona,* ancient lords. They ruled the land and the *uamanin apo, huaranca curaca, allicacona, camachicoccona* [lords, chiefs, and officials]. These latter did not get a *rampa* nor *uanto*389 because they were lesser officials, *camachicoc* or *allicac,* Indians who were rewarded. These were never given an important government post in this kingdom.

Thus only one was the viceroy and second to the Inca. He ate, drank and enjoyed himself with the Inca and communicated with him. The Inca sent him to Chile and Quito to represent him. This man was called *capac apo* Guaman Chaua, Incap Taripac [the Inca's deputy], Tahuantinsuyo Runata [in the empire before the people]. If he were not from a very great lineage, the other great lords would not obey him and they would rebel. If a *mitayo* Indian of low birth tried to pass himself off as a lord, as they do now, others of noble lineage would take offense.390 Thus *capac apo* Guaman Chaua was authorized to travel on his brown litter, *chicchi rampa,* as lieutenant general, ranking captain, second person to his majesty the Inca across Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo and Condesuyo, the four parts of the kingdom.

Tahuantinsuyo includes from the end of the mountains of Chile to the end of the mountains of the New Kingdom of Granada, from the South Sea to the North Sea, including all the land east of the Andes, the whole chain of these mountains, the flat lands, the sandy sea coast.391 The great lord Inca controlled it all along with his second person, *capac apo* Guaman Chaua Yarovilca Huanuco.

[342 (344)]

Page 342/344, drawing 134. Council, official of the court, Hanan Cuzco Inca, *capac apo uatac* [powerful lord, constable]: mayor of the court


342
CONZEJO ALCALDE DE CORTE
HANANCUSCOINGA
CAPAC APO VATAC
alcal de de corte
capac

342/344. *Drawing 134. The Inca's council: Hanan Cuzco Inca, principal lord;* capac apo uatac*, court magistrate who apprehends rebellious lords*

[343 (345)]

Official of the court, judge

Capac apo uatac yncap ciminmanta [a powerful lord, constable, who obeys the Inca], official of the court, who arrests a great lord, *capac* *apo,* because he rebelled, *yscay sonco* [two-faced], *yncata cipcicac* [critical of the Inca], *ñoca ynca casac nec* ["I will be the Inca"], *apo* Cullic Chaua of the town of Cajatambo and the Chiccay *ayllo.*392 This lord wore the *mascapaycha,* the Inca's fringe, as a sign of authority over the lord he was going to arrest.393 This would be done, and the lord would be taken as a prisoner safely before the Inca and the entire council so that this lord could be punished and set an example for others. He is sent by the Inca, his council and high priests.

Men who were rebellious, poor, or thieves were not eligible, only loyal, just men of their word. If they find him guilty, he will not be pardoned. If he is not guilty, he brings true information as a Christian; he knows that traitors get the death penalty, so he tells the truth. One selected by the Incas, of Hanan Cuzco or Hurin Cuzco, or important chiefs, must serve his Majesty the Inca well. He will fulfill whatever is ordered by the royal council of the Inca and his judges, *capaccona,* who maintain justice in this kingdom.

[344 (346)]

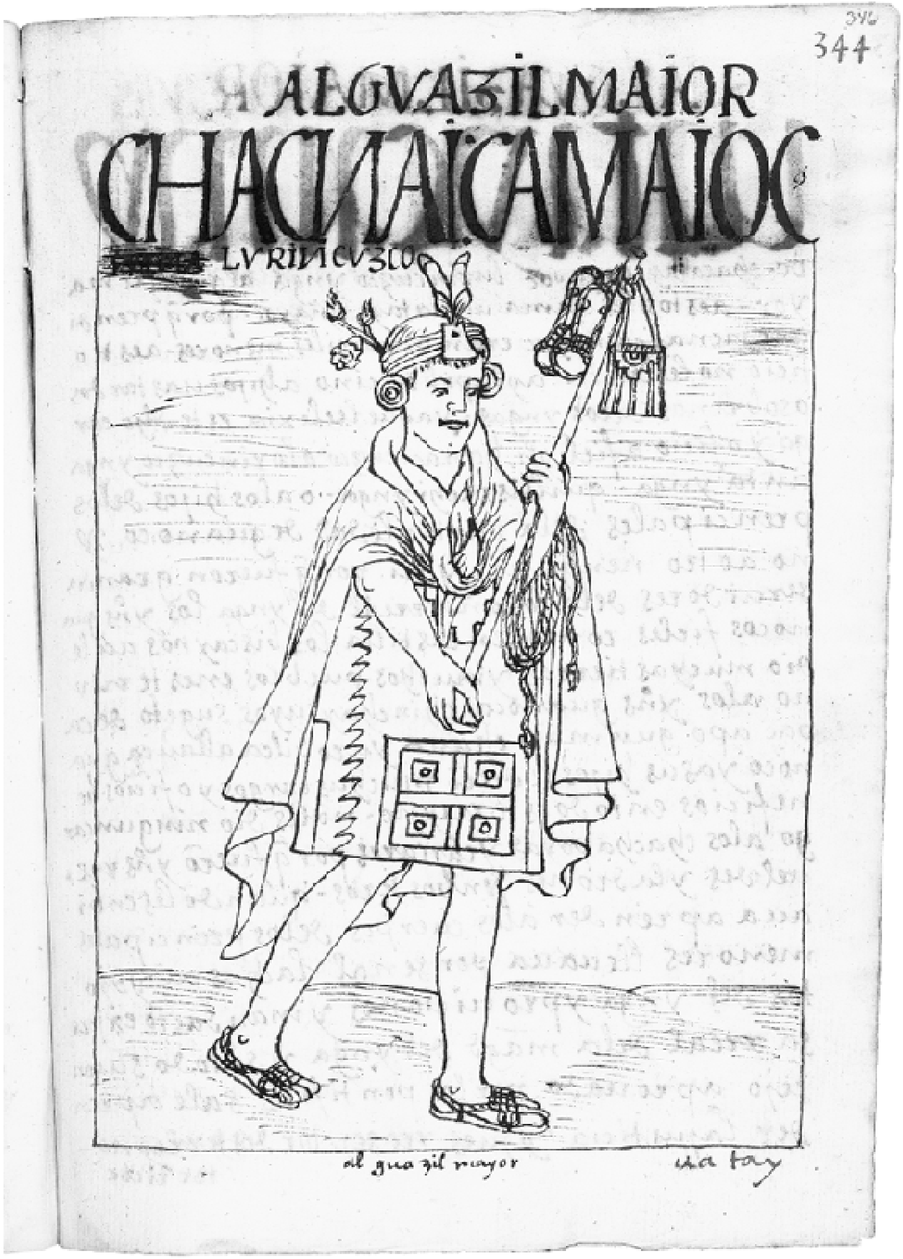
Page 344/346, drawing 135. Major constable, *chacnay camayoc* [torturer], Hurin Cuzco: major constable

[345 (347)]

Major constable

Uatay camayoc, chacnay camayoc, Inca of Hurin Cuzco, major constable: these are called *uatay camayoc* because they arrested offenders; *chacnay camayoc* were minor constables. For this post a poor Indian was not chosen, but rather bastard sons or nephews of the Incas. For this post they selected faithful Indians from Incas of Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, Anta or Quilliscachi, or sons of leaders of the lineage Huanuco and no other.394

The Indians from Huanuco were great servants of the royal Inca crown. They were faithful like the Spaniards from Biscay. For that reason the Inca gave them much land and many towns in this kingdom. The Indians from Huanuco, in the Chinchaysuyo quarter, subjects of Guaman Chaua of the Yarovilca Allauca Huanuco lineage, and their children were given many offices and benefits in this kingdom. The Indians of Chacapoya and Cañari provinces were not given any posts because they were rebels, thieves and deceitful.395


346
344
ALGVAZIL MAIOR
CHACNAICAMAIOC
LVRINCVZCO
al guazil mayor

344/346. *Drawing 135. Chief law enforcement official: Hurin Cuzco Inca;* chacnay camayoc*, torturer*

When he was sent to take . . . minor officials, he wore as identification the Inca's *chuspa* [small bag] and *ojotas* [sandals], carrying provisions and exact royal orders of his Majesty the Inca and all his council, approved by the high priests. He goes out to enforce justice as a judge in this kingdom.[396]

[346 (348)]

Page 346/348, drawing 136. Provincial official, *tocricoc,* judge, *michoc:* Tambo Inca / official

[347 (349)]

Official, tocricoc, *judge,* michoc

The Incas were from the lineage of Tambo Inca, *auquicona,* the ones who had torn ears, or crippled feet or hands.[397] They were district officials and judges who occupy their posts and take residence. Some of them were the bastard sons of *auquicona,* or grandchildren, great-grandchildren of the Inca kings, from Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, or lords from Anta, Mayo, Cavina, Quehuar, Acos, Huarco.[398] The men selected had crippled hands or broken teeth. They were not allowed to participate in the sacrifices to the deities and *huacas,* idols. For that reason they were sent to the provinces. If a man had only one eye, the Inca did not want to see him, for such a man was not a useful servant or soldier. Thus he was given this post. Good, healthy men were sent to war and to do other services.

These district officials upheld the law and did not steal or have anyone making cloth for them, nor did they sell goods. No one complained about them. They remained in office until their death. They were God fearing, upholders of justice and enforcers of punishments in this kingdom.[399]

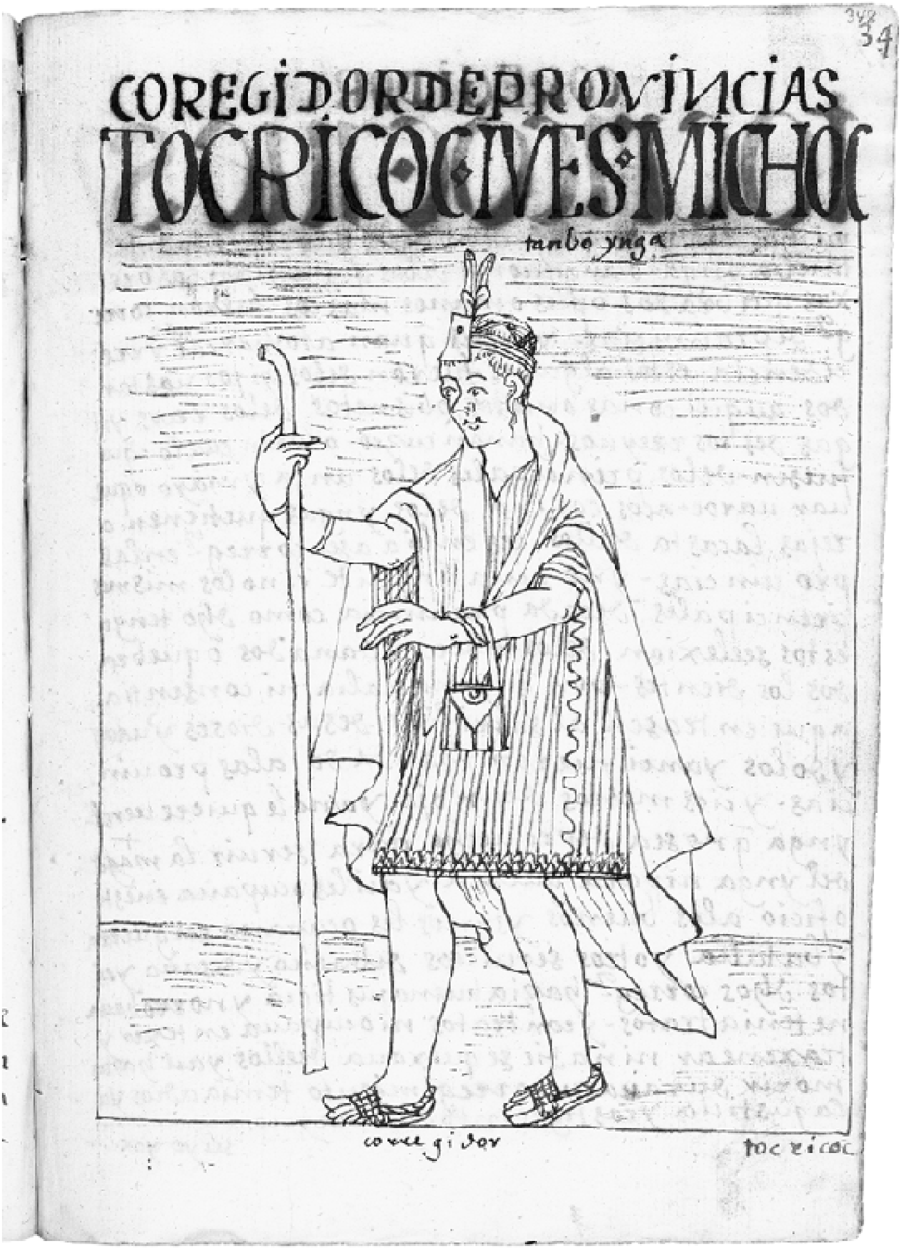
[348 (350)]

Page 348/350, drawing 137. Provincial administrator, *suyuyoc,* Guayac Poma, *apo,* lord: secretary[400]

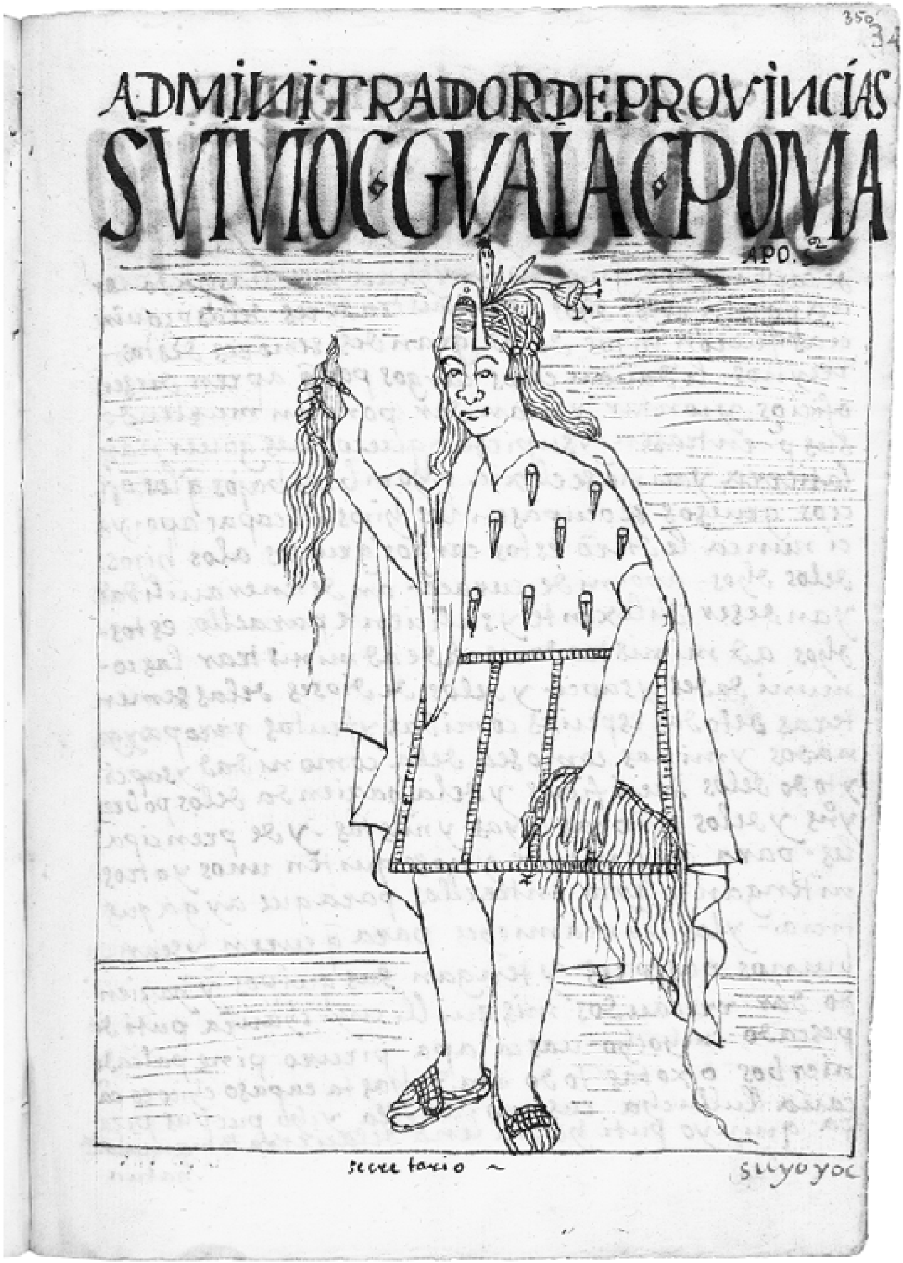
[349 (351)]

Administrator

Suyuyoc, called Carua Poma, was the son of *capac apo* Guaman Chaua. These provincial administrators were sons of great lords in this kingdom. They were given these posts so they could learn about administration, accounting and giving orders. Thus when their fathers died, they would be ready to take over and would know how to govern. Thus lower-class men were not chosen for these posts, but rather sons of *capac apo*. These important posts were never given to the sons of *apos* or *curacas*. They have to be capable, diligent and competent. These administrators have to govern the communities and their *sapsi* as well as the deities of the fields of all the foods, fruits, garments, livestock, and mines belonging to the community, and *sapsi,* including all the sacrifices and property of the poor Indians, the *coyas,* *ñustas,* and lords so that it will increase, so that men do not steal from each other, or have quarrels, so that justice prevails. They had to keep track of *llama miches,* that they cure and be good herdsmen, have their *quipo* and *misquillicoy* [sweets], *chalua puti* [fish stew], *chuchocho* [tuber stew], *uasca* [rope], *apa* [blanket], *piruro* [spindle whorl], *piñi* [jewelry], *palca* [forked sinew], *ojotas,* any bundle or basket, *chicoro* [sardine-like fish], *cancaua* [herb], *llullucha, cusuro* [aquatic plants], *uaylla* [pasture], *ycho* [bunch grass], *pucpus* [gourd vessels], *pisaca puti* [tinamou stew], and even firewood.[401]


348
COREGIDOR DE PROVINCIAS
TOCRICOC IVES MICHOC
tanbo yunga
corregidor
tocricoc

346/348. *Drawing 136. Provincial administrator,* tocricoc, *royal official*


350
ADMINISTRADOR DE PROVINCIAS
SVIVIOC GVALAC POMA
APO
secretario
suyoyoc

348/350. *Drawing 137. Provincial administrators,* suyuyoc; *sons of great lords,* capac apo

[350 (352)]

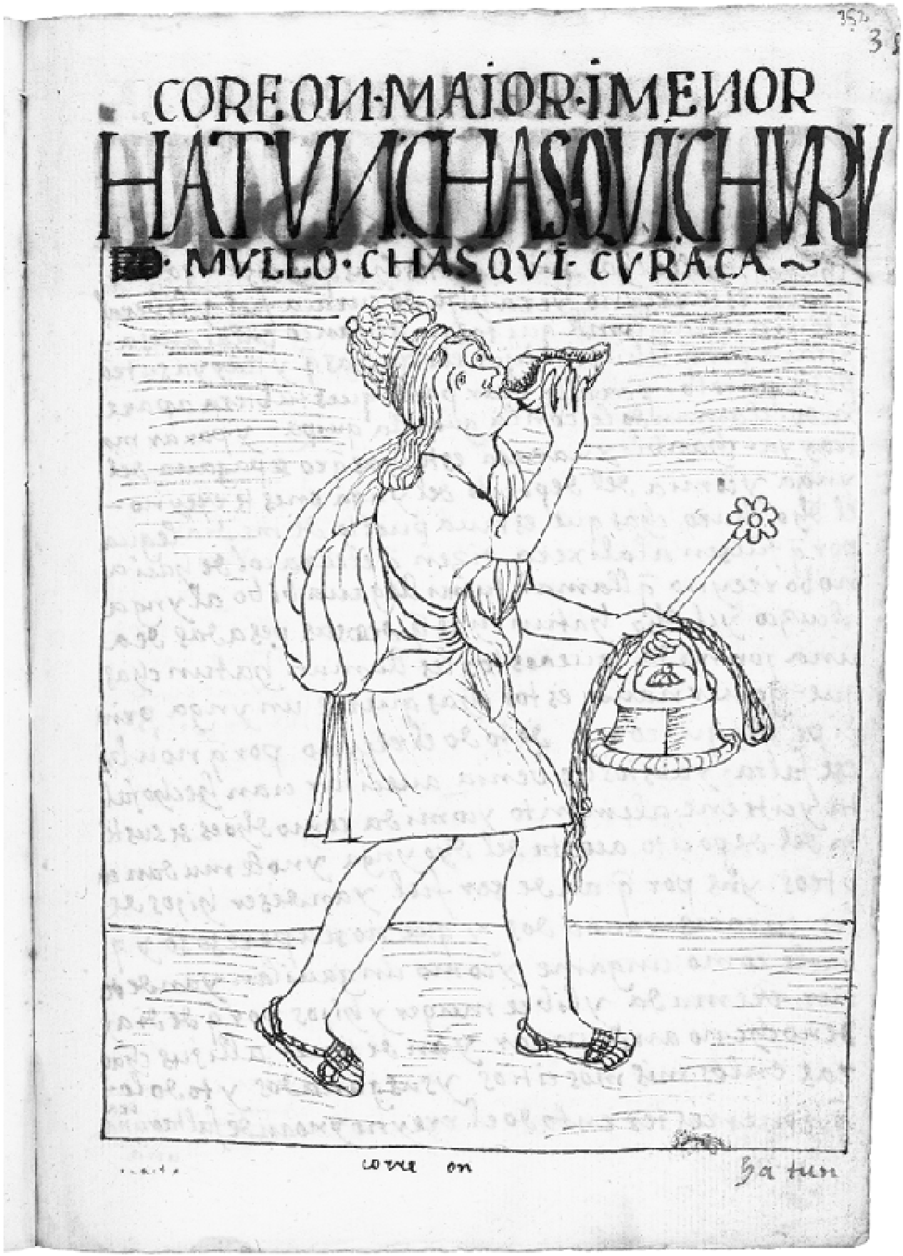
Page 350/352, drawing 138. Major-minor runner, *hatun chasque, churo mullo chasque* [shell trumpet messenger],[402] *curaca* [chief]: runner

[351 (353)]

Runners, hatun chasque, churo mullo chasque

These *chasques* were employed in this kingdom. They were the sons of *curacas* who were loyal. Each runner had a white feather sunshade on his head which he wore so that the next *chasque* would see him at a distance. The *chasque* also carried a trumpet called *putoto* so that the next runner would be ready. The arms they carried were the *champi* [a star-headed club] and a *uaraca* [sling]. These *chasques* were paid by the Inca, and they got their food from his storehouses. Each *churo chasque* was stationed at intervals of one-half league so he could run the distance quickly. They say that they could bring a snail alive from the New Kingdom of Granada to the Inca in Cuzco. . . .[403]

These *chasque*s were under the authority of an Inca princes, *auquicona,* in the kingdom so no mistakes would be made. This Inca would visit the *chasques* to make sure they did nothing wrong and that they had sufficient food. As has been stated, the *chasques* were authorized to take provisions from the Inca's storehouses. These *chasques* were not replaced by others because they had to be faithful, sons of well-known *curacas,* not be lazy, and able to fly like a deer or a hawk. Their wives and children were protected because the runners had to be on call day and night. They had *chacras* and livestock in the same place, and everything they needed. They were not to be missing over one hour.


352
35
COREO.N.MAIOR.I.MENOR
HATVN CHASQVI. CHVRV
MVLLO.CHASQVI.CVRACA
corre on
hatun

350/352. *Drawing 138. Couriers of greater and lesser rank:* hatun chasque*, chief courier;* churo mullo chasque*, the courier who carries a trumpet shell*

[352 (354)]

Page 352/354, drawing 139. Those who mark boundaries of this kingdom, Unacaucho Inca, Conaraqui Inca: one who marks boundaries and takes measurements

[353 (355)]

Men who mark boundaries

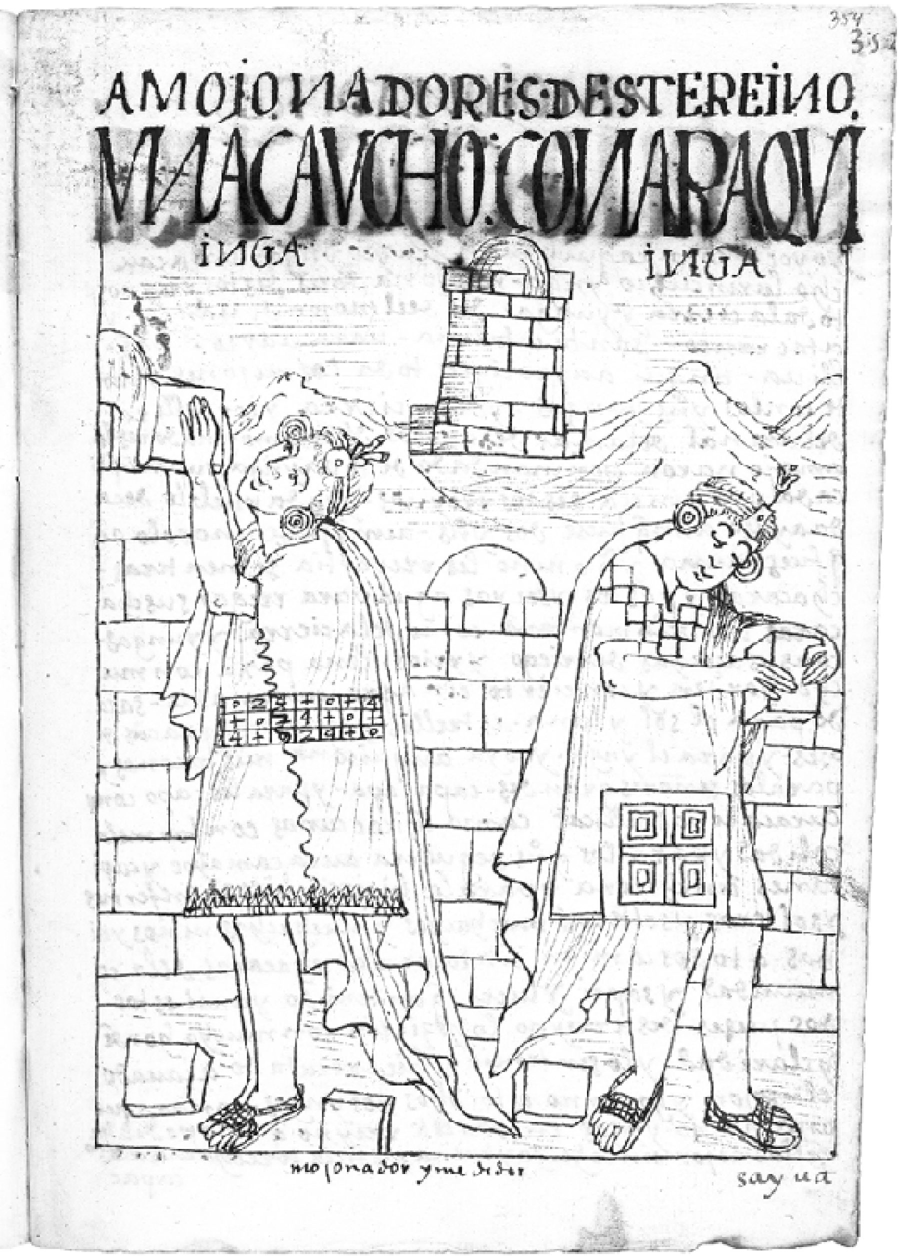
Sayua checta suyoyoc, Conaraqui, Hanan Cuzco Inca, Unacaucho, Hurin Cuzco Inca:[404] men who fixed boundary markers in this kingdom all across the highlands as well as in the *yunca,* coastal lowlands, from the marker at Huanca, Atoc Ranco, Santa Catalina, Huara Huarco, Paylliua, Tinqui.[405] In this way all the markers are placed, some on the lowlands of the Yunca Indians, sands of the South Sea, others on the highlands. Boundary markers were fixed on the orders of Topa Inca Yupanqui in each province of this kingdom and every village of every *ayllo.*

Chacras, fields, pasture land, and irrigation ditches to water the *chacras* were allotted even though there were only two Indians, or only one, or only one Indian woman and child. This was done in the eastern forests, the highlands, and the *yuncas,* coastal lowlands with irrigation ditches, rivers, firewood, straw in a very orderly way. No one was offended. Part was set aside for the Sun, the Moon, the stars, temples, *huacas,* deities, the Inca, the *coya, auquicona, ñustacona,* the great *capac apo,* lords, the *apocona, curacacona, allicac camachicoccona,* according to their social station, for warriors, *aucacamayoc,* and captains, *sinchicona,* and for old men, old women, the sick, single men, single women, boys, girls. They all ate without taking anything from the *chacras* of the community, sapsi that they have.

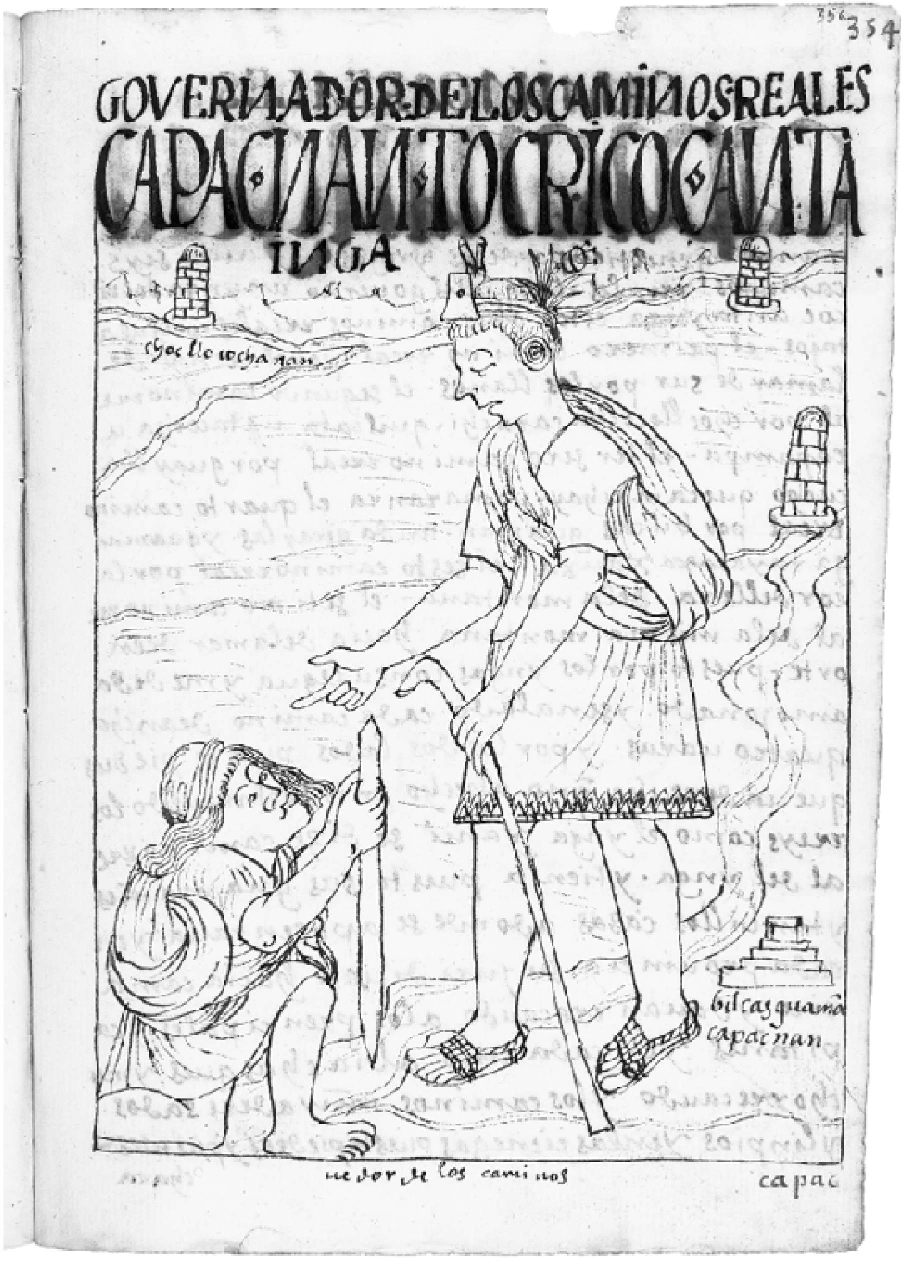
Thus these two judges of this kingdom fixed the markers in a very orderly way, gave the order which was executed and finished. These two Incas, Conaraqui and Unacaucho, governed in this kingdom. This could not have been done better, without bribery, with all justice.

[354 (356)]

Page 354/356, drawing 140. Governor of the royal roads, *capac ñan tocricoc,* Anta Inca: Choclloconcha *ñan* [road], Vilcas *capac ñan* [royal road] / overseer of the roads


354
352
AMOJONADORES·DESTE REINO.
UNACAUCHO.
CONARAQUI
INGA
INGA
mojonador ymedidor
sayua

352/354. *Drawing 139. Surveyers of this kingdom: Unacaucho Inca and Conaraqui Inca*


356 354
GOVERNADOR DE LOS CAMINOS REALES
CAPAC ÑAN TOCRICOC ANTA INGA
choclloucha ñan
bilcas guamā
capac ñan
medor de los caminos
capac

354/356. *Drawing 140. Governor of the royal roads,* capac ñan tocricoc*; the royal road, or* capac ñan*, of Bilcas Guaman*

[355 (357)]

Capac ñan uamanin *[royal road officials]*

During the time of the Incas there were six royal roads. These roads were governed by an Inca *tocricoc,* Anta Inca. These royal roads built by the Incas are described below. The first royal road runs along the sandy lowland coast of the South Sea. The second royal road passes through Chocllococha, Carachi, Quilcata, Uatacocha, Uarpampa.[406] The third royal road goes through Huayllacucho, Quecamachay, Pomaranra.[407] The sixth [fourth] royal road runs through Andahuaylas, Vilcas, Huamanga, Tayacaja, Jauja.[408] The seventh [fifth] road runs through the mountain range. The sixth continues toward the North Sea.[409] Each road was measured for distance and marked. The roads were four Castilian yards wide and lined evenly on both sides with stones.[410] No other kings in the world have made roads like the Incas. This is the royal road of the Incas. It had *uamanin* and *tambos,* houses, where officials and captains stayed. At each one there were *chasque.* These places were very secure, and the roads well kept and clean. In the marshes the roads were of stone and there were bridges.

[356 (358)]

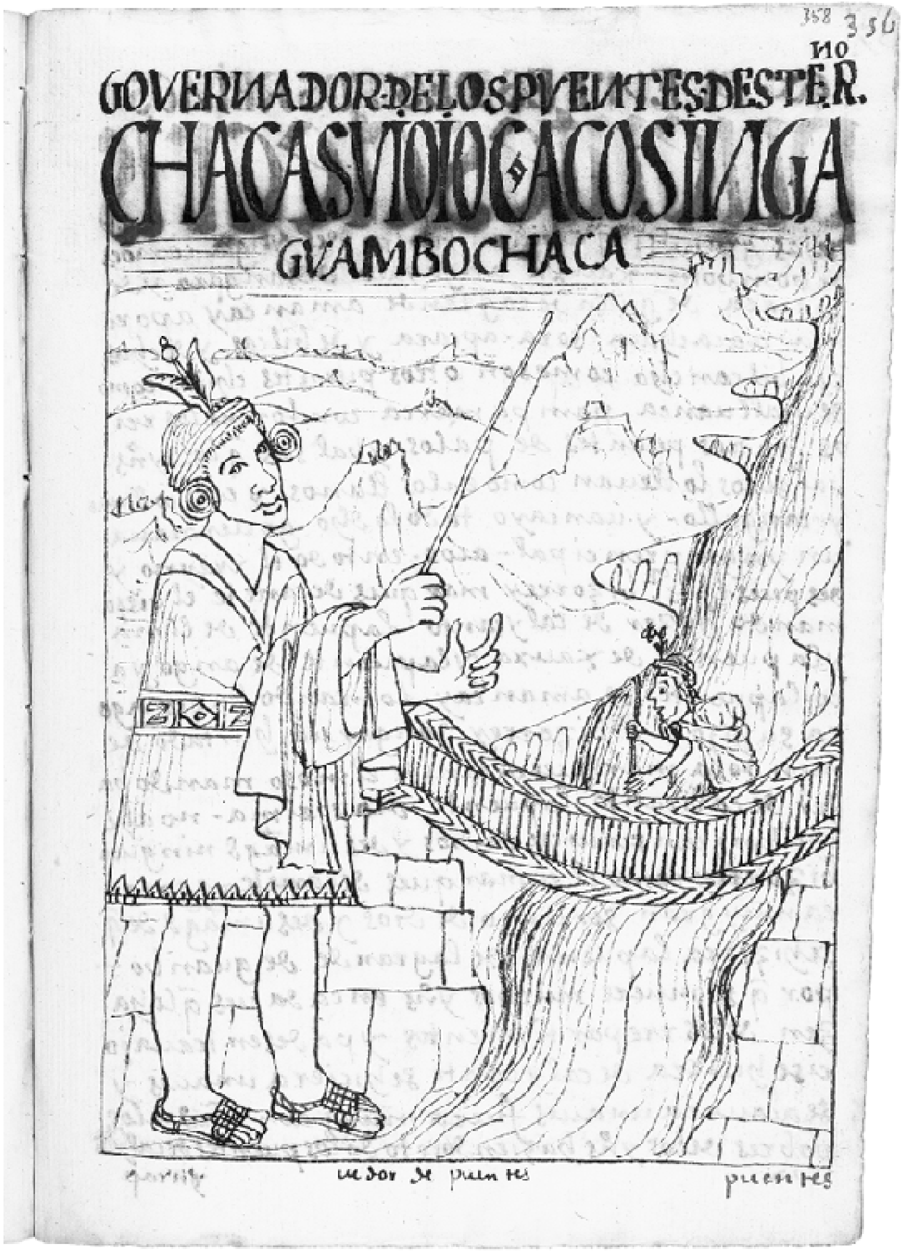
Governor of the bridges of this kingdom

Page 356/358, drawing 141. *Chaca suyoyoc* [bridge keeper], Acos Inca, Huambo Chaca [Huambo Bridge]:[411] keeper of bridges

[357 (359)]

In Inca times there were big bridges made of cables. Such bridges were located at Huambo, Bonbon, Jauja, Vilcas, Apcara, Abancay, Apurimac. . . .[412] According to the size of the river there were smaller bridges. Others were made with long beams, and some rivers were crossed on *balsas* manned by Indian ferrymen on the flatlands, Collao and Huancayo.[413] All these bridges in the kingdom were overseen by an important Inca named Acos.

During colonial times Viceroy Marquis of Cañete the elder had masonry bridges constructed in [Lima and Jauja].[414] The bridge at Abancay was made on the orders of his son Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete the younger.[415] He ordered that a masonry bridge be built on the Apurimac River. No viceroy has done such a great service to God and his Majesty like the marquis of Cañete. The same can be said of the bridge at Huambo because many Indians died there every time they had to repair it.[416] If a bridge is made of masonry, it only needs to be made one time and that is all. Making all the bridges of masonry would be of great benefit to the poor Indians.


358 356
110
GOVERNADOR DE LOS PVENTES DESTE R.
CHACASVIOIOC ACOS INGA
GVAMBOCHACA
uernador de puentes
puentes

356/358. *Drawing 141. Governor of the bridges of this kingdom,* Chaca suyoyoc

[358 (360)]

Page 358/360, drawing 142. Secretary of the Inca and council, *Incap quipocnin capac apoconap camchicuinin quipoc* [the Inca’s *quipo* accountant, recorder of the orders of the great lords]: *apo* Lliuyac Poma / secretary

[359 (361)]

Secretaries of the Incas and their royal council

The Inca's secretary was called *yncap cimin quipococ*. The secretary of the council was called Tahuantinsuyo *capac apocona, ynca conap cimin, camachicuynin quipococ* [Inca Empire great lords, the Inca's words, official of the *quipo*]. These were the sons and grandsons of Guaman Chaua. Their names were Lliuyac Poma and Apo Poma. There was also a secretary of his excellency the viceroy, second person of the Inca, *capac apo* Guaman Chaua.417 These were the sons of *apocona,* secretaries of the court officials who have the authority to arrest the lords of this kingdom. These honorable secretaries had *quipos* dyed different colors.418 These men were called *quilca camayoc* [quipo officials] or *quillap uata quipoc* [month-year quipo interpreters].

In the whole kingdom there were clerks in the town councils. They kept a record of everything that happened in each town of this kingdom. There were royal clerks who frequented the royal roads and other places. There were appointed clerks who went with the judges and court officials to the provinces to bear witness and record carefully on the quipo. These clerks were so skilled that they kept as much information on these strings as if it were written. These strings were used to govern the whole kingdom. These were very good officials who kept accurate records and took no bribes. They were true Christians.

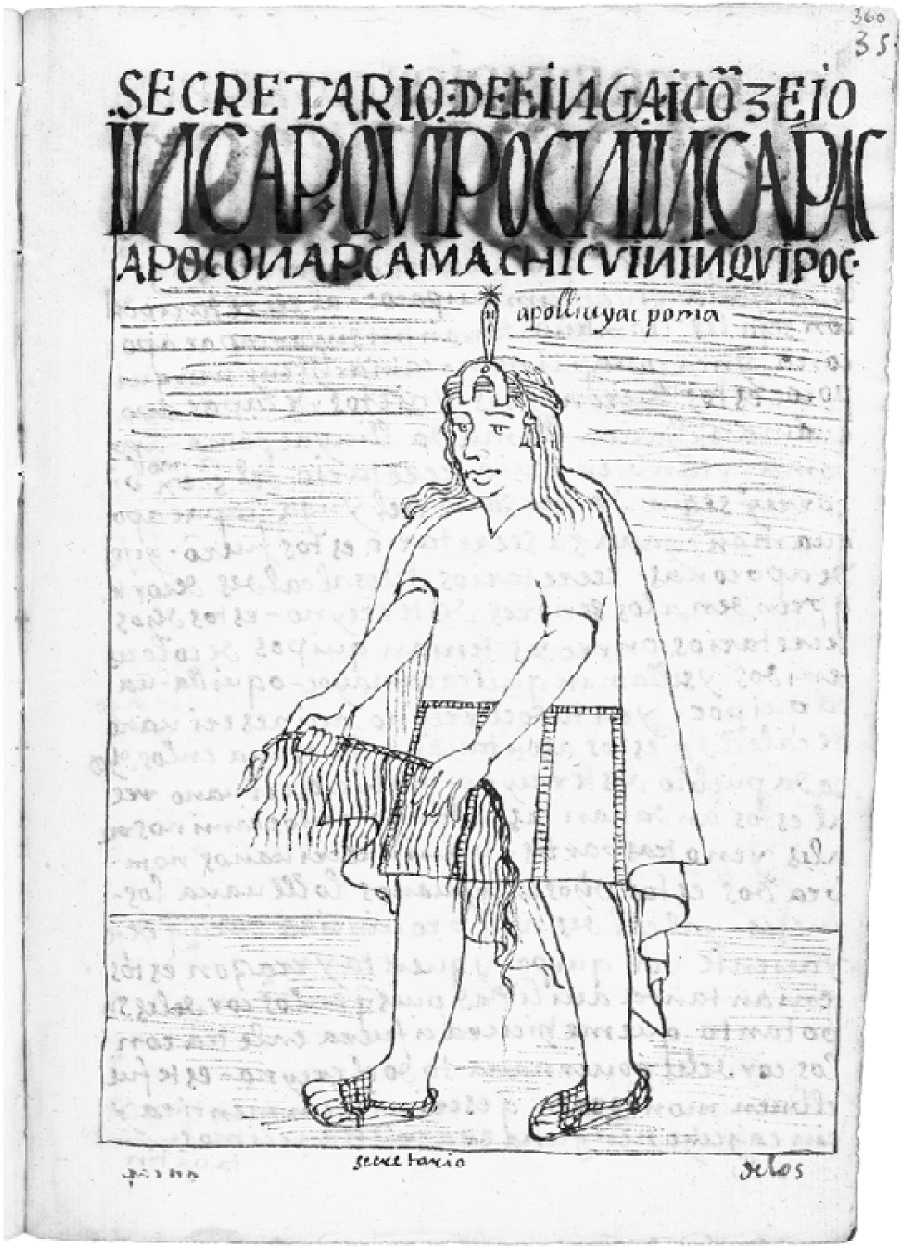
[360 (362)]

Page 360/362, drawing 143. Major accountant and treasurer, Tahuantinsuyo *quipoc curaca* [royal quipo chief] Condor Chaua: accountant and treasurer

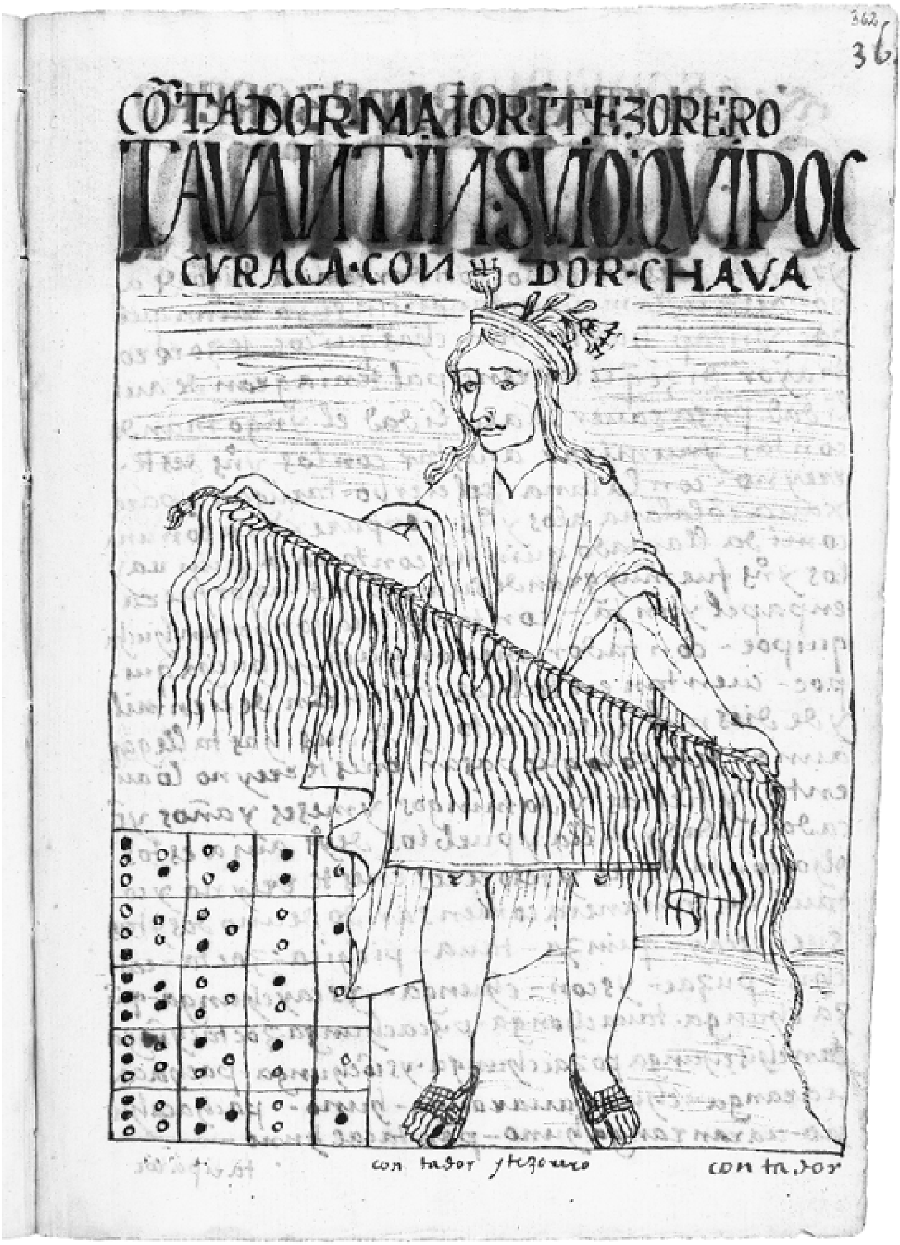
[361 (363)]

Accountant and treasurer

The major accountant in this kingdom, Condor Chaua, the son of an *apo*. He was called Tahuantinsuyo *runa quipoc incap* [the royal *quipo* interpreter of the Inca Empire], *haziendan chasquicoc* [income received], major treasurer. They say that this important person was very capable. To test his skill, the Inca had him count and correct the number of Indians in this kingdom. He kept track of the amount of wool of the deer called *taruca,* that of the Indians, and the food called quinoa.419 He counted the quinoa and the Indians. He was very capable, as if he used paper and ink. The major accountant, *hatun hucha quipoc,* minor accountant, *huchuy hucha quipoc*. They count on boards.420 They count by numbers from one hundred thousand, ten thousand, one hundred, ten until they reach one. They keep track of everything that happens in this kingdom, celebrations, Sundays [feast days], months and years.[421] In each city, town and village of Indians there were accountants and treasurers. They counted in the following way starting with one, two, three: *suc* [one], *yscay* [two], *quinza* [three], *taua* [four], *pichica* [five], *zocta* [six], *canchis* [seven], *puzac* [eight], *yscon* [nine], *chunca* [ten], *yscay chunca* [twenty], *quinza chunca* [thirty], *taua chonca* [forty], *pisca chunca* [fifty], *zoncta chunca* [sixty], *canchis chunca* [seventy], *puzac chunca* [eighty], *yscon chunca* [ninety], *pachaca* [one hundred], *huaranca* [one thousand], *chunca huaranca* or *huno* [ten thousand], *pachaca huno* [one hundred times ten thousand], *pantacac huno* [countless].[422]


360
35
SECRETARIO.DEL.INGA.I.CÕZEIO
INCAP.QVIPOCNIN.CAPAC
APOCONAP CAMACHICVININ QVIPOC
apolliuyac poma
secretario
de los

358/360. *Drawing 142. The Inca's council:* Incap quipocnin capac apoconap camchicuinin quipoc*, the Inca's secretary and accountant who records the dispositions of the royal lords*


362
36
CO̅TADOR MAIOR I TEZORERO
TAVANTINSVIO QVIPOC
CVRACA · CON DOR · CHAVA
con tador y tezorero
con tador

360/362. *Drawing 143. Chief accountant and treasurer, Tahuantinsuyo* quipoc curaca, *authority in charge of the knotted strings, or quipo, of the kingdom*

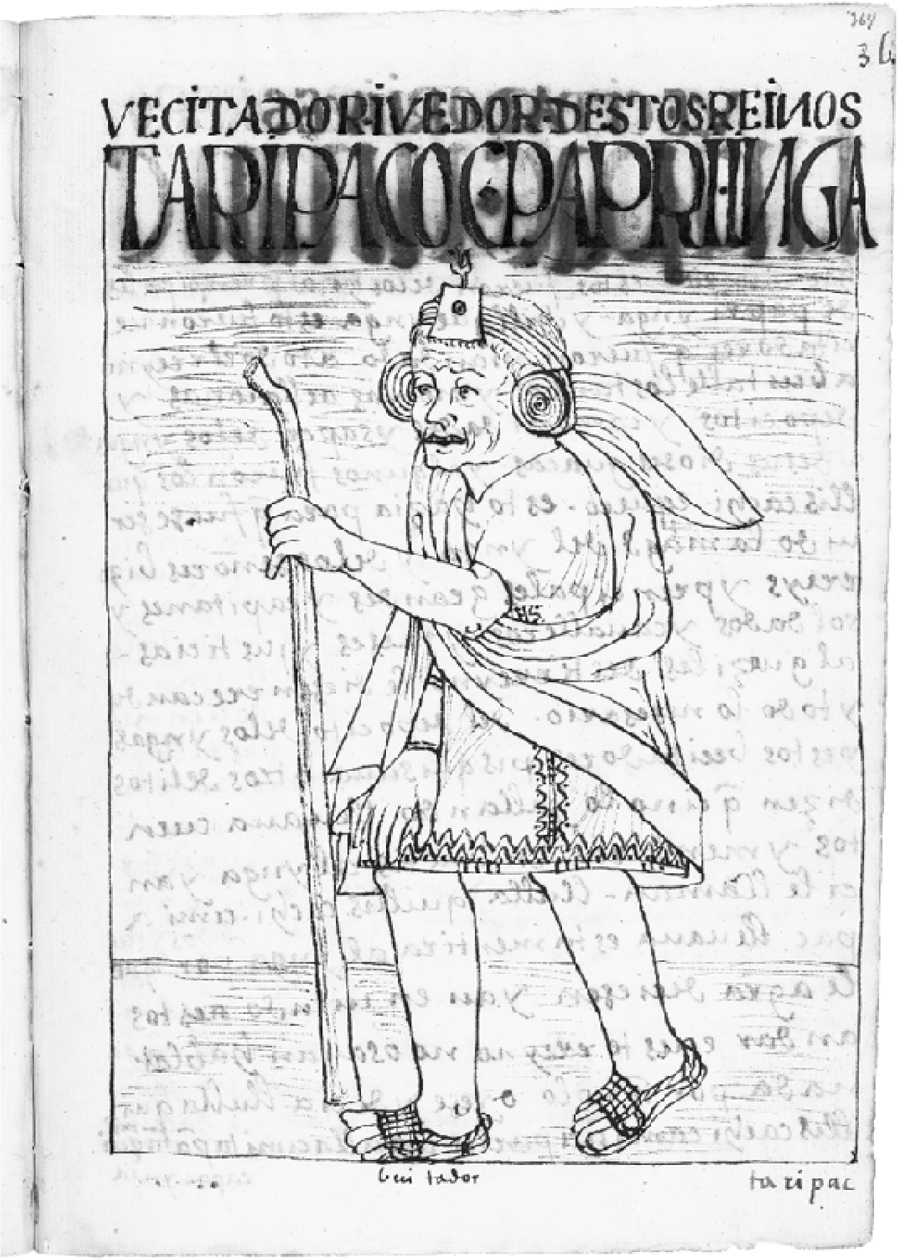
[362 (364)]

Page 362/364, drawing 144. Inspector of these kingdoms, Taripacoc Papri Inca: inspector

[363 (365)]

Inspector and judge

Taripac [inspector], *uanchac* [shrewd], *cauaric* [protector]. These were the important sons of Papri Inca and Chillque Inca. They were inspectors who were ordered to go all over the kingdom to check the *tambos, acllacona,* nuns, storehouses, and communities and *sapsi* of the Incas, their *huacas,* deities. Some of them were Quilliscachi, Equeco.[423] This was done in the service of his Majesty the Inca and the viceroy lords, grandees, captains, soldiers, gentlemen, judges and constables of this kingdom. They take precautions and everything necessary for the Inca's storehouses. These inspectors inquire into other misdeeds. They say that if they found nothing, they made up stories and lies for the Inca. Thus the inspectors are called *llulla quillis cachi cimi apac* [liars from Quilliscachi, gossips]. They brought lies to the Inca so that he would favor them. Therefore, on seeing these men in this kingdom, the Indians would not dare speak to them. They would say, "*Llulla quillis cachi camiua purin upalla cimita pantanqiman*" ["The liars from Quilliscachi are coming. Silence! You might say the wrong word"].[424]


364
VECITADOR I VEDOR DESTOS REINOS
TARIPACOC APAP REI INGA
vecitador
taripac

362/364. *Drawing 144. Inspector of these kingdoms, Taripacoc*

[364 (366)]

Page 364/366, drawing 145. Royal council of this kingdom, Capac Inca Tahuantinsuyo *camachicoc apocona* [royal officials of the great Inca Empire, powerful lords]: royal council of this kingdom

[365 (367)]

The royal council of this kingdom

It was in the great capital city of Cuzco where the court resided, in the middle of the kingdom which extended from Chile, Tucuman and Paraguay to the New Kingdom of Granada, Panama and Santo Domingo.[425] The kingdom was called Tahuantinsuyo and was divided into four quarters: Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo, Condesuyo. From Cuzco it was divided into two parts: Hanan Cuzco, Chinchaysuyo, and Hurin Cuzco, Collasuyo.[426]

These important lords, viceroys, princes, *capac apos, apos, curacas, allicacs,* and other gentlemen resided in the great city of Cuzco. These were royal councils of Tahuantinsuyo, *camachicoc capac apocona.* They instilled good governance, meting out punishment to bad people and favor to good people. Two Incas governed; the two most important from Hanan Cuzco, and two others from Hurin Cuzco; there were four great lords from the Chinchaysuyo quarter, two lords from Antisuyo, four lords from Collasuyo, and two lords from Condesuyo. These were the lords of the royal council of this kingdom.[427] If one of these lords left office, he would be replaced by one of his sons or brothers.[428]

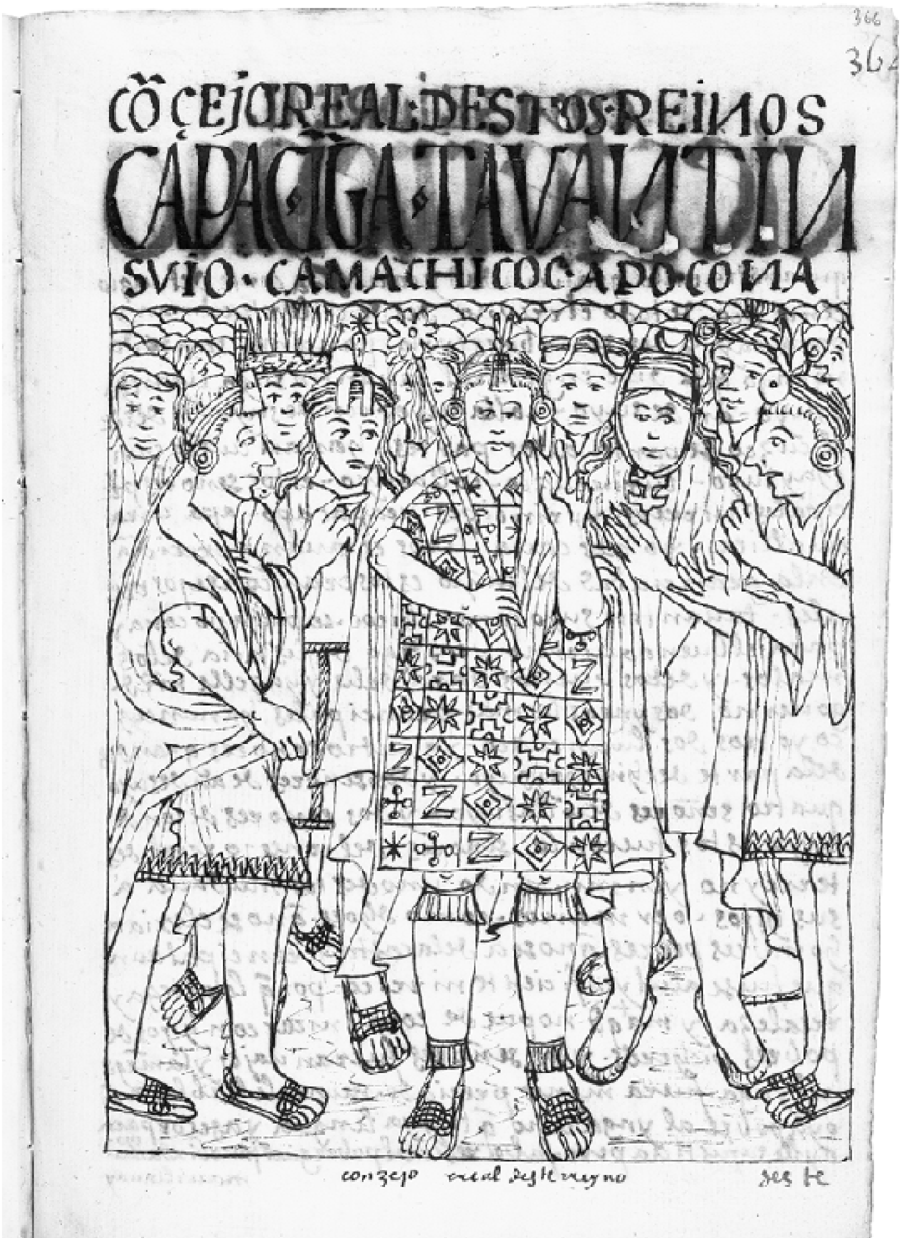
As has been stated, these offices were not held by poor men who were not of high lineage, even if the poor man were capable, because high royalty is not compatible with poor commoners, as if the lords were low class and the majesty of the Inca scorned. The Inca never spoke to a poor Indian man or woman, but rather the Inca had an interpreter and adviser to hear their reasoning, but the Inca always favored the poor, the orphan, or widow.

[366 (368)]

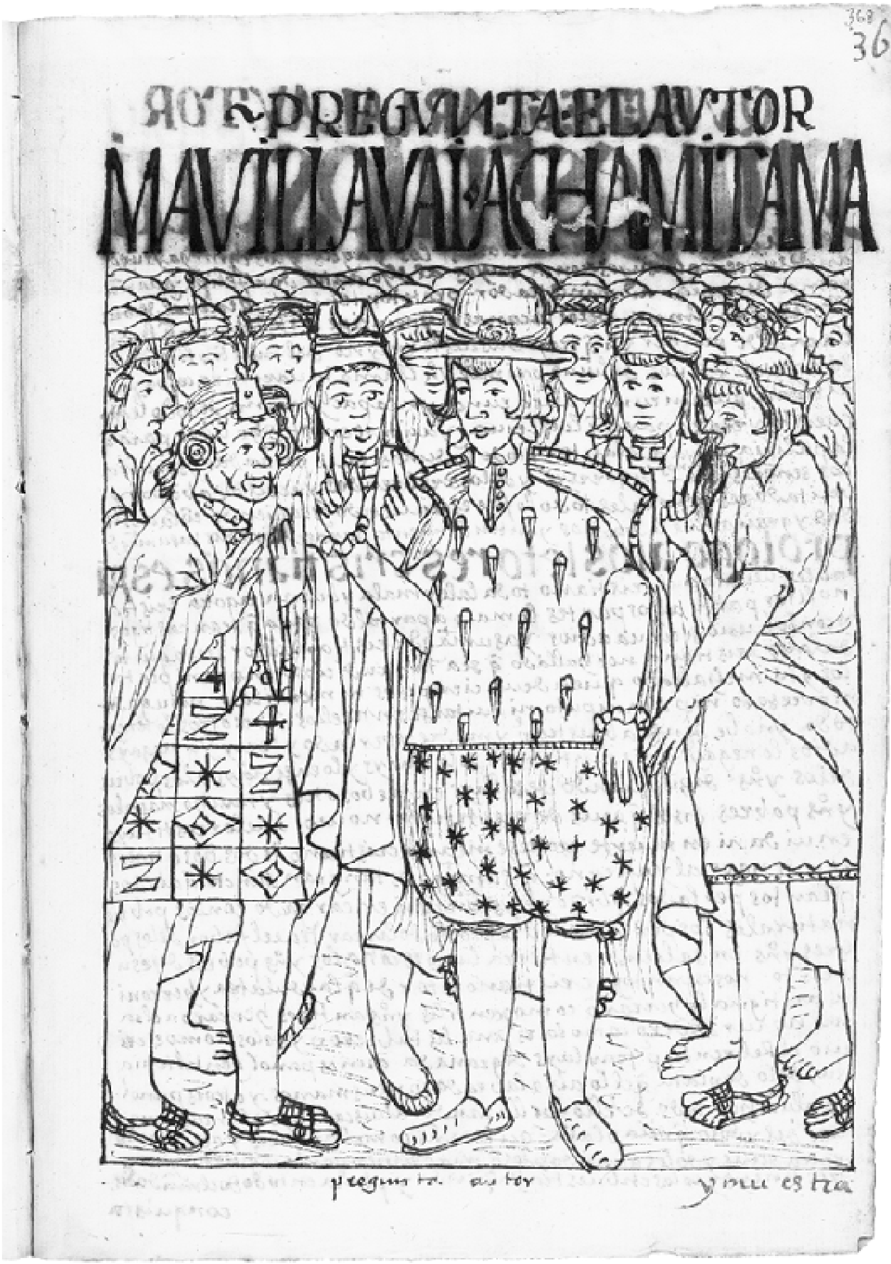
Page 366/368, drawing 146. The author asks, *ma villauay achamitama"* ["Well, tell me these things I indicate"]:[429] / the author asks questions

[367 (369)]

They explain to the author and show their *quipos* and give him accounts of the Incas, those of Chinchaysuyo, Antisuyo, Collasuyo, Condesuyo. This author is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, administrator, protector, lieutenant general of the official of the province of Lucana, lord and prince of this kingdom.[430] He is informed beginning with the first Indian that God brought to this kingdom from the offspring of Adam and Eve, from Noah of the flood; the first Indian was Vari Viracocha, Vari Runa, Purun Runa, Auca Runa, Incapacha Runa. All this information was given to the author very carefully so that he could write accurately in this book.


366
364
CÕÇEJO REAL DESTOS REINOS
CAPAC INGA TAVANTIN
SVIO CAMACHICOC APOCONA
conzejo real deste reyno
deste

364/366. *Drawing 145. Royal council of these kingdoms, Capac Inca Tahuantinsuyo* camachicoc apocona*, the Inca lords who govern Tahuantinsuyo*


368
366
PREGVNTA EL AVTOR
MAVILLAVALACHAMITAMA
pregunta autor
y nu esta

366/368. *Drawing 146. Guaman Poma says, "But, tell me," as he inquires about the history of ancient Peru.*

Prologue to the Spanish Christian reader

Christian reader, you see here all the good and bad laws. Now divide this into two parts: Set aside the bad for punishments, and with the good one serve God and his Majesty. Christian reader, you see here all the Christian law. I have not found that the Indians covet gold and silver. Neither have I found an Indian who owes one hundred pesos, tells lies, gambles, refuses to work, acts as a whore or a pimp, steals from you or fails to obey their father, mother, prelate or king. If you deny God, you deny him absolutely. You have all these vices which you teach to the poor Indians. When you steal from each other and much more from the Indians, you say you have to return it. I do not see you returning anything, neither in this life nor in death. It seems to me that all of you Christians condemn yourselves to the inferno. His Majesty is such a great saint that all the prelates and viceroys come here to take charge of the poor natives. The sea brings desire to help the poor Indians. On reaching land, soon they turn against Jesus Christ's poor Indians.

Christian reader, do not be surprised that the ancient Indian pagans strayed from the true path in their idolatry. The Spaniards had idols, as stated in the writing of the reverend Father Luis de Granada.[431] A pagan Spaniard had a silver idol which he had made with his own hands, and another Spaniard stole it from him. The pagan went crying in search of his idol. He cried more for the loss of the idol than the silver. In like manner, the pagan Indians cried over the loss of their idols when the Spaniards broke them during the time of the conquest. You Spaniards have idols among your treasures and silver all over the world.

NOTES

1. References to Guaman Poma's book refer to the original pagination as corrected on the Royal Library's Web site, www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm. The introductory material shows the colonial style of an Indian who wants to impress the pope and the king of Spain. Guaman Poma based this description of his chronicle on the religious works created to aid priests in converting the Indians to Christianity. He was familiar with the writing used in the book titled *Doctrina christiana y catecismo para instruccion de los indios* (Ciudad de los Reyes [Lima], 1584), which was written by a team of priests under the direction of Father Jose de Acosta. Guaman Poma was also familiar with the Catholic Bible and other historical works of the times, and his detailed record of his understanding of Christian doctrine as taught to him by Catholic priests offers invaluable insights into the acculturation process taking place in colonial times. He did not, however, master Spanish rules of agreement. He uses "*El primer nueva coronica,*" which should be *La primera,* and on MS p. 1 he writes: "*la dicha coronica es muy util y provechoso" instead of "provechosa.*" Such errors can be attributed to the fact that his native Quechua has no such agreement. Though many other chronicles had been written before, which Guaman Poma had read, he uses the word *nueva* to describe his work because it presents a new interpretation of the subject.

2. In this section Guaman Poma used the model of the sixteenth-century religious writer Fray Luis de Granada in his work *Memorial de la vida cristiana* (1566) (in *Obras de Fray Luis de Granada,* see pp. 205 and 301). The Latin quote copied from Fray Luis de Granada is the first line of Psalm 87 in the Douay-Rheims Bible, which is used here. Guaman Poma warns his readers of the peril they will encounter if they do not heed the advice in his book in the same way the prophet Jeremiah and Saint John warned their listeners. He shows his knowledge of biblical writings and uses religious rhetoric to show the importance of his own work.

3. The style of this letter and those to the king of Spain generally follow the epistolary usage of the times. Guaman Poma knew the formulas of courtesy required for official letters to dignitaries. In this passage he acts as a Catholic spokesman for the Indians in requesting that they be allowed to be ordained as priests.

4. To the west of Cuzco are the provinces of Lucana (or Rucana), Andamarca, Circamarca, and Sora. "Huamanga" was the colonial name for the city now known as Ayacucho. "Chinchaysuyo" refers to one of the four quarters of the Inca Empire; it extended northwest from Cuzco and included Quito by 1520. Here Guaman Poma exaggerates the importance of his father, who did not, in fact, hold a high office in the Inca government.

5. Essentially the same historical names are repeated. Notice that key terms in Quechua and Spanish are left as in the original. The Quechua word *runa* means "person or man," thus "Vari Viracocha Runa" refers to the people of the time of Variviracocha. The Quechua word "Inca" ("ynga" in the manuscript) refers not only to the ruler or emperor, but also to members of the royal family and all nobles.

6. *Quipo* (or *quipu*) is a Quechua word referring to a device for recording information, particularly numbers. It was made of strands of cord or thin wool, or cotton strings. From the main cord, smaller strings hang down. Knots tied in the smaller strings indicate numbers in a decimal system. It was used as a mnemonic device for remembering historical genealogies as well as for a variety of other

purposes, such as keeping track of the amounts of food or clothing in a storehouse. See the illustration on MS p. 337.

7. European historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries accepted biblical chronology. Guaman Poma did so also, but he incorporates Andean traditions into the biblical framework. Here he says that an Indian named Vari descended from Noah.

8. Manco Inca, 1516–1545, was an Inca emperor crowned at Cuzco in 1533; loyal to Pizarro at first, he escaped in 1535 and organized a resistance movement.

9. The preceding is a list of topics covered in this chronicle.

10. Guaman Poma lists Indian languages and provinces of Peru. The general language of the empire was Quechua, also the native language of Guaman Poma. He uses Quechua frequently throughout his account. The next Indian language in importance was Aymara, which was spoken in the area of Lake Titicaca. “Colla” is the name of a language and also of a province just north of Lake Titicaca. “Puquina Conde” refers to another language spoken in southern Peru. “Yunca” refers to the north coast; “Huanca” to a language in the area of Jauja; “Chinchaysuyo” to the northwest quarter of the Inca Empire where a dialect of Quechua was spoken; “Yauyo” to a tribe near Juaja; “Antisuyo” to the eastern quarter, home to mostly jungle tribes; “Condesuyo” to the western quarter, in the Arequipa area; “Collasuyo” to the southern quarter and provinces around Lake Titicaca and beyond; “Cañari” to a tribe in the south of modern Ecuador; “Cayampi” (also spelled “Cayampa” or “Cayapa”) to a tribe just north of the Cañari; and “Quito” to the northernmost province of the Inca Empire. Despite this long list, Guaman Poma generally refers to these places and people using Indian words and phrases from his native Quechua.

11. The province of Lucana (or Rucana) is just south of the city of Huamanga (modern Ayacucho), where Guaman Poma de Ayala lived. After losing a lawsuit over land rights in the Huamanga area, he was banished from there for two years. Apparently he took up residence in the province of Lucana. The date of 1613 must be when he was writing. He did not finish his chronicle until 1615. The date of 1587 given for his father’s letter is too early. See the Murra-Adorno edition of the chronicle (1980, p. 474), where a drawing of Viceroy Mendoza y Luna appears with the date 1615.

12. In the original manuscript Guaman Poma confuses his numbers; he uses *millon* “a million,” for Spanish *mil,* “thousand,” and he estimates the time from creation as “dos millon y seycientos y doze años,” but in the section on the second age (MS p. 25) he estimates “says mil y seycientos doze años,” or 6,612. European historians of the sixteenth century also used a biblical framework, dating Creation at around 4000 BC, the Flood at 2400 BC, and King David at 1000 BC, which would mean 5,600 years elapsed between Creation and the year AD 1600. Estimates vary because the biblical chronology is confusing. Guaman Poma made an estimate based on the information available to him. Moreover, pre-Columbian Andean history was not measured in years, nor were there any fixed points such as the birth of Christ: “Historical records took the form of genealogical traditions, narrative poems and statistics preserved by the quipu” (Rowe, “The Incas at the Time of the Spanish Conquest,” p. 201; see also Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire,* pp. 252–253). This explains Guaman Poma’s version of European historical time and his tendency to make long lists of emperors and popes. Making long lists also comes from the use of the Andean *quipo* strings for recording large inventories.

13. Guaman Poma states that the mestizo priest Martin de Ayala is his half brother (MS p. 395). Though Guaman Poma has disparaging words for other mestizos (MS p. 1138), he speaks very highly of Martin de Ayala. In 1547, during his rebellion against the crown, Francisco Pizarro’s younger brother Gonzalo controlled the Lake Titicaca region, known in colonial times as Collao; Gonzalo won an important battle

against the royalist troops at Huarina, located southeast of Lake Titicaca. Though the battle of Huarina certainly did take place, no historical evidence substantiates Guaman Poma's story about his father, Martin Guaman Mallque de Ayala. The following year Gonzalo Pizarro was defeated.

14. The following passages present a summary of biblical history from the Book of Genesis, Chapters 4 and 5. The spellings of names in English are those used in standard dictionaries and encyclopedias.

15. See the discussion of Guaman Poma's confusion about numbers and his concept of time in n. 12.

16. The original reads "*helias*" (Elias/Elijah); this was translated as "he." Guaman Poma either meant Noah or is comparing the whirlwind that took Elijah up to heaven with the storm of the Flood. Elijah lived after the time of Solomon. In the Catholic Bible, his name is spelled "Elias." See the Douay-Rheims Bible, 4 Kings 2:1–11 (in King James, 2 Kings).

17. During the sixteenth century in Europe and colonial America a theological controversy was hotly debated over the origin of the American Indians. Some Christian scholars reasoned that the American Indians were descendants of Noah or Adam, as Guaman Poma suggests here. See Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians.*

18. These generations follow biblical history except that Guaman Poma skips Noah's son Shem, who was the father of Arphaxed (Genesis 4–11). The list has been abbreviated.

19. "Ishmael begat Isaac" is incorrect, but Guaman Poma correctly states that Abraham fathered Isaac in the page's final paragraph. Apparently he did no proofreading.

20. These names and lineage come from Genesis 26–50, Exodus 1–3, Judges 3–16, 1 Kings (Samuel in King James) 1–25. The list has been abbreviated.

21. This list of rulers comes from Second Paralipomenon 11–36, Douay-Rheims Bible. It has been abbreviated.

22. Guaman Poma seems to have taken the name "Acamama" from Murúa, folio 128r. Guaman Poma divides biblical history into five ages, the last starting with the birth of Christ. Guaman Poma equates the Inca Empire with this fifth age. Most modern scholars agree that Manco Capac probably founded the Inca Empire around AD 1200. Guaman Poma does use the traditional names of the Inca emperors.

23. As mentioned in n. 10, "Colla" refers to an area just north of Lake Titicaca. The other place-names refer to provinces beyond Cuzco, toward and around Lake Titicaca.

24. The preceding and following lists have been abbreviated. The following list includes only the most prominent names.

25. Charlemagne revived the title of Roman emperor and founded a successor state to the empire in AD 800. Otto I was the king of Germany (936–973) and the first Holy Roman emperor (962–973).

26. Pizarro conquered the Inca Empire in 1532 when Charles V was the Holy Roman Emperor and also the king of Spain, where he was called Charles I (1516–1556). His mother Juana was known as "la Loca." His grandfather, Maximilian I, died in 1519. Almagro's half Indian son, Diego de Almagro the younger, inherited his father's rights and headed the revolt that began with the assassination of Francisco Pizarro, but in 1542 Governor Vaca de Castro captured and executed him. Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco's brother and lieutenant in the conquest, revolted in 1546 against the Spanish crown, but was executed in 1548.

27. Guaman Poma's long list of the names of the popes has been shortened to include only the most prominent.

28. No information has been found about Romanos ("Romano" on MS p. 40), the

source of this list of popes, nor about Platina, mentioned as a source on MS p. 40.

29. MS p. 41, containing a long list of the names of popes, has been omitted.

30. Hernando de Luque was a priest who helped raise funds for the enterprise, but he never came to Peru. Francisco Pizarro found Felipe (or Felipillo) in a valley just north of the river valley of Piura and took him to Spain. Felipe learned some Spanish and acted as interpreter when Pizarro returned to conquer Peru. Huancavilca, or "Guanca Bilca," as Guaman Poma spells it, is a place near modern Guayaquil, Ecuador.

31. Bartholomew and Saint James were two of the twelve apostles of Jesus. Later tradition describes Bartholomew's missionary activities in the Middle East and India, which prompted some to conclude that he must also have been in the Indies of America. Saint James is said to have preached in Spain and to have been buried in Santiago de Compostela. Carabuco is a town in Bolivia on the eastern shore of Lake Titicaca.

32. This illustration of major discoverers of America and conquerors of Peru shows that they all came to America in similar boats. During colonial times the *mar del sur,* or South Sea, was the Pacific Ocean.

33. Marcellus II was pope only during the year 1555; as noted on MS p. 45, Clement VII was pope from 1523–1534, during the time of the conquest of Peru.

34. Here Guaman Poma refers to his father, Martin de Ayala Guaman Mallque. Guaman Poma invented this episode to enhance the importance of his father and substantiate his position that the Incas offered no resistance to the Spaniards. See also n. 45.

35. Here again Guaman Poma gets the chronology wrong. Columbus established a permanent colony at Santo Domingo as early as 1493; Panama was settled by Spaniards around 1513; Pizarro started the conquest of Peru in 1532. The popes mentioned held office from 1555 to 1585.

36. Guaman Poma structures the history of the Andean Indians as parallel to the biblical history just recounted, thus Adam, Noah, Abraham, and David have their equivalent in Vari Viracocha, Vari, Purun, and Auca Pacha. He also establishes an imaginary link between the Spaniards and the Indians by using the name "Viracocha" for the first Indians. This term refers to an Andean god, and it was applied to the Spaniards only after 1532 by some of the Peruvian Indians who thought the Spaniards were emissaries of their god Viracocha. In colonial Peru the term "Viracocha" was applied to the Europeans in contrast to the Indians, who were known as *runa* (people). See also nn. 5 and 7.

37. The Quechua is Guaman Poma's translation of the prayer to God. Evidently he assumed that Peruvian Indians from every age spoke Quechua. Notice the similarity to Habacuc 1:2: "How long, O Lord, shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? Shall I cry out to thee suffering violence, and thou wilt not save?"

38. The Quechua term *huaca* (or *uaca*) refers to any object or place worshipped as a deity. The Incas had numerous such idols and shrines. Guaman Poma follows the thinking of Spanish priests, who regarded the *huacas* as demons.

39. Here Guaman Poma wrote both the Spanish and Quechua words. In American Spanish *tigre* means "jaguar," and *león, puma,* "cougar or mountain lion." The equivalent Quechua word, *puma/poma,* was also a nickname given to a boy or used as part of a given name, as in Poma de Ayala.

40. These are titles of the creator god.

41. The three most important gods in Inca religion were the creator, Viracocha; the Sun, Inti; and the weather god, *Yllapa,* who brought the rains; *yllapa* also refers to lightning, thunder, and thunderbolts.

42. Here the contrast is between the Quechua *huarmi,* "Indian woman," and *runa,* "Indian man." See also n. 36, where Runa (Indian) is contrasted with Viracocha

(European).

43. Guaman Poma here contradicts one of the Inca's origin myths to make their origins conform with the Bible.

44. The evil brought by the Spaniards that corrupted the good Indians is a recurrent theme in the chronicle.

45. Tahuantinsuyo was the name of the Inca Empire, meaning the land of the four quarters (Chinchaysuyo, etc.). Guaman Poma exaggerates the importance of his grandfather, Guaman Chaua. The name "Yarovilca" refers to the lineage name Guaman Poma used. It was a pre-Inca dynasty of Huanuco.

46. The Inca Empire was organized on a decimal system of officials whose titles came from the number of taxpayers they controlled. In Quechua, *huno* means "ten thousand" and is the name of the official over ten thousand taxpayers. The number does not refer to the total population, but rather to the number of able-bodied men classified as taxpayers who headed a family and were on call for military service and other duties. Here Guaman Poma suggests that the Incas inherited their political system from earlier tribes, a reasonable assumption. The Quechua term *allicac* refers to those who came from the lower classes and were rewarded with positions of authority due to their merit, a practice followed by the Incas.

47. Cato the Censor, 234–149 BC, was a Roman statesman and moralist whose descendants followed his example.

48. The Quechua word *camasca* means "healer," but they were called *hechiceros* (sorcerers) by the Spaniards because of their method of healing by divination as well as other cures; *amauta runa* means "wise man" in Quechua.

49. The MS reads: "ponpelio julio zezar y marcos flauio y glauio aristotiles tulis." The English names given here for "marcos flauio" and "glauio" resulted from guesswork. In any case, Guaman Poma implies that the Andean world also had wise men.

50. See n. 6.

51. This list contains five of the Ten Commandments and the seven capital ("deadly") sins.

52. Many exaggerations of this kind circulated during colonial times based on encounters with large boas or anacondas. The place-names must refer to places around Lake Titicaca because that is where the Aymara lived.

53. The reference to Yarovilca refers to the lineage name used by Guaman Poma. He says it was a pre-Inca dynasty of Huanuco. It does not mean "king" or "Inca."

54. This list has been abbreviated.

55. In creating an account of Andean history Guaman Poma drew on the Bible, on other European documentary accounts, and on his knowledge of Andean culture. He suggests that pre-Inca times roughly equal the period of the Old Testament, dividing both into four similar ages. Guaman Poma assumed, as did all European historians of the time, that all people of the world descended from Adam and Noah. He also shows culture as starting from an initial primitive stage and progressively developing farming, weaving, building, government, warfare, and so on.

56. Other major chronicles list Manco Capac as the first Inca. The names given to the rest of the Inca rulers coincide with most other chronicles, but the commentaries on their acts differ widely. About thirty kilometers southeast of Cuzco there is a place called Pacaritambo where a hill named Tambotoco has three small caves. Inca origin legends indicate that their ancestors came out of these caves. About twelve kilometers southeast of Cuzco is the hill of Huanacauri; a *huaca* shrine on top of the hill was also called Huanacauri. This hill was important in Inca legends because the first Inca stopped here with his brothers and sisters on their way to found Cuzco.

57. The Quechua term *vilca* refers to anything regarded as a deity; another Quechua term, *huaca* (or *uaca*), is a synonym in more common use. *Huaca* refers to

any object or place worshipped as a deity. The Incas had numerous such shrines including idols, stones, hilltops, springs, temples, and so on.

58. Apparently Guaman Poma got the name "Acamama" from Murúa (1590, folio 128r). The legend of the origin of the Incas recounted here by Guaman Poma differs from the Cuzco versions used by most other chroniclers. Guaman Poma insists that the Incas were originally commoners who consorted with the devil. Here he expresses the point of view of a man from a provincial city, in this case Huamanga (now Ayacucho), where the people resented the domination of the Incas.

59. Except for Manco Capac, these names refer to tribes and towns in the Cuzco area, not to Inca rulers. "Anta" refers to a valley of the same name, also called Jaquijahuana. See Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State,* pp. 20–35. Guaman Poma refers to some of these same names in the section on Huascar Inca. See n. 99.

60. The Spanish word *orejón* means "big ears"; it was used by the Spaniards to designate men of the Inca class who had their ears pierced for large earplugs.

61. Yauyo was an Inca province to the southeast of Lima. See Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," especially pp. 185–192, for geographical information on the Incas. This is the source for most of the place-names of Inca tribes and provinces located in the notes.

62. "Puquina Colla" seems to indicate that the people of Colla province, on the northwest bank of Lake Titicaca, were dim-witted.

63. "Anca Huallo Chanca" refers to the province of Chanca, also called Andahuaylla, west of Cuzco. Lake Chocllococha is in the modern province of Huancavelica, midway between Lima and Cuzco.

64. "The North Sea" refers to the Atlantic Ocean, which Guaman Poma understood as vaguely located far to the east. See n. 80.

65. "Chunchos" refers to a rain forest tribe east of Cuzco. The name "Antis" refers to the Andes and to provinces of Antisuyo quarter, east of Cuzco.

66. Guaman Poma's concept of European historical time was very imprecise. See nn. 15, 22, 55, and 74. In 1613, the date given, Guaman Poma was probably still writing. He did not finish the manuscript until 1615.

67. *Mascapaycha* is Quechua for the royal fringe attached to the Inca's headband and hanging in the middle of his forehead down near his eyebrows. It was the equivalent of the crowns worn by European kings.

68. Guaman Poma's drawings and descriptions of the Inca rulers and their wives are similar to those in the 1590 manuscript by Martin de Murúa. See the introduction. A comparison with garments uncovered by archaeologists shows that the descriptions are accurate. Nevertheless, the exact details given for the costume worn by Manco Capac, who probably lived during the 1200s, are a guess. In addition, Guaman Poma's information on Inca history differs sharply from that of most other chroniclers.

69. Catholic priests of Guaman Poma's time believed in the existence of devils, and they regarded Inca deities as such. *Muchar* is a Hispanicized form of the Quechua word *muchani,* "worship."

70. Guaman Poma's chronology places the rule of Manco Capac around 240 BC. For this reason he assumes Manco Capac lived for 160 years, and that his successors lived from 120 to over 200 years. Guaman Poma says that the eleven Incas from Manco Capac to Huayna Capac ruled 1,497 years (MS p. 114). As noted previously, like other Andean Indians, Guaman Poma had only a vague understanding of historical chronology. He believed in the Bible, and since men in Genesis lived many hundreds of years, it was reasonable to think that the Incas lived 150 to 200 years. "Chimbo" is a girl's name.

71. "Collasuyo" (in the MS "colla suyo") refers to the part of the Inca Empire around and south of Lake Titicaca. Here it seems to refer to the province of Colla,

just northwest of Lake Titicaca. Hatuncolla (in the MS "hatun colla") was a town just north of Lake Titicaca. Puquina (in the MS "puquina colla") was a language spoken by an ethnic group around Desaguadereo, south of Lake Titicaca. Collagua (in the MS "cullaua") was a province west of Colla. The other tribes and provinces named must be in the same region.

72. Chilque is a province south of Cuzco; Pacaritambo, where the Incas believed their ancestors came out of the earth, was here. Anco was a tribe in this province. The place spelled "Xacxauana" in the original has been interpreted as Jaquijahuana, a town in the valley of Anta, located just west of Cuzco; Quiquijana is located just southeast of Cuzco. The province of Chilque falls between Jaquijahuana and Quiquijana. Guaman Poma places Inca Tocay Capac in the town of Mara near here. "Mara" appears again on MS p. 97; see n. 84.

73. Saint Bartholomew, also called Nathanael, was one of the twelve apostles of Christ. According to tradition, he visited India and was martyred in Armenia.

74. This chronology places Manco Capac at around 240 BC. Cinche Roca started to rule in 80 BC, during the time of Julius Caesar (100 BC to 44 BC). Most recent historians place the legendary beginnings of the Inca dynasty at around 1200 AD.

75. This sentence was taken from the middle of the Catholic Credo.

76. Carabuco is a town on the eastern shore of Lake Titicaca.

77. This passage seems to mean that Manco Capac started to rule in 240 BC, and the Inca rule lasted 1,548 years, with the author writing in 1613. See n. 74 above.

78. The reference to 1,570 years indicates that the cross had been placed at Carabuco in 43 AD and was still there at the time of writing, in 1613.

79. "Cacha" refers to the town of San Pedro de Cacha, 118 kilometers southeast of Cuzco. An Inca legend relates that the god Viracocha became angry with the people and burned a nearby hill.

80. The vague geographical reference in the original ("cordillera del Mar del Norte") refers to some place near the Atlantic Ocean.

81. The original list in Spanish includes "mosquito" and "*sancudo*" which both refer to similar insects. The Quechua word *pique* (or *piqui*) refers to a flea or chigger; the Arawak word *nigua* also refers to chiggers.

82. This refers to Indians who left their towns to avoid the labor service in the mines mentioned next.

83. Mercury (quicksilver) was mined and used in a process introduced by the Spaniards to separate the silver from the ore. Indian men were recruited to work the mines from far away and forced to work for many years in unhealthy, dangerous conditions during colonial times.

84. The Mara were a tribe just west of Cuzco near Jaquijahuana. Guaman Poma also mentions this as the name of the first ruler whom Manco Capac killed. See n. 72.

85. The province of Callahuaya was southeast of Cuzco, and that of Charcas was southeast of Lake Titicaca. "Chuui" has not been identified but must have been another province in this area.

86. These words seem to refer to tribes, but this could not be substantiated.

87. The province of Chuncho lies east of Lake Titicaca.

88. *Conde* (or *cunti*) means the direction of the setting Sun (west), and all of these provinces lie to the west of Cuzco, roughly between Cuzco and Nazca. Condesuyo province is northwest of Arequipa. The name of this province was also applied to the entire western quarter of the Inca Empire. Parinacocha is the name of a lake and of a province on the northern border of Condesuyo province; Pomatambo was a town near this lake. The province of Lucana (or Rucana) lies just east of Nazca; Andamarca was one of the three sections of Lucana; Sora is on the eastern border of Lucana, and Chanca is east of Sora.

89. Drawing 106 of Viracocha Inca shows him holding a halberd (*conca cuchuna*) in his right hand rather than the *champi* (club).

90. These provinces were northwest of Cuzco. Sora, Andamarca, and Lucana are listed on MS p. 105 as having been conquered by Yahuar Huacac Inca; however, many conquered provinces rebelled and were later conquered again. Vilcas lies just south of Angara; to its north lies Huanca, of which a section and a major town were called Jauja. "Tanquina" refers to a tribe in the province of Vilcas. Tayacaja seems to be a place near Jauja. Yauyo is west of Huanca, and Hurin extends out to the coast, including Pachacama, just south of Lima. The term "Yunca" ("yungas" in the manuscript) here seems to refer to provinces of the coast.

91. *Acllacona* were virgin women who had been chosen at the age of eight or nine for religious service and were cloistered for life. The reference to houses built for men must refer to those for the priests.

92. The Quechua word *pachacuti* means "cataclysm." Guaman Poma's version of why the ninth Inca took this name and the details of his life differs from what other major chronicles say.

93. This passage comes from Fray Luis de Granada, *Memorial de la vida cristiana,* pp. 220–221.

94. The Inca province of Chile is to the south, to the Maule River; the provinces of Chinchaycocha and Tarma are in the Andean highlands northeast of Lima. "Chaclla" and "Yaucha" were not located.

95. These provinces are located in the highlands to the northeast of Lima, starting with Tarma and moving north to Cajatambo and Chinchaycocha, Huanuco, Huaylla and Conchuco. The Inca administrative unit known as *huno* included some ten thousand taxpayers, able-bodied men considered heads of a household, thus "*hunu* Huaylla" means that this province had some ten thousand taxpayers. In the original manuscript, Guaman Poma uses the Spanish word "millon" to translate the Quechua number *hunu* or *huno*. Since *huno* was the highest number used in Quechua, there was no word for million. This accounts for Guaman Poma's confusion.

96. Guaman Chaua was Guaman Poma's grandfather and never held such a post in the Inca government, although he may have had a minor post. Guaman Poma refers to him as *capac apo* (powerful lord) to enhance his standing in colonial Peru. "Yarovilca" refers to the lineage Guaman Poma uses and was a pre-Inca dynasty of Huánuco. The name "Juana"—from Spanish, not Quechua—was given to this woman after the Spanish conquest.

97. These are Inca provinces in the highlands north of Cajamarca. Chachapoya is located in the north of modern Peru. Huancavilca is just northeast of the city of Tumbes. Cañari, Puruha, Cayambe, Quito, Pasto, and Quillacinga are in the highlands of modern Ecuador, moving from south to north. "Ciccho" seems to refer to an ethnic group in the same region as Pasto. "New Granada" was a colonial division of the northern region of South America, not included in the Inca Empire.

98. Inca towns were usually divided into two sections: *hanan,* the upper section, and *hurin,* the lower section. Thus some members of Huascar's family from both sections of Cuzco escaped.

99. Similar lists are discussed above in nn. 59 and 72. Guaman Poma refers to the Cuzco area; the province of Chilque is just south of the Valley of Cuzco; Aco is a tribe in the province of Chilque; Huaroc is a tribe in or near the Valley of Cuzco; Mayo, Quilliscachi, and Equeco were tribes in and around the Valley of Anta, also called Jaquijahuana, west of Cuzco.

100. Since he considered himself a member of the elite, but not an Inca, Guaman Poma expresses his disdain for the Inca tribes around Cuzco.

101. Guaman Poma repeats a legendary version of the Inca system of succession. He does accurately state that the eldest son was not automatically chosen. However,

the Inca king himself and his most trusted advisers would select the most competent of the queen's sons. This successor would be trained from youth for his duties as emperor.

102. The manuscript reads "1,522 years," but Guaman Poma is referring to 1532, the year Francisco Pizarro captured Atahualpa at Cajamarca. See nn. 66 and 74. Since Guaman Poma believed that the Inca rule started before the birth of Christ, he had to figure out how to lengthen the period of each ruler far beyond normal life spans. Given the unusual longevity of men in the Bible, he concluded that the Inca rulers also lived up to 200 years. Thus the period of the twelve Inca rulers could last from the beginning in 240 BC until 1532. From a strictly modern historical point of view, Guaman Poma erred. As noted above, most historians place the beginning of Inca rule around 1200 AD. However, Guaman Poma's views serve as an invaluable record of the mentality of an Indian converted to Christianity in colonial Peru.

103. The major chronicles differ very much on the names and lives of the Inca queens, to whom Guaman Poma attributes more authority than writers of other chronicles do. Guaman Poma and Martín de Murúa are the only chroniclers who have separate entries for each queen. See Julien, *Reading Inca History,* pp. 61–82.

104. As mentioned previously, the physical descriptions and drawings of the Inca rulers and their wives were inspired by the color illustrations in the manuscript of Martin de Murúa, and archaeological evidence has shown the descriptions to be accurate. The major chronicles say that Manco Capac married his sister, not his mother. In any case, information about the first Inca comes only from legends.

105. Hatuncolla is a town to the west of Lake Titicaca, northwest of Puno.

106. Maras was a place twenty miles north of Cuzco.

107. In the Inca state, where the rulers had control over almost all goods, the people depended on their generosity in order to survive, especially in times of scarcity.

108. "Quichua" refers to both a region and a tribe, originally just to the west of Cuzco. I have retained the original spelling to distinguish the region from the Quechua language, which the Inca adopted. "Aymara" refers to both a region and tribe south of Cuzco; it is not clear whether there is any connection between that tribe and the Aymara language.

109. "Antisuyo" refers to the eastern part of the realm that borders the Amazon jungle.

110. Paraguay Suyo: "Suyo" refers to a region and to the four parts of the Inca Empire, but Paraguay was never part of the Inca Empire, and it is not clear how this lady could get a mantel from there.

111. "Condesuyo" refers to both a province southwest of Cuzco and the western part of the Inca Empire, extending to the Pacific Ocean. Parinacocha was a region to the southwest of Cuzco, and Lucana, a region west of Cuzco. "Chanca" refers to both a region and a tribe west of Cuzco.

112. There is a section at the bottom of MS p. 133 that has been crossed out, probably because it is contradictory: "She had all the wealth; she left her children and servants when she died. And in her will the Sun inherited all her possessions."

113. The province of Jauja ("xauxa" in the manuscript), also called Huanca, was in the Andes northwest of Cuzco; the province of Chinchaycocha was north of Jauja.

114. The province of Tarma was in the central Andes between Jauja and Chinchaycocha.

115. This sentence ends with the phrase "de cuatro puntos," which makes no sense.

116. "Hanan" refers to the upper moiety or subdivision of most Inca towns and provinces, and "Hurin" to the lower moiety.

117. The Inca town and province of Huanuco ("guanoco" in the manuscript) was

in the central Andes on the left bank of the Marañón River, north of Chinchaycocha. The province of Huaylla ("guayllas" in the manuscript) was northwest of Huanuco. Atavillo (*atapillo* in the manuscript) was a province in the highlands northeast of modern Lima.

118. *Mamaconas* were women dedicated to the service of the Inca gods.

119. These cities, settlements, and tribes were found in what is now Ecuador. Cayambe (also spelled "Cayanbi" and "Cayabe" in the chronicle) was a settlement in the highlands. Huancavilca ("Guanca Bilca" in the manuscript) is the name of a tribe that was found in the area of the modern city of Guayaquil. Cañari ("Canari" in the manuscript) was the name of a tribe just south of Huancavilca. See Steward, *Handbook of South American Indians,* pp. 786–788, 792. Chachapoya was a province in the highlands of what is now northern Peru.

120. Following this sentence in the manuscript is a series of names that could not be identified: "*en uacapunco y el pingollo en pincollo napata en cantoc y en uiroy pata cingaurco.*"

121. Tumibamba (*tumi* in the manuscript) was a province and town in what is now southern Ecuador.

122. In the manuscript this last line with the verb in the singular comes at the end of the preceding paragraph and does not name the subject of the verb "was."

123. The province of Colla was northwest of Lake Titicaca. Puquina was a tribe and language near Lake Titicaca. Cana was a province just north of Lake Titicaca. "Poma canche" must refer to a nearby tribe; Quiquijana ("quiqi xana" in the MS) was a tribe southeast of Cuzco. Chilque was a province just south of Cuzco. Aco was a small tribe in the province of Chilque.

124. Cavina was a tribe in the neighborhood of Quiquijana.

125. The manuscript reads "uanan," which must be *uaman* (hawk), as in "Guaman."

126. There seem to be two different men, Inca Tocay Capac and Pinau Capac, but the verb used for them is in the singular, not uncommon for Guaman Poma.

127. The following sentence in the manuscript was not translated because it makes no sense: "*no le dejo los demas rrays Incas.*"

128. Charcas was a province southeast of Lake Titicaca.

129. "Chuquiabo" was the colonial name for the district of La Paz. "Chuquisaca" was the colonial name for the district of Sucre. The mines of Potosí were not discovered until 1545.

130. "Collao" refers to the region west of Lake Titicaca. "Chinchaysuyo" refers to the part of the Inca Empire northwest of Cuzco. It was named for the province of Chincha, just north of Pisco. Guaman Poma seems to be referring to the province.

131. Quichua ("quichiuas" in the manuscript) was a tribe west of Cuzco; as noted elsewhere, the Inca adopted their language, known as Quechua. "Aimara" ("aymara" in the MS) refers to a tribe and province southwest of Cuzco; as noted elsewhere, a connection between this province and the Aymara language has not definitely been made. No geographical evidence has been found to locate the other places listed.

132. On this page in the manuscript Guaman Poma's pagination goes from 155 back to 154, and this discrepancy continues throughout the part translated here. The correct numbers are placed in parentheses within the bracketed manuscript page numbers [154 (156)].

133. "Chuncho" is the Inca name for the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes.

134. Apparently Amaro Inca, whose name means "serpent," went on the campaign to the eastern slopes of the Andes with Otoronco Achachi.

135. These are provinces west of Cuzco. Atamarca is one of the three sections of

Lucana; Parinacocha is south of Lucana; Sora is east of Lucana; Pomatambo is in the same area as Parinacocha; Conde is east of Parinacocha; Chanca is west of Cuzco; and Yunca refers to the Indians of the coast north of Lima; Huarco is a coastal area south of Lima.

136. Condesuyo was a province south of Cuzco; this name was also applied to this whole part of the Inca Empire. Collagua ("Collaua Conde" in MS) was a province west of the province of Colla. Coropuna ("Coropona" in MS) is a sacred, snow-capped peak northwest of Arequipa ("Ariquipa" in MS). Arica was a province on the southern coast. Parinacocha was between Cuzco and the coast. Pomatambo ("Pomatambos" in MS) was part of Parinacocha. Chanca ("Changas" in MS) was a province west of Cuzco, the same as Andahuaylas ("Andaguaylas" in MS). Huaynacota ("Guayna cota" in MS) must have been in the same area.

137. The listed names refer to provinces northwest of Cuzco. Sora ("soras" in MS) was west of Chanca. Vilcas was a province west of Sora. "Tanquiua" refers to the original inhabitants of Vilcas. Angara ("Angarays") was a large province north of Vilcas. Lucana ("lucanas") was south of Vilcas. Andamarca ("andamarcas") was within the province of Lucana. Chocorvo ("chocorbos") was west of Vilcas. The province of Jauja ("xauxa"), also known as Huanca ("lurin guanca"), was north of Angara. The province Yauyo ("yauyos") was west of Jauja. The Huarochiri ("uarochiri") were within the province of Yauyo. The Inca also used the term *yunca* to refer to the coastal region. Going along the coast from south to north, Chincha was a province on the central coast, next was Mala, then Pachacama ("Pacha Camac") and Lima. The other names must refer to tribes or provinces in this region.

138. Chinchaycocha ("Chinchay Cocha" in MS) was a province in the central Andes northeast of Lima. Tarma, which included Lake Junin, was a province south of Chinchaycocha. As noted above, "Yunca" refers to the coastal region.

139. Guaman Poma seems to be referring to the civil war between the last Inca rulers, Atahualpa and Huascar.

140. This illustration shows how the Incas were able to move huge stones long distances. Huanuco ("guanoco" in MS) was a province in the central highlands. Huaylla ("guayllas") was a province just to the northwest of Huanuco.

141. This seems to mean the stone was carried from Cuzco through the town of Yucay, just north of Cuzco, all the way north to Tumibamba ("tomi" in MS), modern Cuenca, and on to Quito. The manuscript reads: "*lloro sangre la dicha piedra y aci se quedo hasta oy.*" Here "oy" [today] refers to sometime after 1600, and the stone was said to have been carried to Quito during the time of Huayna Capac, Inca ruler from around 1493 to 1527.

142. These names refer to places in the north of the Inca Empire: Chachapoya, northeast of modern Peru; Cañari, near Guayaquil in modern Ecuador; Huancavilca, just north of Cañari. The other places or tribes must be in the same area.

143. This refers to King Philip III of Spain (1598–1621), to whom Guaman Poma addressed his letter.

144. This attribution of such rank to Guaman Poma's grandfather (or to himself) was declared false in a colonial court. See Adorno, "The Genesis of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva Coronica y buen gobierno.*"

145. Interspersed among what appear to be the names of people are a number of place-names, such as Quichua, Aymara, Lucana, Sora; these have been omitted. See MS p. 166.

146. These places were in what is now modern Ecuador, except for Chachapoya, which has been located in the north of modern Peru. More specific locations are noted above.

147. Although Guaman Poma uses the name "Mallco Castillo Pari" as the title of this section, he does not mention his name in the text that follows. In addition,

"Castilla" would be a colonial name from the Spaniards, unless this is a misspelling. The same name is attributed to a ruler in the Collasuyo province (see MS p. 77).

148. The Callavaya (or Callahuaya) were a tribe southeast of Cuzco.

149. Although Guaman Poma refers to these men as "*dos rreys Yngas grandes,*" other references to these men make it clear they were regional lords, not kings. See MS pp. 113 and 334, which deal with the conquests of Huayna Capac in the north.

150. The manuscript reads "*la primera reina,*" but clearly this was not the first queen of the Inca ruler. Again, Guaman Poma enhances his ancestry to make himself a noble.

151. See n. 143. The manuscript reads "*la casta de Yarovilca,*" which refers to the lineage name Guaman Poma used. The Yarovilca were a pre-Inca dynasty of Huánuco.

152. A list of the names of fifteen ladies has been omitted. See MS p. 176.

153. Six other ladies' names have been omitted. See MS p. 178.

154. A string of names that cannot be separated has been omitted. See MS p. 180.

155. Guaman Poma exaggerates here. Condesuyo produced enough food for the population living there.

156. Ten other ladies' names have been omitted. See MS p. 182.

157. "Ozeca" appears to refer to tribe, but it has not been identified.

158. Almagro went on an unsuccessful campaign to conquer Chile in 1535–1537.

159. Ten other names have been omitted. See MS p. 183. As noted above, the city of Cuzco was divided into two sections: Hanan Cuzco, the upper moiety, and Hurin Cuzco ("Lurin" in the MS), the lower moiety.

160. This refers to King Philip III, who ruled Spain from 1598 to 1621.

161. A year or two after birth a boy had his hair cut and was given a name in the *rotochico* rite. At about fourteen a boy was given a loincloth (*huara* in Quechua) at the *huarachico* maturity rite. I have not found detailed information on the other rites.

162. Guaman Poma uses the Quechua word *uisa* for "priest," *huaylla uisa* for "a priest from Huaylla," and *conde uisa* for "a priest from Condesuyo." The Quechua word *layca* refers to a warlock or wizard, and *camasca* to a priest with healing powers.

163. Mountain peaks were important deities. Pariacaca and Caruancho Huallullo are in the highlands northeast of Lima, near Jauja; Sauasiray and Pitosiray are north of Cuzco; Coropuna ("Coropona" in MS) is in the highlands northwest of Arequipa, and Suriurco is about a hundred miles southeast of Cuzco. The island of Titicaca had a shrine to the Sun.

164. "Anta Inca" seems to refer to an individual from the Valley of Anta, near Cuzco, who would have been an Inca "by privilege."

165. Quilliscachi ("quillis cachi" in MS) refers to a tribe in the Valley of Anta, near Cuzco. This reference implies that these officials were from there.

166. The Equeco are a tribe in the Valley of Anta.

167. The Huaroc are a tribe near the Valley of Cuzco.

168. "Chillque Inca" refers to an individual from the Chillque ethnic group, south of Cuzco, who was a member of the Inca by privilege. See Bauer, *Development of the Inca State,* 32–33.

169. Guaman Poma uses the Spanish word *escribano* [scribe] here, which is misleading since the Inca had no system of writing.

170. "Papre Inca" refers to a member of the Inca class belonging to the Papre ("pabri" in MS) ethnic group, south of Cuzco.

171. The Quechua word *hucha* [error] here means "unpaid"; *tasa* is Spanish for

"tax"; Quechua *hayca* means "amount"; *uata,* "year"; *quillap,* "month"; *curaca,* "chief"; *churicona,* "sons."

172. This is the translation into Quechua of the previous statement.

173. The manuscript reads "*madera aomente,*" rendered as "lumber tree."

174. "*Lucri*" apparently refers to another type of field but has not been identified.

175. This passage is difficult to understand. See MS p. 189.

176. There is an illustration of this punishment on MS p. 310.

177. This same punishment is described again on MS p. 315.

178. The original reads: "*y al forzador le sentencie la muerte de la mujer,*" which makes no sense, but was interpreted in context.

179. The term *guamanin apo* is not used by the most reliable chronicles but has been interpreted here as a district official between the *huno curaca* and the *huaranca curaca.*

180. This prayer for rain, which is repeated with some variations on MS p. 257, has some phrases that could only be interpreted in context. This certainly is a colonial variation on an ancient prayer because it has the Spanish word *luto,* spelled "*lluto,*" which means "mourning."

181. The MS reads: "*quilca camayoc escriuano de quipo,*" which is also listed as "*quipo camayoc.*" Quechua *quillca* came to mean "writing."

182. MS p. 194 reads: "*dexamos y mandamos esta ley y hordenansas en estos rreynos*" [We leave and order this law and ordinances in these kingdoms].

183. MS p. 194 reads: "*mandamos q~ los barberos y seruxanos, hampi camayoc—cirac—quichicauan y curan con yeruas*" [We order that barbers and surgeons . . . cure with herbs]. Since Quechua *sirca* means "a vein," and *sircay* "to bleed," this might seem to refer to bloodletting, but in the context it means "herbalist."

184. MS p. 194 reads: "*uaccha rurocha nunochic . . . mamacona.*" The Quechua word *huaccha* means "orphan"; *rurocha* seems to refer to a woman; *ñuñuchic,* to "suckle." In most chronicles *mamacona* refers to the cloistered women in the service of Inca gods.

185. MS p. 194 reads: "*todos coman por la caridad y de ser uso y costumbre desde primer gente y ley y buena obra y misericordia de dios en este reino*" [Let all eat from charity and be of usage and custom from the first people and law and good work and mercy of god in this kingdom.]

186. In the original, "*dies calles de yndios.*" The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines "*calle de hombres*" as "*equivale a multitude de gente.*" Therefore, the expression "*calles de yndios*" has been rendered as "groups of Indians."

In Inca times the government kept track of the census by age grades. In the following section, Guaman Poma often uses the word *vecita* to refer to each group, so I have translated it as "age division."

The following sections on the age grades of men and women are very similar to two chapters in the chronicle by Martin de Murúa, *Historia y genealogia de los reyes incas* (bk. 3, chaps. 64 and 65). Murúa describes "*diez calles que habia de indios*" and "*otras diez calles . . . de mujeres.*" However, Guaman Poma improves the analysis by his superior knowledge of Quechua. See Rowe, "Inca Culture," p. 516.

In addition, the Incas did not keep track of their exact chronological age. Instead they had age grades for baby, child, youth, adult, old person, reflected in Quechua words used by Guaman Poma. The transition from one grade to another was based on the person's physical appearance and ability to do certain tasks rather than exact age, as Gumana Poma implies.

Most of the pages in this section on age grades are written in an unusual way. The first lines are done in the usual left to right fashion, but the following lines get progressively shorter in a triangle, with the spaces going down the right side filled afterward.

187. MS p. 201 reads: “*conpadres uayno y sus camaradas socna le regalaua mas rregalo tenia uno destos.*” Since the Inca did not have baptism, *compadre* and *camarada* were interpreted as “friends”—*uayno* as male friend and *socna* as female friend. The last phrase was not translated because it is repetitive.

188. MS p. 202 reads: “*estos dichos enfermos no tiene edad por ser ajuntado*” [These said sick have no age because they are together].” The rendering tries to make sense out of the sentence.

189. Guaman Poma attributes European titles of nobility to the Incas. Though the Incas did make a distinction between nobles and commoners, they did not have dukes, counts, and marquees.

190. Previous sections describe the generations of Indians. Atahualpa, his field marshal Chalcochima, and his brother Huascar were all present in 1532 when Pizarro arrived.

191. MS p. 205 reads “*ni uinagre,*” but since there was no vinegar in pre-Columbian Peru, the term has been interpreted as some kind of sauce.

192. MS p. 207 reads “*acian de la carne petaquillas*” [They made little pouches out of the meat]. A similar line on MS p. 209 reads “*la carne hacia charqui petaquillas*” [They made jerky strips with the meat].

193. MS p. 207 reads: “*chasca chuqui ura caua.*” Since this last expression has not been located in any dictionaries, it was left out.

194. The last sentence on MS p. 209 reads: “*y con ellos andaua muchos azotes y limpieza en este rreyno*” [and with them there were many lashes and cleanliness in this kingdom].

195. MS p. 213 reads: “*aumente yndios y se rredusca en sus pueblos.*” This seems to refer to the colonial policy of moving Indians from smaller villages to live together in larger towns called *reducciones.*

196. This refers to racial mixtures: a Spaniard and an Indian woman beget a mestizo; a mestizo and an Indian woman beget a cholo; a Spaniard and a black woman beget a mulatto; a black man and a mulatto woman beget a *zambo.* MS p. 215 reads: “*mulatos sanbahigos.*” The latter term has been interpreted as *zambo.*

197. MS p. 216 reads: “*en tres dias lo partia y despues entraua a las dichas calles de las dichas mujeres.*” See above n. 185.

198. The next paragraph in the original manuscript repeats the previous one and has been omitted.

Guaman Poma had a vague understanding of age in years. The Quechua terms are a better indication of age grades than the ages given. See n. 185.

199. See MS p. 310 for an illustration of this punishment, and MS p. 311 for a description. Other chroniclers say that virginity was only required of the girls chosen to serve in cloisters. See Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire,* pp. 29–30.

200. See the description of the fourth group of men on MS p. 203, where Guaman Poma suggests that the Inca system protected invalids better than Christian kingdoms do.

201. See above n. 185. Marriageable age for a girl would have been between fifteen and twenty.

202. See above n. 198.

203. The original manuscript lists several flowers or herbs that have not been identified and have been omitted from the translation: *tire, queuencha, onquena, llachoc, paconca, pinau, siclla, llullucha, morcoto, escaña.*

204. MS p. 232 has an additional sentence that was omitted because it repeats what was just stated.

205. “Santo Concilio” refers to the Tercer Concilio de Lima, 1583, in which Spanish church leaders met to discuss how best to evangelize the Andean Indians

and implement the reforms of the Council of Trent.

206. The final sentence on MS p. 232 has been omitted because it makes no sense.

207. This reference to a Christian custom of naming the godparents as sponsors of a child at baptism is a colonial addition to Indian customs. See n. 186.

208. The following two sentences on MS p. 236 were omitted: "*como se saue que desta becita general de las yndias mujeres deste rreyno de gente pichero se becitaua estas dichas niñas requiere que le cirva otro y asi fue reseruada su madre ci fueren dos niñas de un vientre le fue reservado su padre y su madre en todo este rreyno si fuera hijo de principal mucho mas*" [As is known that this general inspection of Indian women of this kingdom of commoners these said girls who were inspected were required to be served by another and thus the mother was helped and if two girls came from the same womb both the father and the mother would be helped and if it were the son of a noble much more].

209. Topa Inca was ruler from about 1470 to 1490. Guaman Chaua was Guaman Poma's grandfather. Again, Guaman Poma was attempting to elevate his grandfather by giving him the title of *capac apo* and making him second in command in the Inca Empire.

210. The Inca made observations of both the moon and the sun in keeping track of the calendar year. They had twelve lunar months; the Quechua word *quilla* means both "moon" and "month." They calculated the solar year by the position of the sun against mountain peaks from certain fixed places and made adjustments to equate the lunar and solar year. The Quechua word for sun is *inti.* It is questionable whether, as Guaman Poma states, the Inca divided the months into weeks. See Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire,* pp. 251–252.

211. Most chroniclers list Capac Raymi as the first month but translate it as December. Father Cobo (*History of the Inca Empire,* p. 253) states that the month of Capac Raymi started around December 22 and ended around January 20.

212. Huanacauri is a sacred hill south of Cuzco, and Pacaritambo is a sacred hill with three caves in it. Both places are associated with the origin myth of the first Incas.

213. This seems to be a reference to the European theory of humors, current at the time. The humors were thought to have combinations of hot, cold, moist, or dry. Foods were also thought to have such qualities. Diseases were the result of an imbalance often caused by foods having too much hot, cold, moisture, or dryness.

214. One word for "priest" here is "*uisa*"; *huaylla* refers to a tribe in the Cuzco area; *conde* refers to the province of Condesuyo, southwest of Cuzco.

215. Most of the chronicles name April as "Arihuaquiz" or "Ayrihuaquis."

216. *Puca llama* means "red llama." Since llamas are not red, this must refer to a reddish-brown color or the practice of putting a red shirt on a llama.

217. *Harauayo* is a kind of a jingle that does not translate.

218. MS p. 247 reads "*moderada fiesta del ynti raymi,*" which was translated simply as "Sun festival" because making a sacrifice of five hundred children is anything but moderate.

219. For the active ingredients to be released, coca leaves must be chewed with something alkaline, such as lime made from the ashes of quinoa stalks mixed with water to form sticks. These sticks are called *llipta* in Quechua.

220. None of the other chronicles has this exact name for July. Most of them have some variation of "Chaua Huayquiz."

221. MS p. 251 reads: "*sacrificauan con otros cien carneros de color de yauar chunbe.*" *Yauar* means "blood," but there were no blood-red llamas; however, *chunbe* (or *chumpi*) can mean "a chestnut brown color," so the chosen llamas may have been reddish-brown. Because *chumpi* can also refer to a woman's sash, and llamas were

sometimes decorated with a red shirt, it is also possible that the sacrificed llamas were decorated with a red sash.

222. Early maize was planted in August, as the next section suggests. Theoretically all land belonged to the Inca, and local chiefs made a yearly distribution of the land according to the needs of the peasants.

223. MS p. 251 reads: "*cantan haylli y aymaran.*" *Haylli* refers to the chant of a group of farmers working in unison with foot plows (see the illustration on MS p. 252). This same chant was used to celebrate military victories. The Aymara word *aymarana* seems to be a synonym. The Quechua word *minca* refers to the custom of all farmers in a community helping to plow each other's land.

224. MS p. 255 reads: "*pallas aui y los capac omis uayros.*" The last three words were omitted because no definition could be found for "*omi,*" and "*uayros*" (dice) makes no sense here.

225. This refers to Situa, the festival directed against sickness; it was celebrated at a time when the rains started to fall, usually September.

226. *Oncoy* means "sickness." In this context Guamam Poma refers to sicknesses caused by sorcery of various kinds related to *taqui* [a dance]; *sara* [maize]; *puquio* [fountain]; *pacha panta* [horizon]; *chirapa* [rain with sun]; *pacha maca* [earth hug]; *acapana* [reddish sky]; *ayapacha* [corpse]. See MS p. 282. Other chronicles give elaborate descriptions of the Situa festival celebrated this month to ward off illness. See Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs,* pp. 145–147.

227. In Quechua, *aya* means "dead body" and *marcani* means "to carry something," but since "Ayamarca" was also the name of a tribe in the Cuzco area, the name of this month may be derived from that name. See Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Conquest," p. 311.

228. Human sacrifice of children among the Incas has been well documented. See Johan Reinhard's article "New Inca Mummies" in *National Geographic* (1998) about a burial site recently uncovered in the highlands of southern Peru that contained the bodies of sacrificial children. They wore Inca dress and were accompanied by Inca-style dinner service and ornaments.

229. Here Guaman Poma exaggerates. There is ample evidence that in Inca times, intoxication to the point of passing out was considered a religious act, not a vice. See Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," p. 292. Guaman Poma has an agenda here: he wanted Spanish administrators to be replaced by Catholic Indian chiefs who would restore order in the kingdom of Peru. Of course the most capable, in his opinion, would have been Guaman Poma himself.

230. The Incas made regular observations of the phases of the moon and used the knots on the quipo strings to keep track of them.

231. The Inca made observations to mark the places where the sun rose and set at planting time. Guaman Poma seems to suggest that observations were also taken in December, when the sun rises and sets to the south, and in June, when the sun rises and sets to the north. See Bauer and Dearborn, *Astronomy and Empire in the Ancient Andes,* pp. 62–66.

232. Viracocha was the eighth Inca. See MS p. 107. The name "Viracocha" was first one of the titles of the Inca creator god, whose helpers were called *viracochas.* The term was also applied to the Spaniards by some of the Incas. Shortly after the conquest, some of the Indians of Peru came to believe that their ancestors knew the Spaniards would come. See Lara, "Tragedia del fin de Atahualpa."

233. See nn. 213 and 231.

234. Pariacaca was a sacred mountain peak. See also nn. 162 and 231.

235. MS p. 264 reads: "*fue muy triste a tomi.*" *Tomi* has been interpreted as the town of Tumibamba, where Huayna Capac had palaces. As noted in the chapter on the Incas, this Inca is said to have died in Tumibamba, ancient name of the modern

town of Cuenca, Ecuador.

236. *Usno* refers to a platform located in the center of each town plaza where the Inca ruler sat and where royal sacrifices were made. There was a large stone *usno* in the main plaza of Cuzco.

237. The Quechua word *apachita* refers to a special shrine made of stacked stones placed along a road on a hilltop. *Apachitas* were considered deities, and offerings were made to them.

238. This passage on MS p. 265 is very difficult to translate. The Coricancha, Temple of the Sun, is composed of seven stone buildings with trapezoidal doors and niches that were surrounded by a high stone wall. A courtyard in the middle was used for ceremonies. Guaman Poma calls the doors "windows" where the sun would shine through. Light would not have penetrated the niches. See Hemming, *Monuments of the Incas,* pp. 78–87.

239. *Chuqui ylla* means "lightning," but it is also a name for the weather god, Yllapa, the most important Inca deity after Viracocha. See Rowe, "The Incas at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," pp. 294–295.

240. See n. 236. MS p. 265 reads: "*o los yndios de la cierra fuesen a lo caliente.*" The last four words make no sense and were not translated.

241. Pachacamac was a major pre-Inca ceremonial center located just south of modern Lima. The Inca built a temple there around 1470. However, Guaman Poma uses the term here to refer to an important Inca deity. Murúa (*Historia general del Peru,* pp. 66–67) says that Pachacamac was the "*Hacedor verdadero e inminso Dios*" [true creator and great god] who was in the place called Pachacamac, just south of modern Lima. Apparently, Murúa was the first to say that Pachacamac was the Inca creator god. Garcilaso also equated Pachacamac to the Christian God (*Los comentarios reales de los Incas,* pp. 70–72). One of the meanings of the Quechua word *pacha* is "world," and *camac* means "creator." References to Pachacamac as the Inca creator god, rather than Viracocha, date to colonial times.

242. The sacred hill near Cuzco, usually spelled "Huanacauri," was the place where Manco Capac and his three brothers and four sisters stayed for a time. Tambotoco is another hill in a place called Pacaritambo, about eighteen miles southeast of Cuzco. There are three caves in this hill, and according to the origin myth, Manco Capac and his brothers and sisters came out of the middle cave and went to Huanacauri, where one of the brothers turned into a stone, which was then venerated as a deity. Eventually Manco Capac continued on and founded Cuzco.

243. MS p. 267 reads: "*sacrificauan al dios de uanacauri y a pachacamac dos de los yngas con dies niños.*" The phrase "*dos de los yngas*" was interpreted as "*dios de los yngas*" [gods of the Incas].

244. See n. 238.

245. According to Sarmiento de Gamboa (*History of the Incas,* chap. 41), Topa Inca punished the people of a rebellious province, Yanayoca, by making them government servants. That seems to be the origin of the Quechua words for servant, *yana* and *yanayoca.*

246. See n. 235. The word *uamani* was not found in reference books but was inferred as meaning "a district" from context.

247. Pachacamac was just south of Lima (see n. 240), and Huarco was a province just south of Pachacamac. The location of Aysavilca has not been identified.

248. The province of Yauyo was in the highlands east of modern Lima. Pariacaca is a mountain peak in that province.

249. On the eastern border of Yauyo, the province of Huanca was divided into three sections: Hanan [upper] Huanca, Hurin [lower] Huanca, and Juaja.

250. Guaman Poma seems to refer to the Aymara tribe, just south of Cuzco. No

information has been found about Quichacalla.

251. The names of these provinces and settlements have been reordered starting in the north and moving south. Cayambe is a settlement near Quito; “Cañari” is the name of a tribe and a province in the area of modern Cuenca; “Tanquihua” is the name of a tribe in the province of Vilacas, west of Cuzco; the province of Lucana had three sections, upper, lower, and Andamarca, and is in the province of Lucana. Parinacocha is an area south of Lucana. See MS p. 269 for the original. The Inca Empire was divided into four quarters, each taking the name of one of the provinces. Chinchaysuyo extended all the way from Cuzco to Quito after about 1470.

252. MS p. 271 reads: “*adorauan al tigre otorongo.*” The Spanish word *tigre* means “jaguar” here; this usage is still prevalent in South America. The usual spelling of the Quechua word for jaguar is *uturuncu.*

253. *Achichi* is an Aymara word meaning “ancestor.” The Quechua word *yaya* means “ancestor” or “father.”

254. The quarter southeast of Cuzco in the Lake Titicaca region and beyond was called Collasuyo. The region around Lake Titicaca was also known in colonial times as Collao.

255. These are places in the Collasuyo quarter in the Lake Titicaca region. Hatuncolla was a major town just north of the lake. Callavaya (or Callahuaya) was southeast of Cuzco. Charcas was southeast of the lake, and “Chriguana” was the name of a tribe south of Charcas.

256. No information was found for Calacirca or Suriurco.

257. No lake was found in the area of the modern town of Puquina, between Arequipa and Moquegua.

258. The order of place-names on MS p. 275 has been changed to start with Cuzco in the north, followed south to the provinces of Pomatambo, Collagua, and Arequipa. The manuscript refers to “Ariquipa Conde,” meaning Arequipa of Condesuyo, which is obvious in this context. The locations of Huncullpi, Huaynacota, Toro, and Achambi have not been identified.

259. Mar del Sur, or South Sea, was the term for the Pacific Ocean in colonial times.

260. “Yunca” refers to the warm coastal lowlands of the Inca Empire. The standard word in Quechua for “fisherman” is *chalua camayoc,* literally “a fish official.” The usage of *uachimi* (or *wachimi*) could be related to *uach’iy,* meaning “to throw a spear or dart.”

261. The Quechua word *hampi* means “medicine” and “curer,” but since they all used magic, the curers were also considered sorcerers. The suffix -*yoc* indicates possession of skills, here healing.

262. A few sentences on MS p. 277 about the idols of the four quarters of the empire were omitted because they belong in the previous section on idols.

263. The town of Santiago de Chipau is in the province of Lucana, southwest of Cuzco. The colonial town and province of Huancavilca (“guancabilca” in the manuscript) could not be located. Apparently, reference here is not to the province of the same name on the coast of modern Ecuador.

264. The Quechua word *huacanqui* means “love charm.” There were a variety of such charms made of feathers, thorns, stones, or herbs. The charm had to be secretly put in the garments or bed of the person to be enticed.

265. The Quechua word *tuqui* refers to a bird whose scientific name is *Rupicola peruviana.* In English it is called “Andean cock of the rock.” The color is intense orange with black wings and tail. They live in the forests of northern South America. Apparently the feathers were used as a love charm.

266. MS p. 280 reads: “*habia fantasma de los chinchaysuyos antisuyos en anllaypampa y de los collasuyos condesuyos en caraysinga y en los puquinas.*” Clearly

this refers to the whole empire of the Incas. Since no information could be found for *allaypampa* or *caraysinga,* and *puquina* refers to an Indian language spoken in the Lake Titicaca region, these names were left out.

267. These are various ailments caused by sorcery, described in the glossary under the entry *oncoy,* Quechua for “sickness.” Also see n. 225.

268. Of this list of volcanoes, only two were located: Asangate, which is visible to the southeast of Cuzco, and Coropuna, south of Cuzco in the modern province of Arequipa. The Incas worshipped high peaks.

269. The bottom of MS p. 282 reads: “*sazerdotes que seruian en los guamanies.*” The term *guamanies* has been interpreted to mean “a district” but has not been found in reference books.

270. MS p. 284 reads: “*culebras cantar de lechuzas y mochuelos morciegalos que llaman—tuco—chucic . . . cayaycuuan*” [“Snakes, the screech of barn owls and owlets, bats as they call them. The owl, barn owl . . . call to me”].

271. The Chanca were a tribe west of Cuzco that were defeated by the Inca.

272. This is a reference to the Situa festival described on MS p. 255 for the month of September.

273. The title of MS p. 288 reads “AIVNAR DEL INGA” (literally “fasting of the Inca”), but since this section says nothing about Inca fasting, the title was changed to reflect the content.

274. The Quechua word *yana* means “retainer”; they were officials of the Inca government. MS p. 288 is difficult to read, but it seems to be *yanayaco,* which has been interpreted as “Indian in the service of the deities.” The Quechua phrase *uayror aclla* seems to refer to a principal chosen woman, perhaps a girl from the nobility.

275. There was an Inca legend that the god Viracocha visited the town of Cacha, south of Cuzco in the province of Cana. Since the god was in the form of an old man, the people took him as an intruder and began to stone him. Viracocha brought fire and burned a nearby hill. The people begged for forgiveness, and the god burned no more.

276. The active volcano nearest to the town of Arequipa is Misti; this must be a reference to that volcano.

277. Measles and smallpox were brought by the Spaniards. Since the Indians had no immunity to these diseases, the indigenous population was decimated.

278. MS p. 288 reads: “*pestilencia de los paxaros y de perdices papagayos critos chiuillos. . . .*” The Spanish word *perdiz* translates as “partridge,” a bird not found in South America. In Peruvian Spanish, *perdiz* refers to one of the various species of tinamous.

279. Compare MS p. 94, where there is a similar passage. MS p. 288 reads: “*castigos de dios pachacamac ticzecayllauiracocha.*” Guaman Poma seems to equate the Christian God with two Andean deities.

280. MS p. 288 reads: “*que aquel mizero pueblo les trababa la tierra o si no le cubria el serro y se tornaban lagunas de los escalones de pariacaca y de ysua de apcara como el pueblo de cacha.*” This is a very difficult passage. The town of Apcara is west of Cuzco in the modern province of Ayacucho.

281. “Yllapa” was the name of the weather god who could make it rain, and also the Quechua word for thunder and lightning.

282. Guaman Poma was the first author to use this term for a tomb.

283. In this context the Spanish word *borla* refers to a fringe attached to the headband of the Inca ruler as a royal emblem. Guaman Poma oversimplifies succession of a new Inca ruler. In practice, as the Inca aged, they would pick the most capable son of his official wife, the *coya,* and train the boy for the office.

284. Ritual drinking was very common in pre-Columbian and colonial Peru.

285. *Uta* (house) and *amaya* (the deceased) are from Aymara. The word *aya* is

Quechua for “deceased.” The sense here is “house of the dead.”

286. Coropuna is a sacred peak in the highlands northwest of Arequipa in the Condesuyo quarter. See the illustration on MS p. 274. MS p. 296 reads: “*—y q~ uan derecho—a caray pampa—los chichaysuyos—y andesuyos – y los collasuyos—condesuyos se uan los difuntos derecho a puquina pampa y a coropona.*” Nothing could be found for *caray pampa* or *puquina pampa,* names that only occur on this page.

287. This sentence is in Aymara, a language widely spoken in the Lake Titicaca region. In the provinces south and west of Cuzco, including Aymara, Lucana, Sora and Vilcas, both Aymara and Quechua were spoken in the 1500s. The translation only approximates the original.

288. This is also Aymara.

289. MS p. 298 reads: “*dizen q~ la sal corronpen dizen q~ aci la muerte corrunpe —y porq~ no mueran presto y ansi lo ayunan la sal.*” Salt was an important condiment, and abstaining from salt was a light fast done as a ceremonial act, a type of penitence, and also to avoid an early death. There must have been a superstition about salt.

290. The first phrase, *ayap llactan,* is Quechua, and the second, Aymara. Both have the same meaning.

291. Here “ladino” refers to an astute Indian, like Guaman Poma, who speaks both an Indian language and Spanish.

292. In colonial times the New Kingdom of Granada included modern Ecuador and Colombia.

293. The term *muchic* gave rise to the name “Mochica,” used by archaeologists to refer to a pre-Inca culture on the northern coast of Peru, now widely referred to as “Moche.” The Moche flourished around 500 AD. Guaman Poma uses the term here as a synonym for “Yuncas,” referring to Indians of the coast in the 1500s.

294. It is not clear whether this is a good or evil omen.

295. See n. 238.

296. The idol called Huanacauri was a spindle-shaped, uncarved stone on Huanacauri Hill south of Cuzco.

297. This is a plausible classification of the Inca consecrated women. However, here Guaman Poma gets the ages wrong. The chosen women, *acllacona,* were selected at around ten years of age and were trained by older ladies called *mamacona.* At around fourteen or fifteen the *acllacona* became *mamacona.* See n. 185.

298. Following this part, MS p. 302 reads: “*y q~ de says años saliesen de la dotrina y q~ entrasen a la comunidad entiedase muchachos q~ no muchachas en la dotrina en este rreino.*” In this context *dotrina* has been interpreted to mean “classes in catechism,” which were held at the residence of the local priest, and *comunidad* as “fields belonging to the community.”

299. In this passage Guaman Poma mixes the Inca ceremonies of *rotochico* (first haircut), and *huarachico* (boy’s maturity rite) with colonial Christian celebrations of Easter and baptism. There were marriage ceremonies in Inca times as well as during the colonial period, but they were not the same.

300. The word *chicha* for “maize liquor” was probably from a language of Panama and was in general use in colonial Spanish in the 1600s. There are two words for it in Quechua: *aca* (or *aqha*) in Cuzco dialect, and *asua* in central Peru.

301. The Quechua word *masa* means “in-law”; *tucuni,* “I become”; and *villain,* “I have spoken.”

302. The Quechua *yscay* means “two”; *sonco,* “heart”; and *auca,* “traitor.” Taken together the phrase means “hypocritical traitor”; literally, “two hearts,” which means something like “two-faced.” Imprisonment was a special form of execution: criminals were committed to a subterranean dungeon filled with carnivorous

animals and venomous snakes.

303. *Hampi* has several meanings, including "medicine," "evil spell," and "poison." A *hampi camayoc* was a curer but also a sorcerer who used incantations along with herbal medicine and poison. Killing someone's enemy with poison was a serious crime.

304. Guaman Poma is referring to ethnic pre-Inca lords such as his grandfather, Guaman Chaua, but they were not in fact more powerful than the Inca rulers. See nn. 143 and 156.

305. "Chuncho" is the Quechua name for the peoples of the slopes east of the Andes Mountains in what is now Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. The Spanish word *montaña* [mountain] was used for this area, which was in the Antisuyo quarter of the Inca Empire.

306. The Inca system of justice was severe, but here Guaman Poma exaggerates a little. Adultery among common people was punished with torture rather than death.

307. Here again Guaman Poma exaggerates in an effort to make the Inca system seem better than Spanish colonial law.

308. "Anta" and "Equeco" refer to places southwest of Cuzco inhabited by Incas by privilege.

309. See the illustration of this punishment on MS p. 310. *Yauar,* which means "blood" in Quechua, seems to be used as a place-name here but its location could not be identified.

310. This is the lament of a person waiting to die who wants the condor and the falcon to inform the father and mother. The speaker here is a woman because she says "*tura guaman.*" *Tura* is used by a female to refer to her brother.

311. See n. 309.

312. "Uinpillay" refers to a place near Cuzco where wrongdoers were executed or stoned. "Ancas Cocha" ("blue lake" in Quechua) and "Muyoc Hatun Yaco" appear to be place-names but their locations could not be identified.

313. Guaman Poma seems to be implying that the Incas have laws as exemplary as those of the Christians.

314. See n. 305.

315. See n. 305.

316. Guaman Poma uses colonial terms to refer to Inca customs: *oidores* were the high judges on the royal council; *corregidor,* local magistrates; *alguacil,* constable; *fiscal,* royal attorney.

317. Quilliscachi and Equeco were Cuzco-area Incas by privilege. Guaman Poma is very critical of them. See n. 421.

318. These terms were used in the Inca decimal system of government officials (see the glossary entries under *camachicoc*). Different titles were used depending on the number of taxpayers under the official. After marriage, a man established his house and entered the workforce as a taxpayer subject to being called for military service, government construction projects, and so forth.

319. Quechua *yscay* means "two," and *sonco,* "heart," but the sense is "two-faced."

320. Here Guaman Poma expresses the point of view of Spanish missionaries, who realized that drinking in groups was a pagan ritual for the Indians. *Chicha* was the Inca beverage taken every day and in all ceremonies. They rarely drank to excess except at the prescribed time during a religious ceremony, when they were supposed to pass out.

321. The last three words in this sentence, *pacha mamata sucaric,* are *pacha mama,* "earth mother," *ta,* "to," but no definition could be found for *sucaric.*

322. Inca soldiers did take such trophies after winning a battle. Among others

were skulls of fallen enemies made into *chicha* vessles, necklaces of the enemies' teeth, flutes of an enemy's shin bone, and small drums covered with human skin. This was not considered a crime. Guaman Poma here suggests, incorrectly, that the Inca had rules of conduct in war similar to those of the Spaniards.

323. Though it is true that in Inca times the Indians had little leisure time, they did have some games and sports. See MS p. 210 for an illustration of a boy playing with a top. Young boys had foot races and bola-throwing contests. Adults had a number of games with a die that had marks from one to five (*pichica*), as well as stone and bola games (see MS p. 245).

324. Here "Colla" refers to the Lake Titicaca area, also known as "Collao" in colonial times, and *aymara-na* refers to the Aymara language spoken there. In this context *quiraquina* and *collina* refer to ethnic communities in the region. MS p. 317 refers to *guanca,* which was interpreted to be the same word used below, *uanca,* which means "song" in Aymara.

325. The Quechua word *urco* means "hill," and *pata* means "on top of." In the illustration on MS p. 318 two men are sitting on top of a hill, each one playing a flute. *Pincollona* may refer to the province of Piuco, north of Huanuco. Two women are singing, starting with "*uiroy paccha,*" but this expression could not be recognized as a coherent song.

326. Guaman Poma uses the Spanish loan word *dios* [god] here, translated as "deity."

327. The Quechua phrase used here, *oncoyman chayani,* literally means "I get sick," but in this context it seems to mean something like "I feel faint."

328. Two other songs on MS p. 319, one in Aymara and another apparently in some other dialect, have been omitted. Ramírez Ferrell ("Textos aimaras en Guaman Poma") has identified the Aymara texts as the Cuzco-Ayacucho dialect.

329. The sound of *y* in Spanish is similar to a long "e" in English.

330. "Guanocpamapa" and "Paucarpampa" seem to refer to places in the Chinchaysuyo quarter, but their locations could not be identified.

331. These songs are in a dialect of Quechua that could not be interpreted with any accuracy. For that reason only a sample has been included here.

332. Aucaypata was the main square in Cuzco; Cucipata was the adjacent market.

333. This song, supposedly from the Chinchaysuyo quarter, was probably composed by Guaman Poma. He puts his grandfather, Guaman Chaua, along with the Inca ruler in the main square of Cuzco with Poma Chaua, Yarovilca and Guaman Poma himself. "Poma Chaua" is one of Guaman Poma's ancestral names. "Yarovilca" refers to the lineage used by Guaman Poma, a pre-Inca dynasty from Huánuco.

334. "New Kingdom" refers to New Granada, the colonial name for modern Ecuador and Colombia.

335. The meaning of *curipata* could not be found. *Anti* refers to the Andes or to the people from the eastern slopes.

336. In colonial times, "the North Sea" referred to the Atlantic Ocean, but here it includes the Caribbean Sea. This extends the Inca Empire to include Colombia, but by the time of the Spanish conquest in 1532, the Incas had conquered only up to modern Ecuador, not Colombia.

337. The Tambopata tribe lived in the forest west of Cuzco.

338. Guaman Poma uses both *antis* and *chunchos* to refer to the people of the Antisuyo quarter. In the illustration on MS p. 324, a man is playing the *antara,* or panpipe.

339. Other than the context, which indicates a tribe from the eastern forests, this tribe was not identified.

340. *Mallco* (chief) and *capaca* (great lord) are Aymara words. The word *hauisca*

was not identified.

341. “Sanchalli” is an unidentified place in the Collasuyo quarter.

342. *Quirauiscatan* must be Aymara, but no meaning for it was found. The names are of ethnic groups and provinces in the Collasuyo quarter in the Lake Titicaca region. Chucuito is a village on the western shore of the lake. Chuquiabo was a village, now modern La Paz. Hatuncolla is a village north of the lake.

343. A song in Aymara that follows here was omitted because it could not be translated.

344. These are Quechua words: *aya* means “a corpse,” *milla,* “ugly,” and *saynata,* “a mask.” Here they refer to a mask that represents a dead person.

345. Coropuna is a sacred peak between Arequipa and Ayacucho.

346. This passage was abbreviated because the only word recognized was *saynata* (mask). See n. 343.

347. This confusing paragraph seems to refer to the four parts of the empire; apparently by “Quechuas” and “Aymaras,” Guaman Poma means those speaking these languages. Quechua had spread all across the empire; Aymara was spoken in the Lake Titicaca region and along with Quechua in provinces west of Cuzco. “Condes” refers to the people of the quarter southwest of Cuzco, while “Collas” refers to those of the Collao region around Lake Titicaca.

348. The two songs in Aymara that follow have been omitted.

349. I have omitted a confusing list of tribes and provinces, as well as a repetition of the statement that their celebrations were not idolatrous.

350. Nothing could be found to explain the expression *cuyus manco,* but judging from the drawing, it seems to refer to a guard house with a doorman inside.

351. Rectangular houses made of field stone or adobe were most common in the Cuzco area. The buildings shown in the illustration here were special Inca structures. The *carpa* house seems to show the framework. The exterior of the Temple of the Sun is curved like the *quenco* house. There were round or circular buildings such as one of the structures found at the Fortress of Sacsahuaman. Some circular buildings (*suntor huasi*) were towers, such as the one in the main square at Cuzco.

352. See Guaman Poma’s illustrations of *bolas* on MS p. 208, and of the net used to catch birds on MS p. 206.

353. *Sauca* means “humorous remark”; *rimac,* “one who says or makes”; *cocho,* “pleasantry.”

354. Apparently *llama* applied to a person meant he was a ludicrous figure. *Haya* means “peppery,” and *chuco,* “cap.” Since only the Aymara wore knitted caps, this must be a metaphorical expression.

355. *Chucarero* seems to come from *chúcaro,* a word of uncertain origin used in Peru to refer to an unbroken horse or mule; the Spanish suffix *-ero* means “one who does something,” as in *cuentero,* “story teller,” so a *chucarero* may have been someone who acted like a an unbroken mule.

356. Callahuaya (or Callahualla) is a province southeast of Cuzco. However, the most famous litter bearers were from the province of Lucana (or Rucana), west of Cuzco. See MS p. 340.

357. I have substituted this heading for the original heading (“Estaturas” [Statures]), which does not correspond to the content.

358. The Inca is depicted fighting from his litter in the illustration on MS p. 335.

359. These regional lords, Apo Pinto and Huayna Pinto, are mentioned in the previous chapter on the conquests of northern provinces by Huayna Capac.

360. These names refer to provinces north of Cajamarca in what is now northern Peru and Ecuador.

361. Coca leaves had been used for centuries by pre-Inca Indians. For instance, individuals chewing coca frequently appear in Moche pottery. See Donnan, *Moche*

Art of Peru, pp. 116–117. The Inca restricted the use of coca to nobles and for religious rites, but in colonial times coca-chewing spread to all classes of Indians.

362. *Umiña, cuychi,* and *uaccri* refer to precious stones; *cuychi* also means "rainbow" (see MS p. 265). *Mullo* refers to the spondylus seashell, which has a coral rim and was much prized by the Inca and used as a sacrificial offering. Here it seems to refer to a necklace with beads made from this shell.

363. It is unclear whether this belief was pre-Hispanic or not.

364. MS p. 335 reads: "*ynga va a la conquista de los cayanbis guancabilca canari ciccho chachapoya quito lataconga.*" The spellings have been modified to reflect usage in modern reference books. These are provinces in modern Ecuador, except for Chachapoya, which is in the north of modern Peru. No information was found for Ciccho.

365. All of these provinces were west of Cuzco.

366. I have substituted this heading for Guaman Poma's heading, "Regalos" [gifts], which does not accurately reflect the content.

367. The MS reads: "*sale el ynga a pasear con sus lacayos . . . y lleva ynos chunchos desnudos por gala y señorear y sale en sus andas.*" The phrase *por gala y señorear* refers to the Inca, not the nude Chuncho Indians from the eastern slopes of the Andes.

368. MS p. 336 reads: "*flautas pingollo—antara—pipo—catauari—uaroro—quenaquena chiuca.*" These all appear to be different kinds of flutes, but no information could be found for *catauari, uaroro,* or *chiuca.*

369. No information was found for *nucaya,* but it seems to refer to some song or dance of the coastal Yunca tribes.

370. Collasuyo was the quarter in the Lake Titicaca region; Canchi and Pacaje were provinces in the same area.

371. "Poma Chaua" is one of the ancestral names Guaman Poma presents to readers as representing his family.

372. MS p. 336 reads: "*que auia en toda la provincia en los collas de chuño.*" The word *collas* appears to be an error and was interpreted as *collcas* [storehouses].

373. MS p. 337 reads: "*en los condesuyos en coropona en los andesuyos y chinchaysuyos—en apcara challco sora y en guanacopampa—carachapampa en todo ualle de xauxa y todo guanaco.*" This list was shortened and reordered from north to south. Coropuna is a sacred peak; "guanacopampa" was interpreted as Huanuco Pampa, repeated as "guanoco." Many storehouses in Peru have been excavated, especially in Huanuco Pampa and Jauja.

374. Most of the chronicles explain that Inca agricultural taxation made a division of fields into three parts: one for the Inca, another for the priests and priestesses, and the other for the community. The farmers had to care for all of the fields as a part of their labor tax, or *mita.*

375. MS p. 338 reads: "*aprouaua el ynga todas las cosas asi de los hombres de la fuerza como de las mujeres de su animo.*" I translated the last phrase literally since it is not clear exactly what Guaman Poma had in mind.

376. MS p. 338 reads: "*aunque chicos y los de los collas grandotes para llanos.*" This phrase was omitted because it repeats what was just stated and the last two words make no sense.

377. Here Guaman Poma overgeneralizes the strengths and weaknesses of the people from each quarter of the empire.

378. MS p. 339 reads: "*desde el cuzco uenia a dormil a bilcas guaman—de bilcas guaman—a taya caxa guaman de taya caxa—a anchi cocha guaman—llegaua a la ciudad de los reyes del lima.*" "Bilcas" refers to Vilcas, the capital of the province of the same name, west of Cuzco; "Tayacaja," a place farther on in the same direction; and "Anchicocha," a town between Tayacaja and Lima.

379. Sacsahuaman is a temple fortress on the hill just north of Cuzco. Suchona

(or Suchuna), also named Rodadero Hill, is on the north side of Sacsahuman and has many carved stones. Calispuquio was an Inca country retreat north of Sacsahuman. Chingana is a large stone with a carved stairway located at Chinchero, a town a few miles north of Cuzco. Puca Marca is a section of Cuzco just north of the Coricancha, Temple of the Sun. See Hemming, *Monuments of the Incas.*

380. The city of Cuzco was divided into two parts: Hanan, upper, considered of higher standing, and Hurin, lower Cuzco. The other names are of Inca tribes in the Cuzco region. This list was abbreviated to include the names of the most well-known tribes. Guaman Poma concludes the list with another disparaging remark about people who were Incas by privilege, not blood.

381. People with unusual defects were considered *huacas,* or minor deities.

382. There were no Easter celebrations during Inca times. Here Guaman Poma means a big celebration like Easter.

383. MS p. 339 reads: "*unos carneros grandisimos de la plasa se los llevauan unos cayya con el hato otros le derriuaua los carneros.*" *Carneros* refers to llamas; the reference to *la plasa* was omitted as repetitous; the verb *derribar* was interpreted to mean "to throw off."

384. See illustration on MS p. 333.

385. In the Inca Empire all taxes were paid in labor rather than tribute per se. Common farmers paid a labor tax by working farmland, and some wild plants were also gathered for food. Guaman Poma seems to contradict himself by saying these plants were used to pay tribute in precolonial times. However, as he points out, such offerings would have been insignificant compared to the tribute required by the Spanish colonial regime.

386. Here again Guaman Poma makes his grandfather, Guaman Chaua, the highest official of the Inca. The title of "viceroy" was a colonial one, not pre-Hispanic. This scene was created to enhance Guaman Poma's chances of getting the attention of the king of Spain.

387. See n. 377.

388. The colonial Spanish term "viceroy" refers to the representative of the king of Spain in the New World. Here again Guaman Poma repeats his contention that his grandfather was the second highest official in the Inca government.

389. In the Inca Empire the use of litters was restricted to the highest nobility. See Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Conquest," p. 239; see also the illustrations on MS pp. 333 and 336.

390. *Mitayo* (or *mitayu*) refers to a married man who had to pay a labor tax through periodic military service, public works, and other official jobs for the Inca.

391. "New Kingdom of Granada" was the colonial name for modern Ecuador and Colombia; "South Sea," the Pacific Ocean; "North Sea," the Atlantic Ocean. This is an exaggeration because the Inca Empire reached from central Chile to modern Ecuador, not Colombia or the Amazon.

392. Cajatambo was a province and town just south of Huanuco.

393. The *mascapaycha* (royal fringe) was attached to the Inca's headband in the middle of his forehead. Noblemen of Inca lineage were allowed to wear headbands and fringe, but only of a different color than that of the Inca ruler.

394. The Quilliscachi and Anta were tribes just north of Cuzco. The lineage of Huanuco (*guanoco* in the manuscript) was in the north-central highlands, where Guaman Poma's family probably originated.

395. Guaman Poma was especially resentful of the Indians of Chachapoya because he lost a claim for land in the Valley of Chupas, just south of Huamanga (Ayacucho), to families from that province in a lawsuit of the 1590s.

396. MS p. 347 reads: "*quando les enbiaua aprender alos cuerpos de los principales menores . . . lajusticia y jues resep tor desterreyno.*" The expressions "*alos cuerpos*" and

"*resep tor*" were omitted because no reasonable translation could be found.

397. The Inca noblemen wore large earplugs about two inches in diameter. At about fourteen years of age the boys had their ears pierced, and it was considered bad luck to have the earlobe torn.

398. This list was reordered to put the first four, Anta, Mayo, Caviña and Quehuar, all in the Cuzco region, together. Acos was a section of the province of Angara, northwest of Cuzco, while Huarco was on the coast just south of Pachacama.

399. Guaman Poma here asserts that the Incas knew of the Christian God to enhance the importance of those he calls his ancestors and to impress the king of Spain. He points out that the Inca officials did not steal or have cloth made, which is what many colonial officials did.

400. Notice that this administrator has a *quipo* in each hand. See n. 399 below.

401. Apparently making long lists like this comes from the use of the *quipo*. The keeper of the *quipo* knew that each number represented the amount of men, women, llamas, garments, blankets, maize, and so on available at a certain place. See Murra, "Las etnocategorías de un khipu estatal," in *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino,* pp. 243–254. The use of the *quipo* in Andean civilization may explain the predominate style of long lists used by Guaman Poma in his book.

402. The Quechua words *churo* and *mullo* both mean "seashell."

403. An ambiguous sentence, "*q~ llaman tunci . . . y el dicho hatun chasq~ de cosas pesadas de a una jornada que a estos les llaman hatun chasque,*" was not translated.

404. In this context "Cona Raqui" refers to men from Hanan, upper Cuzco, and "Una Caucho" to those from Hurin, lower Cuzco, who were in charge of fixing the boundary markers.

405. These names appear only on this page, and their locations could not be identified.

406. The province of Chocllococha is west of Cuzco. The other places could not be identified.

407. The MS reads: "*guaycucho quecamachay—pomaranra.*" The locations of these places could not be identified.

408. This fourth road runs west from Cuzco through the towns of Andahuaylas and Vilcas, then heads north through Huamanga (modern Ayacucho) and on to Jauja.

409. Guaman Poma's vision of the Inca road system reflects the remnants of it that he knew about in early colonial times. He omits the important roads going south to Chile and Argentina. His description of the first road matches the coastal route, and his description of the fourth road from Cuzco west to Vilcas and north to Jauja is also accurate. The fifth and sixth roads (listed in error as the sixth and seventh in the manuscript) seem to be a continuation of the third road, which runs past Quito to the northern border of modern Ecuador. The second and third roads seem to be highland-coastal lateral routes, of which there were several. See Hyslop, *The Inca Road System,* especially p. 266.

410. The Castilian yard, or *vara,* was about thirty-four inches, which makes the roads about eleven feet wide. Guaman Poma oversimplifies the dimensions of Inca roads, which varied according to the terrain. Coast roads running through the sandy desert were twelve to fifteen feet wide. Highland and coast roads usually had walls where they crossed agricultural fields. The highland roads were narrower and varied greatly because of the broken country.

411. The province of Huambo was in the highlands of northern Peru.

412. The reference here is to the Incas' famous suspension bridges. The list has been abbreviated and reordered north to south. MS p. 359 reads: "*de bombon—xauxa*

—angoyaco—de sangaro y de uinaca de guanbo la grande de amancay aporima—uacachaca—sora—apcara y de bizcas y de chuschi bilcacancho . . . challuanca pampamarca . . . cangallo.”

413. MS p. 359 mentions two places not identified for small bridges, *cahlluanca pampamarca,* and one for *balsas, cangallo.* “Collao” refers to the Lake Titicaca region, and Huancayo is located in the highlands east of Lima. “Apurimac” is the name of a region but here refers to the river west of Cuzco.

414. The MS reads: “*la puente de ango yaco.*” This place has not been located.

415. MS p. 359 reads: “*la puente de amancay—lo mando hazer agora.*” Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza the younger served as viceroy of Peru from 1589 to 1596. When Guaman Poma says “*agora*” (now), he means the recent past, as in fourteen or fifteen years ago, compared to the elder Hurtado de Mendoza, who was viceroy from 1556 to 1561.

416. Guaman Poma refers to the dangers involved in building the Inca suspension bridges by stretching cables across wide rivers with high banks. The cables were made of straw, and these bridges had to be rebuilt every year.

417. Guaman Poma continues the story he made up about his grandfather, Guaman Chaua.

418. See n. 398.

419. MS p. 370 reads: “*con la lana del ciervo—taruga—enparexaua con la lana a los ynos—y enparexuaua con una comida llamado quinua.*” This passage was very difficult to understand. In addition, the Andean deer (*taruca*) was taken for meat, not wool.

420. See the illustration on MS p. 362, lower left. This board was a type of abacus used for calculation with the decimal system of the Inca, as shown by the following numbers.

421. The Inca calendar had names for twelve lunar months, but no names for days of the week. The use of *domingo* (Sunday) here in the original manuscript refers to a feast day.

422. No other source gives multiples of *huno* (ten thousand) for Inca times.

423. These were tribes in the Cuzco area.

424. Once again Guaman Poma criticizes this tribe of Incas “by privilege” from the Cuzco area.

425. Here again Guaman Poma exaggerates the size of the Inca Empire, which extended from the center of modern Chile to the northern border of modern Ecuador. It did not include Paraguay, New Granada, or modern Colombia, much less Panama and Santo Domingo.

426. Most Inca towns were divided into two subdividions: *hanan,* upper, and *hurin,* lower, but Guaman Poma seems to be the only author to apply this to the entire kingdom.

427. Based on his list of Inca rulers, Guaman Poma indicates that one Inca held supreme power. Most chronicles say each of the four quarters was represented by one lord, and the four made up the royal council.

428. MS p. 367 reads: “*y en mudando uno destos mudaba a sus hijos o ermanos.*” Here *mudar* seems to have two different meanings, the first being “to leave” and the second, “to take another’s place.”

429. This phrase is from the Aymara language of the Lucana province where Guaman Poma lived.

430. Here again Guaman Poma exaggerates his importance. Lucana was a province between Cuzco and the west coast. Guaman Poma indicates that he was living in this province when he finished his introductory letter to the king (MS p. 10).

431. Murra and Adorna (MS p. 369, n. 1) explain that this anecdote comes from

the *Memorial de la vida cristiana* by Fray Luis de Granada [1566], tratado II, cap. 3. Fray Luis compares the suffering of a pagan who lost his metal idol with the Christian who sins and loses the true God. Guaman Poma points out that the Spaniards destroyed the Indian’s pagan idols, but that the Spaniards value their idol, wealth, more than the Christian God.

GLOSSARY

This glossary is confined to Quechua because one of Guaman Poma's most important contributions to an understanding of Inca culture is his masterful command of his native language.

The numbers following the entries below refer to pages in the original manuscript. As previously noted, in Guaman Poma's original manuscript, page 155 is followed by page 154. All glossary references are to the corrected page numbers, which appear in parentheses in text.

Frequently used words, such as "ñusta," princess, are translated only on the first use in text, and I have not included page numbers for all occurrences.

The Quechua language uses several suffixes. For instance, "*-cona*" is added to nouns to form the plural; e.g., "palla," noble woman, becomes "pallacona," noble women. Guaman Poma, however, often simply added an "s" to indicate the plural, and I have followed his usage where the context indicates a plural but he used the singular. Nouns are listed in the glossary in the singular.

Words have been defined according to their context and meaning in the original manuscript. Guaman Poma used the Spanish alphabet of the 1600s to spell his many Quechua expressions. For the most part I have retained his spellings, but I have attempted to spell words consistently and to use modern spellings of words found in English dictionaries and reference works, such as "Inca" instead of "ynga" or "inga." Over the centuries phonetic alphabets have been perfected to reflect Quechua pronunciation more accurately. For instance, the suffix spelled "-cona" by Guaman Poma is spelled "-kuna" in modern transcription. I have made no attempt to make a phonetic transcription of Quechua words in the Guaman Poma text. The sounds of Quechua have changed since the 1600s, and Guaman Poma's exact pronunciation is unknown.

Preparation of this glossary was facilitated by use of the one in Murra and Adorno's 1980 edition of Guaman Poma's chronicle and by suggestions from the eminent Peruvian philologist Rodolfo Cerrión-Palomino.

Aca Chicha, maize liquor. The modern spelling is "aqha," to distinguish it from "aka," manure. *See also* "asua." The word "chicha" is probably from an Indian language of Panama.
  *__Yamur aca, yamur asua__ A special chicha, 245, 302, 334

Acamama Said to be the former name of the city of Cuzco, 31, 86

Acapana Whirlwind; also used as a man's name, 65, 146
  *__Acapana.__ Related to the wind, as in a sickness, 255

Achira An ornamental plant (*Canna edulis*) whose roots are edible, 69

Acichicoc Person who makes others laugh, 332

Aclla Chosen woman, selected at about eight or nine, to be cloistered in temples and trained to serve the *huacas* (idols) and reigning Incas, 109, 194, 220, 301, 302, 314, 338
  *__Aclla catiquin, aclla chaupi catiquin__ Chosen woman of secondary idols, 301
  *__Acllap chacran__ Chosen women's field, 302
  *__Aclla huasi__ House of the chosen women, 259, 302

  ***Aclla pampa ciruac** Common virgins, 301
  ***Chaupi aclla** Secondary chosen woman, 194.
  ***Intip moyan uayrur aclla** The sun's pastures for chosen women, 204
  ***Pampa aclla** Lesser chosen woman, peasant priestess, 194, 301
  ***Uayror aclla** Principal chosen woman, 194, 288, 301
  ***Uiñachicoc aclla** Young chosen woman, still growing, 302
Acsu Woman's dress, 117, 123, 125, 131, 135, 139, 141, 143
Acuyraqui Misfortune, 283, 284
Ahuaqui A weave, 89
Alco Dog, 269
  ***Alco micoc** Dog-eater, 269, 299
Allicac Appointed official, 65, 66, 184, 330, 332, 343, 353, 367
Allpamanta Rurac Earth's creator, 56
Amaro Serpent; also used as a man's name, 50, 65, 80
Amauta Official, 193
Amauta runa Wise man, 72
Anacu Woman's dress, central and north-central Quechua, 77, 259. *See also* "acsu."
Anacucuy Girl's first dress festival, 259
Anas pacra Seems to mean a dark color, 99, 101, 105, 107, 111, 113, 116
Anca Eagle or hawk; also used as a man's name, 65
Anta Copper, 60
Anta caca arauay Bare stone gallows, 310
Antara Small panpipe, 64, 164, 166, 336
Anti Indians of the Antisuyo quarter; the eastern Andes, 85, 93
  ***Anti runa micoc** Antisuyo man-eaters, 325
Añu A tuber (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*), 69
Apa Blanket, 201, 247, 351
Apachita Roadside shrine of stacked stones placed as offerings near hilltops; both the hilltops and shrines were considered deities, 264, 265, 382
Apancora Crab, 69
Apicho Sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), 69
Apo Lord, 31, 65, 151, 155, 332, 337, 343, 351, 363, 367
Apuscachac Arrogant, 305
Apusqui Ancestor, 107
Aquilla Silver tumbler, 60
Arauay Gallows, 310, 311, 313, 314
Araui Narrative or festive song, 152, 311, 317, 318, 320, 321, 323, 325, 327
Ari manca New, unused pot, 276, 280
Asichicuc Comedian, 332
Asipa Tuber (*Pachyrhizus ahipa*), 69
Asnac ucho A type of chile pepper, 69
Astaya Misfortune, 283
Asua *Chicha,* liquor; usage of central Peru, 302, 303. *See also* "aca."
Atipaya Evil omen, 283
Atoc Fox, 50, 65, 185, 283
Atocpa corin Pyrite, 60
Aua camayoc Weaver, 193. *See also* "cumbi camayoc."
  ***Auacuc huarmi** Female weaver, 217
  ***Auaqui** Woven material, 89
Aualla Born under an evil omen, 278. *See also* "yayuma uisama aualla."
Auancari Big basket of coca, 339
Auas A bird, 207
Auasca Coarse cloth, 58, 131, 193, 218, 230, 267

Auca Soldier, enemy or traitor, 305
  *__Auca camayoc__ Warrior, 193, 196, 197, 199, 226, 338, 355
  *__Auca runa__ Warrior, 78
  *__Aucauan tincoc__ Soldier, 341
Aui Plebeian woman, 183, 255
Auqui Noble, prince, 6, 87, 99, 109, 116–118, 137, 153, 183, 265, 290, 332, 355
Aya Deceased person, dead body, 259, 290, 291, 293; also means spirit, as in "aya condor," 339
  *__Aya milla saynata__ Mask representing a dead person, 328
  *__Ayap llactan__ Town of the dead, 298
  *__Ayapacha oncoy__ Sickness caused by contact with a dead body, 255
Ayllo Extended family, community, or lineage thought to have a common ancestor, 39, 61, 67, 194, 249, 292, 317, 323, 329, 336, 355
Aymaran Refers to a song in this language, 253, 317, 329
Ayri uallcanca Hatchet, 64
Caca Bare stone, 310, 311
Cachasca, cachani To send, 187
Cacha uayna Errand boy, 205
Cachiua Choral song, 67, 317, 319
Cachuma Sweet pepper, 69
Cachun Melon pear, 69
Cacimanta nacacuc Perjurer, 315
Cacya A split; to split, 224
Callampa Mushroom, 69
Camachicoc An official, 6, 66, 143, 216, 315, 330, 343, 355
  *__Churimpi camachicoc__ Minor official, 315
  *__Pichca camachicoc__ Official over five taxpayers, 65, 332
  *__Chunca camachicoc__ Leader of or official over ten taxpayers, 65, 191, 315, 332
  *__Pisca chunca camachicoc__ Leader of or official over fifty taxpayers, 65, 191, 315
  *__Pachaca camachicoc__ Leader of or official over one hundred taxpayers, 65, 191, 315, 332
  *__Pisca pachaca curaca__ Leader of or official over five hundred taxpayers, 65, 191, 315
  *__Incap camachinan uatay camayoc__ The Inca's official who makes arrests, 186
  *__Tahuantinsuyo camachicoc__ Imperial official, 111, 366
  *__Tahuantinsuyo camachiconchic__ Highest imperial official, 186
Camachiconchic Counselor, 184
Camasca, camasca amauta runa Wise Indian healer, sorcerer-priest, 72, 185, 280, 332
Camayoc Official, chief, 111, 186, 193. *See also* "auca camayoc."
Cancaua An herb, 69, 247, 351
Cancha Patio, 341
Canipo Metal disk used as a chest or head ornament by soldiers, 60
Cantoc Fountain of water, 336
Cañaua A grain mash used to make a certain chicha, 273
Capac Powerful, 5, 84, 175, 177–180, 245, 261
Capac apo Powerful lord, 5, 6, 11, 47, 58, 66, 78, 84, 116, 170, 192, 290, 336, 341–345, 355, 367
  *__Capac apo Inca__ Powerful lord Inca, 82, 117, 118, 143, 183, 139
  *__Capac apo coya__ Powerful queen, 118
  *__Capac ñan tocricoc__ Royal road inspector, 356
  *__Capac ñan uamanin__ Royal road builder, 357

Capacocha Royal sacrifice, 230, 249, 264, 267
Carachi Mange, 251
Casana Tunic made of fine wool, 99
Cato Market, 341
Caua Song and dance, 323
Cauaric Protector, 365
Caui Freeze-dried tubers, oca preserves 69, 193, 347
Caya Oca root preserves, 69, 193, 338
Cayaycuuan "They call me," from the verb "cayany," "to call"; central and north-central Quechua, 284
Caylla Viracocha The deity Viracocha, 51
Cayua A type of cucumber (*Cyclanthera pedata*), 69
Chaca Bridge, 358
Chacnay camayoc Torturer, 346, 347
Chacnay thocllauan—chipanay uillaconanpac Torture with a cord and a gag to get a confession, 307
Chacra Cultivated field, 54, 111, 141, 194, 228, 251, 316, 338–341, 355
  ***Acllap chacra** Chosen women's field, 302
  ***Inca chacra** Inca's field, 338
  ***Uaccha runap chacran** Orphans' field, 338
  ***Yupa chacra** A field to be measured, 338
Chalua Fish, 69, 247
  ***Chalua puti** Fish stew, 351
Chamillco A small cooking pot, 117, 227
Champi Battle ax, 64, 89, 107, 111, 113, 353
Chaquin Feet, 340
Charqui Jerky, 209, 247, 338
Chasca chuqui A spear, 64, 209
Chasca Cuyllor Venus, 187, 265, 267, 301
Chasque Messenger, runner, 57, 72, 194, 273, 352 (illustration), 353, 357, 372
  ***Churo chasque—churo mullo chasque** Shell trumpet messenger, 111, 353
  ***Hatun chasque** Principal messenger, 111, 352, 353
Chauay Storage place, 247
Chaupi Intermediate, 56
Chaupi churin Middle son, 56
Chaura A bird, 247
Chayapoma uiha Arrival, 161
Chayna Finch, 209, 338
Chichi Small fish, 69, 334, 340
Chicollo A bird, 283, 284
Chicoro A sardine-like fish, 351
Chicta cinca Split nose, 203, 224, 339
Chillca Bitter leaves made into a paste, 116. *See also* "llipta."
China Indian maid, 278
Chipana huayta Ornament, 60
Chiuaco A species of thrush, 284
Chiuillo A black bird, 276, 288, 336
Choca Stone-throwing game, 245
Choccllo copa A whip of agave fiber, 311
Chochoca Maize cooked and dried in the sun, 193
Chonta Hard palm wood used for spear shafts, 84, 287. Also spelled "chunta."
Choqui illa Lightning, 265, 267, 301. *See also* "yllapa."
Choqui Illa Vilca Lightning deity, 79

Chucan Grass, 109

Chuchocho Tuber stew, 351

Chuco Cap for head, worn by the Aymara, 332

Chumpi Sash, 117, 123, 131, 141, 224, 230, 251, 299, 301

Chunca camachicoc Leader of or official over ten taxpayers, 65. *See also* "camachicoc."

Chuncanmi The tenth day, 292

Chuño Freeze-dried potatoes, 69, 78, 193, 338

Chupa churo Strip of fabric, 230. These strips were made into headbands with the appearance of bangs; see Illustration 85, MS p. 227.

Churi Father's son

***Churin runa cuya payac** Kind son, 55

Churo Shell trumpet, 353

***Churo chasque** Shell trumpet messenger, 111, 352 (illustration)

Churo mullo Spondylus seashell, 352, 353. *See also* "chasque."

Chusic Barn owl, 283, 284

Chuspa Small pouch carried by men, 347

***Chuspa ystalla** Pouch carried by women, 301

***Chuspa uatu** Cords to hang a pouch, 301

Ciclla yuyo An herb with blue flowers, 69, 125, 230, 287. Also spelled "siclla."

Cirac Tailor, 193

Circac quichicauan Herbalist, 194

Ciyaya Musk, 334

Coca *Erythroxylon coca,* a plant similar to a rose bush, 116, 143, 156, 269, 271, 273, 275, 280, 290, 334, 339. The leaves contain a narcotic. The Andean Indians make a quid of leaves and lime which they hold in their cheek, swallowing only the juice.

Coca mama Coca ceremony, 271

Cocaui Food, 298

Cocha Lake or ocean, 275

Cocho Pleasantry, 332

Cochochic Comic, 193

Cocho rimac Jester, one who speaks pleasantries, 332

Cocqui Food ration, 298

Collayoc Herbalist; also a sorcerer who uses poison, 313

Collca Storehouse, 230, 337, 338

***Collca camayoc** Storehouse official, 193

Collina Song, 317

Collota Stone for grinding grain, possibly the base, 64. *See also* "maray" and "tonay."

-cona Suffix added to nouns to indicate plural or a member of a class.

Conca cuchuna Long-handled battle ax, 64, 67, 86 (*illustration*), 87, 89, 99, 103, 105.

Concha Mushrooms, 69

Conde uisa Priest-sorcerer from the province of Condesuyo, 109, 185, 243, 264, 265, 280, 282. *See also* "uisa" and "huaylla uisa."

Cori Gold; also used as a man's name, 60, 65, 258, 278, 341

Cori Caccha Yllapa Weather god, 267. *See also* "yllapa."

Cori quinquitica A bird, 83 (*illustration*), 84. Also spelled "quiquixana."

Coro tasque Short-haired girl, 227, 228

Coya Queen, 6, 14, 20, 89, 97, 101, 120–144, 207, 261, 290, 314, 333–334

***Coya Rami** Queen's festival, 79

Cuchucho A tuber, 247

Cucuri A dove, 336

Cui Cavy (*Cavia procellus*), guinea pig, 69, 240, 253. Probably refers to the domestic species eaten as a delicacy and also used in divination and healing.

Cullona Barrel, 194, 247

Cullque Silver; also used as a man's name, 60, 65, 341

Cumbi Fine cloth, 58, 131, 193, 218, 230, 267, 338

***Cumbi camayoc** Weaver of fine cloth, 193

Cumo Hunchback, 203, 223, 331, 339

Cumpana Type of cloth, 230, 316

Cunacusca Distribution, 129

Cunanacus Mutual advice, 67

Curaca Chief, ranked according to the number of taxpayers he was in charge of, 6, 66, 184, 216, 226, 292, 315, 327, 338, 351–353, 355, 367

***Huno curaca** Chief of ten thousand taxpayers, 191, 315

***Pisca pachaca curaca** Chief of five hundred taxpayers, 65

***Uaranca curaca** Chief of one thousand taxpayers, 65, 191, 307, 315, 343

Curaca catic Chief's servant, 199

Curaca huarmi Chief's wife, 9

Curaca huarmita pusac Chief's wife's companion, 199

Cuscoc Painter, 193

Cusma A tunic, usage of central Peru, 60

***Cusmallicuy** Boy's first tunic festival, 259

Cusuro An aquatic plant, 69, 351

Cuychi Precious stone, 135, 334; also means rainbow, 265

Cuyro White llama, 273, 334

Cuyus manco Possibly a guard house, 331 (*illustration*)

Guaman Hawk; also used as a man's name, 65. Usually spelled "uaman" or "huaman."

Hampi Medicine; curer, 194

Hampi camayoc Surgeon/sorcerer, 194. From "hampi," medicine. The Incas' treatment of illness also involved sorcery, and some sorcerers used poisons.

Hampiyoc Sorcerer-doctor ("hampi" [medicine] + "-yoc," [possessor of certain skills]), 276, 305, 312, 313. *See also* "collayoc."

Hanca Lame, 203, 224

Hapinuno Goblin, 50

Haplla Violent, 308, 315

Haraui Love song, 67, 317–321, 325, 327

Hatun Principal, major.

***Hatun chasque** Principal messenger/runner, 111

***Hatun huchayoc** Major delinquent, 305

***Hatun taqui** Major song and dance, 323

Haua Inca Distant relative of the Inca, 245

Haya Peppery, 332

Hayca Amount, 187

Haylli Farmer's chant, 67, 253, 317, 325, 329

Hiuaya Punishment in which a heavy stone is dropped from three feet onto a man's back as punishment, 190, 315

Huaca Any object, place, or person worshiped as a deity, including many shrines, temples, idols, stones, springs, and mountain peaks, 50, 67, 73, 81, 101, 119, 152, 183, 207, 245, 257, 267–275, 280, 301, 341, 349, 365. *See also* "apachita."

***Huacacaray** Make an offering to a deity, 264

***Huaca macasca** Huaca-caused sickness, 282

***Huaca mucha** Idol worshiper, idolater, 119

***Huaca mullo** Sacred seashell, 340

***Huaca sinca** Baby born with split nose, 278. *See also* “chitca sinca.”

***Huaca vilca** Local divinity (both “huaca” and “vilca” mean “deity”), 82, 187, 190, 226, 239, 241, 243, 263, 265, 301, 338

Huacachicu Lament, crying in a ritual, 184

Huaylla uisa A priest-sorcerer from the Huaylla tribe near the valley of Cuzco, 109, 185, 243, 250, 264, 265, 279, 280, 282. *See also* “uisa” and “Conde uisa.”

Huara Loincloth, a symbol of manhood, 241

***Huaray huara** To put on the loincloth, 241.

***Huarachico** Maturity rite for boys at about age fourteen which included putting on the first loincloth, 184, 241, 259, 285, 302

Huarmi Woman, 48

***Allicac huarmi** Official’s wife, 143, 144

***Aucuc huarmi** Weaver woman, 217

***Auca camayocpa huarmi** Warrior’s wife, 218

***Capac huarmi** Powerful woman, great lady, 6, 143, 144, 176, 255, 330

***Curaca huarmi** Chief’s wife, 9, 143, 144, 330

***Huari huarmi** Woman of the Huari period, 53

***Huari Viracocha huarmi** Woman of the Huari Viracocha period, 48

***Huarmi auca** Woman warrior, 85

***Mallco huarmi** Woman of authority, 143

***Purun huarmi** Virgin, 218, 302; also refers to a woman of the Purun period, 57

***Uaccha huarmi** Poor woman, 143, 144

Huaya quepa Conch trumpet, 336. *See also* “putoto.”

Hucha Error, misdeed, 187

Hucha quipoc Crime official, 111

***Hatun huchayoc** Major delinquent, 305

***Huchayoc auqui** Delinquent noble, 306

Huno Ten thousand. This was the highest number that could be registered on a quipo string; it also had the general meaning of a very large amount, or millions.

***Huno apo** Chief of ten thousand Indians, 65

Iñaca Dice game, 245

Inca Ruler, emperor, a member of the royal ayllos, 79–89, 97–119, 146–166, 333–338, 359, 361, 367. A distinction was made between the royal families, Incas by blood—including the rulers, Capac Apo Inca, king—and Incas by privilege: Quechua-speaking tribes, Chillque, Huaroc, Mayo, Quilliscache, Equeco, and others, considered plebeian, 118, 183.

Inca pacha Inca times, 87

Incap Possessive meaning “belonging to the Inca.”

***Incap chaquin** Literally “Inca’s feet,” it was the name for litter bearers, 340

***Incap rantin** Inca’s replacement, 342, 343

***Incap simin oyaric** Offical who hears an Inca’s orders, 132, 186

***Incap simin quipococ** The Inca’s quipo interpreter, 361

Inti Sun, a major Inca deity, 261, 266

***Inti Raymi** Sun festival, 79, 249

***Intip Churin** The Sun’s child, 80

***Intip Churin Quillap Uauan** The Sun and Moon’s child, 81

***Intip llaman** The Sun’s llamas, 288

Larca Irrigation ditch, 54

Layca Warlock, wizard, sorcerer, 109, 185, 243, 279, 280

Lirpo Mirror, 117

Llachoc Edible aquatic plant, 69, 230, 340

Llacllac quirocamayoc Carpenter, 193
Llacllana ayre Adz, 67
Llactapi quipococ camachicoc Town quipo official, 187
Llacum A tuber, 69
Llama Domestic pack animal, 284, 341
  ***Llama michic** Llama herder, 247, 317, 323, 332, 351
  ***Llamaya** Herder’s song, 317
  ***Puca llama** Reddish llama, 245, 320, 321
Llamallama—hayachuco Court buffoon, 332
Llapisca Mashed potatoes mixed with blood, 292
Llaquicuy Sadness, 286
Llauto Headband worn by men of Inca lineage, 85, 87, 89, 97, 103, 109, 230
Llicacona Net, snare, 332
Lliclla Woman’s mantle, 117, 123, 125, 127, 131, 133, 137, 139, 141, 143
Llimpec Varnisher, 193
Llimpi Vermilion pigment used as a varnish, 99, 101
Llipta Sticks of lime made from the ashes of quinoa stalks and water, and taken with coca, 116, 193, 249
Llucac huarmi uaua Baby girl that crawls, 233, 234
Llulla Liar, 118, 186, 281
Llullo uamra/llucac uamra Baby boy that crawls, 212, 213
Llullucha Watercress, an aquatic plant, 69, 230, 247, 340, 351. *See also* “ocororo,” “murcota,” and “cusuro.”
Llullu uamra Baby boy, 212
Llullu uaua Baby girl, 236
Luccric Stone cutter, 332, 338. *See also* “pirca chicoc” and “rumi chicoc.”
  ***Luccric chicoc** Quarryman, 226
Lucri A type of field, 188, 307, 332, 338, 355
Lucuma A fruit (*Lucuma obovata*), 69
Luycho Deer, 50, 69, 185, 188. This seems to be from central Quechua. *See also* “taruca.”
Ma “Oh well,” 368
Maca A root (*Lapidium mayenii*), 71
Macay Medicinal plant, 71
Machacuay Snake; also used as a man’s name, 65
Machasca A drunkard, 315
Macho Old man.
  ***Puric macho** Walking old man, over fifty, 198 (*illustration*), 199
  ***Rocto macho** Deaf old man, 200 (*illustration*), 201
Macnu A vegetable, 193, 338
Macta Young boy, 206, 207
Mama Mother, lady, 68, 81, 139, 142, 194, 218, 220, 232, 275
Mama Cocha Mother Sea, South Sea (Pacific Ocean), 275
Mamacona The plural of “mama,” also used to refer to the cloistered women in the service of the gods who trained the newly chosen girls, “acllacona,” 139, 300, 302
Manca Cooking pot, 193
  ***Manca llutac** Pot maker, 193
Mantor A red pigment used as body paint by forest tribes, 178
Mapa colla Dirty person from the Collasuyo quarter, 78, 180
Maqui Hand.
Maquin paquisca One handed, hand/arm broken, 203
Maray Grinding stone consisting of a flat base and a half-moon-shaped rocker stone,

64. *See also* “collota,” which may refer to the base stone, and “tonay,” the rocker.

Marco A plant, 193

Masa Brother-in-law, an in-law in general, 303

Mascapaycha Royal fringe attached to the Inca’s headband in the middle of his forehead, 83, 84, 87, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 116, 117, 186, 345

Masua Tuber (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*), 69, 193

Mate Drinking gourd, 191, 193, 336

Mauca A kind of squash, 69. Attributed to the Yunca Indians of the coastal lowlands.

Mayo River.
    ***Uatanay mayo** Raging river, 314

Mayto Bundle, 247

Meca Wooden plate, 60

Michic Herder of llamas, 193

Michoc Judge, 249, 273, 309, 338, 348, 349

Micuy rurac Female cook, 193

Millma rinri An insulting phrase literally meaning “wool ears,” 118, 332, 339

Minca Reciprocal labor, 222, 253

Misquillicoy Sweet plant, tasty food, 247, 351

Mita Labor service performed by mitayos, taxpayers, who worked by turns that lasted up to several months as soldiers, laborers for public works, servants for nobles, and other official jobs, 220

Mitayo A man belonging to the labor pool, 343, 382

Mitimae Settler or newcomer brought into a recently conquered province to propagate Inca culture. An equal number of newly conquered people were sent to take their place, 172, 191, 197, 340. Hispanicized by adding the epenthetic vowel to the Quechua word “mitmay.”

Mocha Reverence, 67

Moraya Aymara word for white chuño, 180, 273. *See also* “muray,” which is the Quechua form.

Morcoto An herb, 230, 340

Mote Cooked maize, 205

Moya Orchard-garden, 288, 332, 338, 341

Muchay To worship, venerate, 87, 119, 239, 267, 273, 285

Muchoca A term for a grinding stone, 64. *See also* “maray.”

Mullo Spondylus seashell, 240, 249, 253, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275; also refers to a necklace made of shell beads, 334, 352

Muray White freeze-dried potatoes, 17, 273, 338. *See also* “chuño.”

Murcota An aquatic plant, 340. *See also* “llullucha” and “ocoroco.”

Nina Fire.
    ***Uru nina** Fire wasp, 284

Nucaya A celebration, 330, 336

Numbers in Quechua, 363
    *Suc, 1; yscay, 2; quinza, 3; taua, 4; pichica, 5; zocta, 6; canchis, 7; pozac, 8; yscon, 9; chunca, 10; yscay chunca, 20; quinza chunca, 30; taua chunca, 40; pichca chunca, 50; zocta chunca, 60; cachis chunca, 70; pozac chunca, 80; yscon chunca, 90; pachaca, 100; uaranca, 1,000; chunca uaranca, huno, 10,000

Ñaccha Comb, 117

Ñan Road.
    ***Capac ñan** Royal road, 356

***Capac ñan uaminin** Royal road official, 357
Ñaña A woman's sister, 68
Ñaupa pacha Ancient times, long ago, 285, 294
Ñausa Blind person, 203, 224
Ñoca ynca casac nec "I will be the Inca," 345
Ñuñuma Wild duck, 69
Ñuñunya A bitter fruit crushed to make facial paint, 192, 287
Ñusta Princess, 6, 9, 84, 117, 135, 139, 143, 183, 255, 330, 351
Oca A tuber (*Oxalis crenata*) eaten raw and cooked, 69, 78, 185, 193
Ocororo Grass; an aquatic plant, 69, 340. *See also* "llullucha" and "murcota."
Ojota Sandal, 117, 230, 294, 299, 316, 347, 351
Oncoc Sick person, 203. Also spelled "uncoc."
***Oncoc cumo** Hunchbacked person, 223
***Oncoc runa** Sick man, 202
***Uinay oncoc** Chronically sick, 203, 224
Oncoy Sickness, often thought to be caused by sorcery/magic related to certain objects or conditions (listed below). Also spelled "uncoy."
***Acapana oncoy** Illness caused by a reddish sky, 255
***Ayapacha oncoy** Illness caused by contact with a dead body, 255
***Chirapa oncoy** Illness caused by rain with sun, 255, 282
***Pacha maca oncoy** Illness caused by a magical earth hug, 255
***Pacha macasca oncoy** Illness caused by an earth punch, 282
***Papa oncoy** Illness caused by a potato, 282
***Puquio oncoy** Illness caused by a fountain, 255, 282
***Puquio tapyascan oncoy** Illness caused by a fountain curse, 282
***Sara oncoy** Illness caused by maize, 255, 282
***Taqui oncoy** Illness caused by a dance, 255, 282
Onquena Aquatic plant, 69
Opa Mute person, 203, 224
Oque Ash-gray color, 139
Orejon Inca, 31; also means "noble," 85. This Spanish term means "big ears," referring to the earplugs used by Incas.
Otoronco Jaguar; also used as a man's name, 50, 65, 83, 84, 103, 155, 156, 270, 271
Pacarasca runa A sellout, one who is bribed, 188
Pacarico Place of origin, 84. Also refers to an all-night ritual, 184, 278, 285, 298, 299
Pacarimoc King, 51, 58, 65, 66, 75, 80
Pacay A tree and its fruit (*Inga feuillei*), 69
Pacha Garment, 341. Also refers to "earth," "time." *See also* "ñaupa pacha," ancient times.
***Pacha maca, Pacha macasca, Pacha panta** *See* "oncoy."
Pachaca Servant, 139; also "farmer," 193, 199, 317, 332; and "one hundred," 363. Modern transcriptions use "pachaj" and "pachak."
Pachacamac One of the titles of the creator god, 51, 53, 62, 119, 192, 265, 267–269, 288, 304. *See also* "Viracocha" and "Runacamac."
Pachacuti Cataclysm, God's punishment, 94. Also the title given to the ninth Inca.
Pacha Rurac World's creator; another title for the creator god, 52
Pacha ticra World upside down, God's punishment, 94. *See* "pachacuti."
Paco Alpaca, 60, 69, 180, 269
Paconca An herb, 230
Pacoy yuyo Grass; type of herb, 69
Pacpac Pygmy owl, 283, 284

- **Pacu** Large mushroom, 69
- **Palca** Forked sinew, 351
- **Palla** Noble woman, 6, 7, 9, 143, 183, 255, 314, 330, 341
- **Pallco** Liar, 315. *See also* “llulla.”
- **Palta** Avocado, 69
- **Pana** A man’s sister or female cousin, 68
- **Pantatac huno** Countless, 363
- **Papa** Potato, 69, 180, 285, 292, 334
  - ***Chaucha papa** Small potato, 334
  - ***Llullo papa** First early potato, 243
  - ***Papa mauay** Early potato, 334
- **Pariuana** Andean flamingo (*Phoenicoparrus andinus*), 275
- **Pata** Agricultural terrace for farming hillsides, 54; also means “on top of,” 318
- **Pauau** Flower, 193, 227, 228
  - ***Pauau pallac** Girl who picks flowers, 229, 230
- **Paya** Old woman, 219, 220
- **Pecpe** A small bird, 283
- **Pichica** The number five, 363; also refers to a game, 245. Also spelled “pichca,” 65, 363, and “pisca,” 191, 315
  - ***Pichica camachicoc** Master of five children, 191
  - ***Pichicanmi** The fifth day, 292
- **Pinau** Grass, 69, 109
- **Pincollo** Small flute, panpipe, 141, 317, 318, 319, 325, 336
- **Pincollo camayoc** Flutist, 193
- **Piña** Prison, jail, 303, 306, 307, 313, 314
- **Piñi** Jewelry, 117, 351
- **Pipo** Flute used in the Antisuyo quarter, 325, 336
- **Pique** Flea, chigger, 95
- **Pirca** A wall
- **Pircac** Mason, 226
  - ***Pircac chicoc** Builder, 332, 338
- **Pirua** Storage bin, 247
- **Piruro** Spindle whorl, 351
- **Pisaca** A large tinamou bird (Tinamidea family), called “perdiz” in Peruvian Spanish, 247, 313. *See also* “yuto.” There are many species of tinamous in the Andes.
  - ***Pisaca puti** Tinamou stew, 351
- **Pisi sonco** Cowardly; literally, “small heart,” 187
- **Poma** Puma, mountain lion; also used as a man’s name, 50, 65, 185
  - ***Poma ranra** Robber, 189
  - ***Poma tinya** Puma-skin drum, 336
- **Poñoy camayoc** Sleepyhead, 145
- **Poronco** Earthen plate, 60
- **Poroto** Bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), 69
- **Pototo** Large conch shell trumpet, 336
- **Puca llama** Reddish llama, 245, 320
- **Pucara** Fortress, 64, 157, 338, 339
  - ***Pucara camayoc** Fortress supervisor, 341
  - ***Pucara uacaychac** Fortress guard, 341
- **Puca ucho** Red chile pepper, 69
- **Pucllacuc** Playful, 210
  - ***Pucllacuc uamra** Playful boy, 211, 231
  - ***Pucllacuc huarmi uamra** Playful girl, 232

Pucpu Gourd vessel, 351
Pucullo Small stone house, 53, 54, 56, 59; also a stone tomb, 69, 188, 259, 289–291, 296, 298. *See* illustration, 289.
Punco Doorway
  ***Punco camayoc** Door official, 331
Puñoc paya Sleepy old lady, 221, 222
Puñuy camayoc Sleepyhead, 145
Pupacona llicacona Bird lime net, 332
Puquio Fountain, spring, 259
  ***Puquio oncoy** *See* "oncoy."
Puquis millma rinri Dumb, "wool ears," 85, 339
  ***Puquis colla millma rinri** Imbecile, 78, 118, 180, 332, 339
Pura pura Chest plate, 64
Puric macho Walking old man, 198, 199
Purun cori Native gold, 60, 64
Purun cullque Native silver, 60, 64
Purun tasqui Virgin, 226
Puti A stew prepared with chuño, 351
Putoto Shell trumpet, 336, 352 (*illustration*), 353. *See also* "uaylla quipa."
Quenaquena Cane flute, 319, 317, 327, 336
Quenti Hummingbird, 209
Quero Wooden tumbler, 193, 316
Queuencha A flower, 193
Quichicauan Herbal curer, 194. This seems to be the meaning in the context, but the expression has not been found in reference works.
Quichimicha Soot, 192, 287
Quicocu Celebration of a girl's first menstruation, 259
Quilca camayoc Quipo official, 193, 361. *See also* "quipo camayoc."
Quilla Month, 261, 262, 267, 287. Also means "lazy," 145. Modern transcription is "qhilla."
Quillap Moon, 81
  ***Quillap uata quipoc** Month-year quipo interpreter, 361
Quinoa Andean seed plant (*Chenopodium quinoa*), 69, 78, 180, 193, 363
Quinquitica Bird. *See* "cori quinquitica."
Quipo Strings with knots used to record numbers and other information, 8, 11, 72, 220, 262, 361. Usually spelled "quipu" in English. The keeper of the quipo had to know the meaning of each knot. *See* illustrations, 360, 362.
  ***Hatun hucha quipoc** Major accountant, keeper of a quipo, 363
  ***Huchuy hucha quipoc** Minor accountant, keeper of a quipo, 363
  ***Incap quipoc camayocnin** The Inca's official quipo interpreter, 186.
  ***Quipocnin** Quipo interpreter, 111
  ***Tahuantinsuyo runa quipoc incap** The Inca's royal quipo interpreter, 363
Quirau Cradle.
  ***Quiraupicac** Cradle baby, 214
  ***Quiraupi uaua** Cradle baby, 215, 236
  ***Quiraupi churcuy** First cradle festival, 259
Quiro Tooth.
  ***Quiro uallca** Tooth necklace, war trophy, 166
Quispe A pearl, 334
Quiuyo Small species of tinamou, 207, 247. *See also* "pisaca" and "yuto."
Racacha A tuber, 69
Rampa Litter, 71, 343
  ***Chicche rampa** Brown litter, 186, 342, 343

***Pillco rampa** Reddish litter, 334, 335
***Quispi rampa** Decorated litter, 333
Rantin Replacement
***Incap rantin** The Inca’s replacement, 186, 342, 343
***Incap rantin taripac** The Inca’s replacement inspector, 343
***Incap rantin rimac/rimaric** One who speaks for the Inca, 111, 186, 343
Rarca Irrigation ditch, 54
Raymi Celebration, 55, 261
Recrec A type of bird, 207
Ricuc uaraca Strap, 316. *See also* “uaraca.”
Rimac One who says or makes, 332
Rinri Ear, 85
***Rinrita tipci** Ear pulling as a punishment, 316
Rinriq A bird, 207
Rirpo Mirror, 117
Riui Bolas-throwing game, 208 (*illustration*), 245, 332. Also called “ayllu.”
Rocoto ucho A type of chile, 69
Rocto macho Deaf old man, 200, 201
Rotochico First haircut ceremony, 184, 241, 259, 285, 302
Rotoy To cut one’s hair, 284. Also spelled “rutu.”
Rotusca tasqui Short-haired young girl, 228.
Rumi Stone, 315
Rumita chicoc Stone mason, 193
Rumo Manioc, 338
Runa Person/people, man/men, 6, 9, 48–56, 63–66, 75–77, 94, 111, 205, 298, 307, 313, 369
***Runa yanapac** Deputy, protector, 111
***Runacamac/Runarurac** Titles of the creator-sky god, 52, 55, 68, 73, 192, 256, 257. *See also* “Pachacamac” and “Viracocha.”
Runto Egg, 69
Rutuscam canique “My hair was cut,” 284. Here “rutuy” is the same as “rotoy” above.
Saci conmi Fasting, 267
Sacmana champi A club, 64
Samay Rest, 244, 262
Sancay Dungeon, 303–305, 313, 314
Sapsi Community property, 6, 193, 206, 225, 251, 302, 338, 365
***Sapsi camayoc** Community official, 193
Sara Maize (*Zea maiz*), 69
***Capya utca sara** Special maize, 334
***Cutisara** An ear of corn, 277. This phrase has not been found in reference books, but the meaning was inferred from context. The common word is “choclo.”
***Michica sara** Early maize, 243
***Sara oncoy** Maize sickness, 255
***Uayrap sara** Spell cast by blowing maize flower, 276
Sara tanta rurac Female baker, 193
Sauca chicoc Court jester, 332
Sauca rimac Court joker, 332
Sayapayac Young helper, 204, 205, 341
***Sayapayac macta** Helper boys, 205
Sayua Boundary marker.
***Sayua checta suyoyoc** One who sets boundary markers, 355

Simi Mouth, word

***Simiapac** Gossip, 309, 314

***Incap simin quipococ** The Inca's quipo interpreter, 361

***Incap simin oyaric** Official who hears an Inca's orders, 186

Sinca Nose. *See* "huaca sinca" and "chita sinca."

Sinchicona Captains, 6, 9, 105, 145, 325, 355. This word is always used in the plural. It is composed of "sinchi," strong, brave, and "cona," the plural suffix.

***Sinchi auca** Traitor, 166

Sipas Young woman, 225

***Allin zumaq sipas** Good, pretty young woman, 226

Sipsicac Gossiper, 305

Socna Female friend, 201, 234

Sonco Heart. *See* "pisi" and "yscay."

Sulca churin Youngest child, 56

***Sulca churin yllapa** Younger son lightning, 56. See "Yllapa," weather god.

Sumac aclla Beautiful chosen woman, 301

Supay Evil spirit, the devil, 70, 264

Surcococ Official, administrator, 186, 199

Suri Andean ostrich (*Rhea*), 273

Suua Thief, 189, 305, 315

Suya A kind of squash, 69

-suyo Suffix designating a region, section or quarter, as in Condesuyo (Conde quarter). Also spelled -suyu.

Suyuyoc Administrator, 193, 337, 350

***Chaca suyuyoc** Bridge keeper, 358

Tacac Silversmith, 193.

Tacami A black duck, 207

Tambo A lodging for officials along the royal highways, 6, 10, 72, 194, 357

Tamos Freeze-dried tubers, 193

Taqui Song and dance. Most Inca music included both singing and dancing, 59, 67, 94, 243, 261, 267, 317, 322, 323, 329, 336

***Taquic** Singer/dancer, 193

***Taqui oncoy** *See* "oncoy." In colonial times this referred to an Indian movement to combat Christianity by praying to their huacas.

Taripac The Inca's deputy, 343, 365. *See also* "rantin."

***Taripacoc Papri Inca** Inspector, 364

Taruca Andean deer, 69, 188, 215. *See also* "luycho."

Tasque Young girl, 226, 228

***Tasquecona uacllispa huchallicocona** Young ones who transgressed, 310 (illustration)

Taua cacro Man's garment, 60

Tauri A kind of lupine (*Lupinus tauris*), 69

Tincoc yacu Confluence of rivers, 299

Tinquichi Bring together ritual, 276

Tinri Dwarf, 339

***Tinri uayaca** Dwarf girl, 203, 224

Tinya Small drum.

***Runa tinya** Human-skin drum, a war trophy, 316, 336

Tiri A kind of flower, 230

Tiyoyraqui Calamity, 284

Tocapo Decorative stripe sewn on Inca garments, 87, 89, 97, 101, 103, 111, 116, 127, 135. *See* illustration on page 86, where the stripes run around Manco Capac's tunic at the waist.

Toclla Lasso, snare, 299, 309, 314, 332
***Tocllacoc uamra** Hunter boy, 208, 209
Tocricoc Royal official, 111, 186, 193, 249, 309, 313, 348, 349
***Tocricoc michoc Inca** Royal official of the Inca's justice, 216
Tonay The half-moon-shaped rocker of a grinding stone, 64. *See also* "collota" and "maray."
Topo A large pin made of copper or silver used by women to fasten their outer garments, 60, 117, 121, 294. *See* the illustrations of the queens; for example, on MS p. 122, the topo is fastened on the outer garment of the second coya, Chimbo Urma.
Tuco Horned owl, 283, 284
Tumi A knife with a half-moon-shaped blade, 141, 353
Tupa coca The finest coca, 269
Tuqui A bird known in English as the Andean cock of the rock (*Rupicola peruviana*), 278
Tura A woman's brother, 68
Uac The sound of a dog's bark, 269
Uaca *See* "huaca."
Uacamaya Macaw, 77, 336. This is a loan word from Caribbean Arawak through Spanish "guacamaya."
Uacanqui Love charm, made of various objects, feathers, thorns, stones, 278
***Uacanquera** Hispanicized term for a woman who carries a love charm, 278
***Uacanqui camayoc** Love charm sorcerer, 278
Uaca sinca Split nose, 278
Uacay Llama, 60, 69, 180. This usage has not been found in reference books.
Uacaylli Weeping, 257, 286
Uaccha Orphan, poor person
***Uaccha Inca** Poor Inca, 245
***Uaccha rurocha ñuñuchic** Woman who nurses an orphan, 194
***Uaccha huarmi** Poor woman, 143
Uaccri Precious stone, 269, 334. *See also* "cuychi" and "umiña."
Uachimi Fisherman, 275. This word probably comes from a coastal language. Note the epenthetic vowel in Hispanicized "uachimi," from Quechua "uachmi." *See also* "chalua," the Quechua word for fish.
Uachiua Andean goose, 188, 207, 275, 288. Another epenthetic vowel; from Quechua "uachua."
Uachoc Adulterer, 305, 309, 315
***Uachoc haplla** Violent adulterer, 308
Uacllisca Damaged, promiscuous woman, 220
Uallcanca A shield, 99, 101, 103, 111, 116, 209
Uallca Necklace, 166
Uaman Hawk; also used as a man's name, 65, 85. Also spelled "guaman," as in Guaman Poma.
***Uaman champi** Hawk club, 77, 97
Uamani District, region, 267, 282
Uamanin Regional official, 357
Uamanin apo District leader, regional lord, 65, 191, 307, 343
***Uamanin curaca** Regional chief, 340
***Capac ñan uamanin** Royal road official, 357
Uamra A baby. *See also* "uaua."
***Llullu uamra** Baby, 212
***Llucac uamra** Baby that crawls, 213
***Pucllacoc uamra** Playful child, 231

  *__Uamra tasque__ Young unmarried woman, 218
Uanaco Guanaco, 69, 188, 247, 288,
Uanca Girls' song, 317, 318, 319, 327, 329
Uanchac Shrewd, 365
Uanto Carrier, 58, 71, 343
Uaraca Sling used as a weapon, 64, 231, 232, 316. *See also* "ricuc uaraca."
Uaranca One thousand, 363
Uaricza A dance, 320, 321
Uasca Rope, 201, 247, 314, 351. *See also* "toclla."
Uasi House.
  *__Aca uasi__ Chicha storage house, 332
  *__Aclla uasi__ Chosen women's house, 259, 302
  *__Camachicona uasi__ Counselor's house, 332
  *__Carpa uasi__ House with awning, 332, 340
  *__Churacona uasi__ Storage houses, 331, 332, 337, 340
  *__Incap uasi__ The Inca's house, 331
  *__Marca uasi__ Attic of a house, 332
  *__Masana uasi__ Drying house, 332
  *__Muyo uasi__ Round house, 332
  *__Piña uasi__ Prison, jail, 303, 306, 307, 313, 314
  *__Puñona uasi__ Sleeping quarters, 332
  *__Quenco uasi__ Curved house, 332, 340
Uata Year, 187
Uatac Constable. Also spelled "uatay."
  *__Capac apo uatac__ Powerful lord constable, 344, 345
Uatay camayoc Sheriff, constable, 111, 186, 347
Uatoc Sorcerer, 313
Uaua Baby
  *__Quiraupicac uaua__ Baby in a cradle, 235
  *__Uaua huarmi quiraupicac__ Baby girl in a cradle, 236
  *__Uaua quiraupicac__ Baby in a cradle, 215
  *__Uaua uachachic__ Midwife, 194
Uaucu A dance, 322, 323
Uauqui A man's brother, 68
Uauquin sonco A whip made of woven agave, 315
Uayaca Dwarf, 203, 224. *See also* "tinri."
Uayanay A bird, 65
Uaychau A species of tyrant bird, 209, 284
Uaylla Pasture, 351
Uaylla quepa Gourd trumpet, 64. Also refers to "shell trumpet," 336, 352 (*illustration*), 353. *See also* "pototo."
Uayna Youth, 204
Uayño A male friend, 201, 234
Uayoc tica A feather pompon ornament worn by the Inca over the forehead fringe, 86 (*illustration*), 87
Uayrap saran Maize dust, 277
Uayro iñaca Dice game, 245
Ucho Chile pepper, 69
Ucumari Bear, 50
Ucu pacha supaypa huacin Inferno, underworld, the devil's house, 70
Uicza allichac hampi camayoc Specialist in curing stomach problems, midwife, 194
Uincha Headband worn by women, 117, 224, 230, 299, 301

Uinpillay A place near Cuzco where delinquents were stoned or hung, 308, 309, 313

Uiruy paccha, cantoc paccha A fountain, 336

Uisa Sorcerer-priest, 185, 197, 332. *See also* “Huaylla uisa” and “Conde uisa.”

Uisama Birth under an evil omen, 278. *See also* “yayuma.”

Uitaca A tree, 293, 294

Uiza Twins, 133, 139

Ulluco Tuber, 69, 193

Uma Head

***Uma chuco** Helmet worn by soldiers, 64, 98 (*illustration*), 99, 101, 105, 107, 111, 113, 116

Umiña A precious stone, 334, 341 *See also* “cuychi” and “uaccri.”

Umu Sorcerer-priest, 279, 280

Unquina An herb, 69, 230, 340

Unu Water, 193

***Unu yacu pachacuti** Water cataclysm, 51. Both “unu” and “yacu” mean “water” or “rain.”

Urco Hill, 318, 243, 267

Urpay Dove, 209, 267

Usco Wild cat; also used as a man’s name, 65, 185. Probably refers to the ocelot.

Usno Platform for royal sacrifices and throne of the Inca, 264, 267

Usum Prune (*Prunus domestica*), 69

Vicuña Smaller wild species of llama, camelid (*Lama vicugna*), 69, 188, 215, 247, 288. *See also* “uanaco.”

Vilca tauri A purge of medicinal lupine, 71, 119

Villauay “Tell me,” 368

Villcachina Syringe for enema, 71

Viracocha One of the titles of the creator god, 49, 72, 76, 107, 118, 264

Viscacha An animal similar to a rabbit with shorter ears and longer tail (Lagidium family), 336

Yacu Water, 54, 193. *See also* “unu.”

Yamuraca, yamur tocoy asua Special type of chicha, 245

Yana Retainer, servant.

***Yanayaco** Indian in the service of the deities, 267, 288

Yana tite Lead, 60

Yauar chumpi Reddish-brown, 251. Could also mean “blood-colored sash” (see n. 220).

Yauar zanco Roll made with blood, 275.

Yaya Father, elder, 67, 68, 271, 304

***Yayan Yllapa** Father Lightning, 56

***Yayan runa muchochic** Just father, 55

Yayuma uisama aualla Child born feet first, an evil omen, 278

Ychima Reddish mineral used by women as rouge; also refers to the color vermillion, 101, 278

Ycho Coarse bunch grass common in the Andes, 351

Yllapa Lightning; also the name of the weather god, worshiped for rain, 56, 267, 278, 290

Ynchici Peanut, 69

Ynquil A flower, 123

-yoc Suffix meaning “possessor of certain skills.”

Yquima A widow, 220, 291, 293. Note the Hispanicized word formed by adding the epenthetic vowel to Quechua “icma.”

Yscay sonco Two-faced (literally “two hearts”), 264, 305, 315

***Yscay sonco auca** Traitor, 190, 303

Yspinco Civet, an aromatic herb, 334

Yucra Shrimp, 69

Yunca Warm coastal lowlands, 253, 275, 294, 299, 332. Also used to refer to the Indians of that region.

Yunca sara Maize, 69

Yupaychasca Honored, 190

Yurac tite Tin, 60

Yuto Tinamou (Tinamidae family), a bird known as “perdiz” in Spanish, 60, 207. *See also* “pisaca” and “quiuyo.” There are many species of tinamou in Peru.

Yuyo An herb, 69, 193, 232, 241, 243, 247, 249, 253, 287, 336

Zanco Maize bread, 252, 269, 275, 280. *See also* “yauar zanco.”

Zapallo Squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), 69, 284

Zazicui Fast, 286

Zuchoc chuqui Spear, 64

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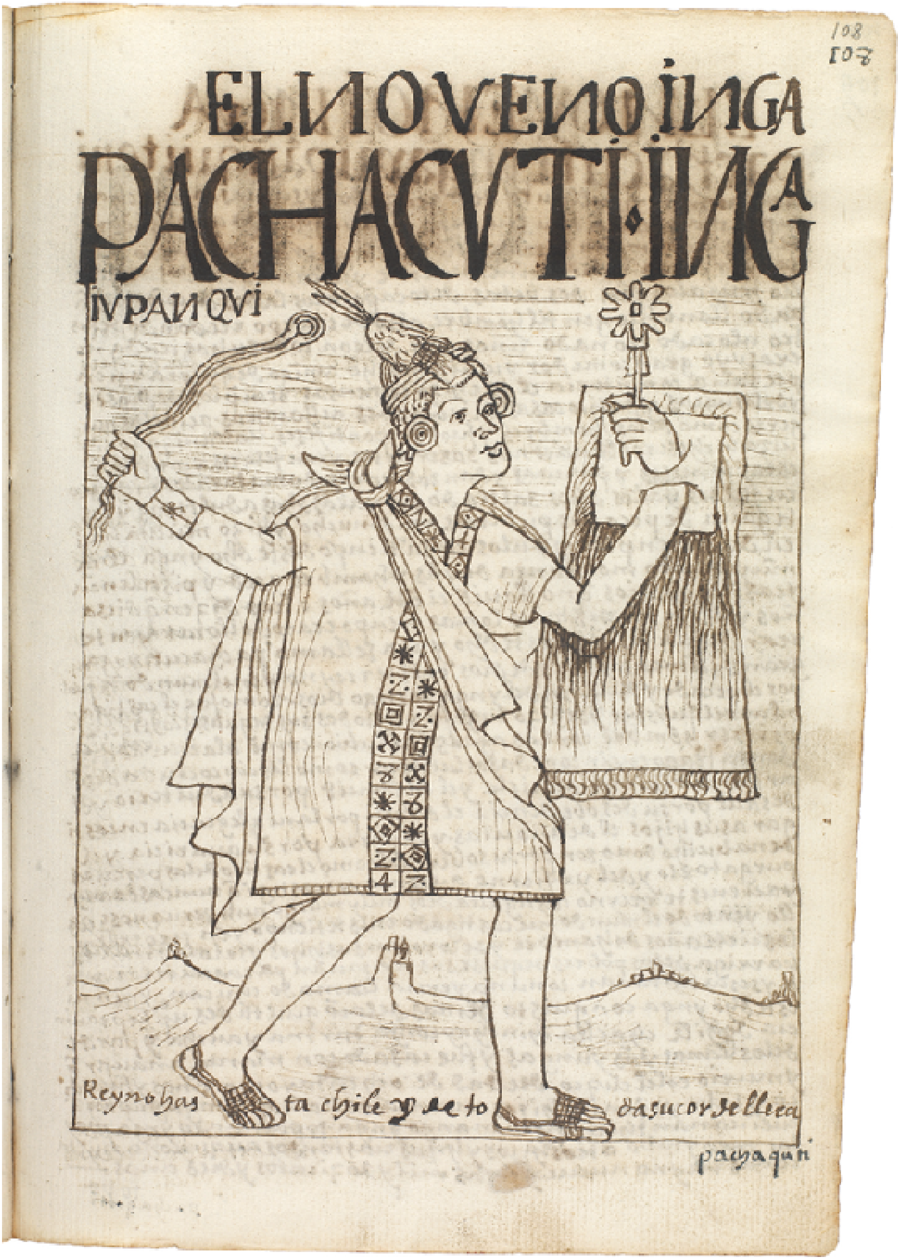
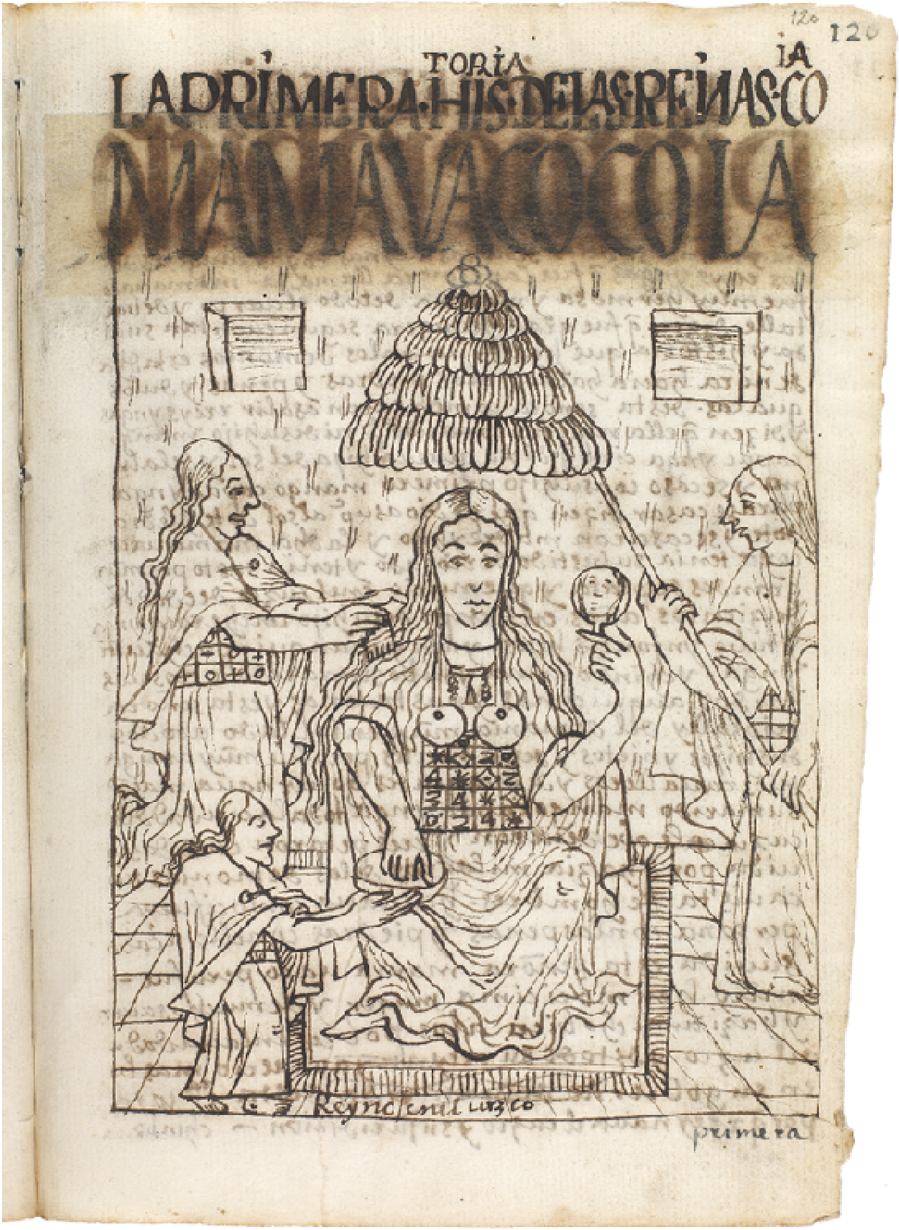
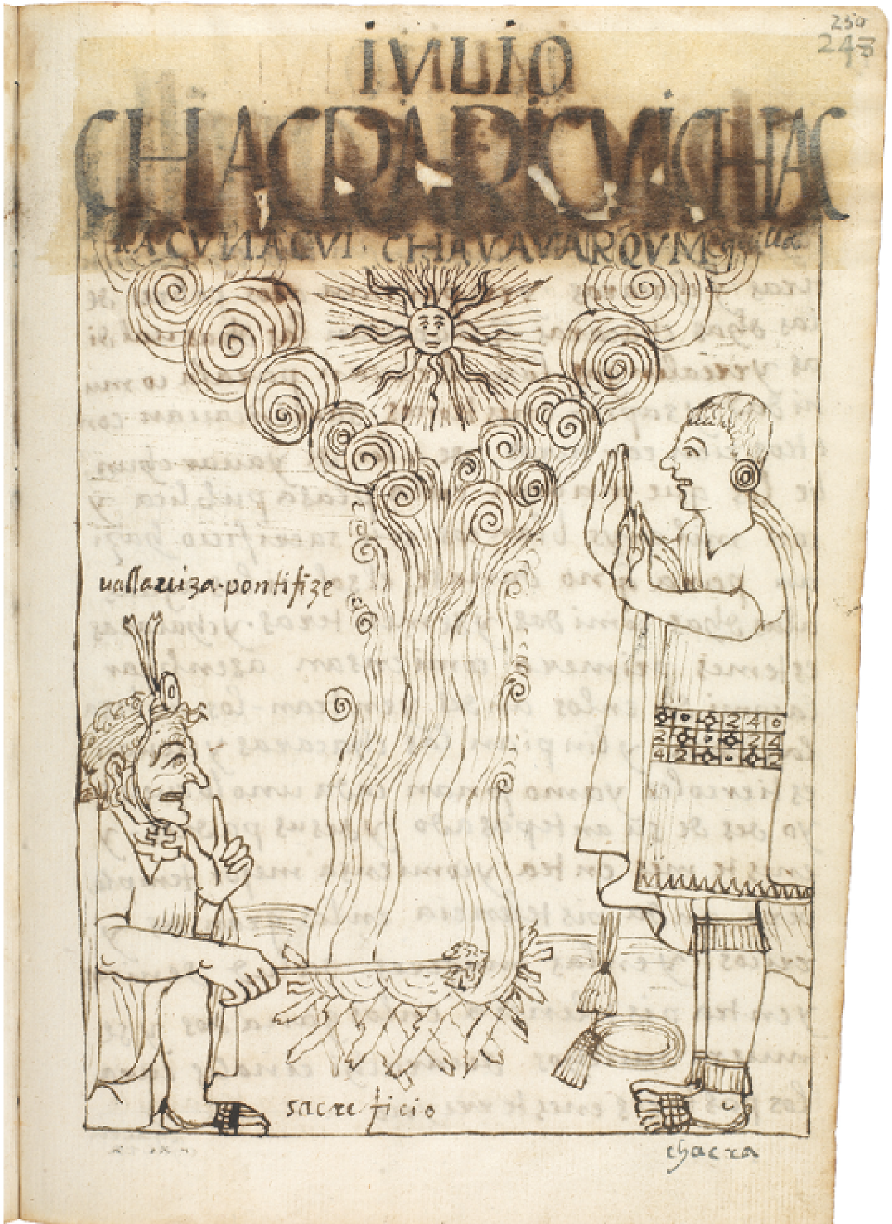

108
108
EL NOVENO INGA
PACHACVTI INGA
IVPANQVI
Reyno hasta chile y de toda su cordellera
pacyaqun

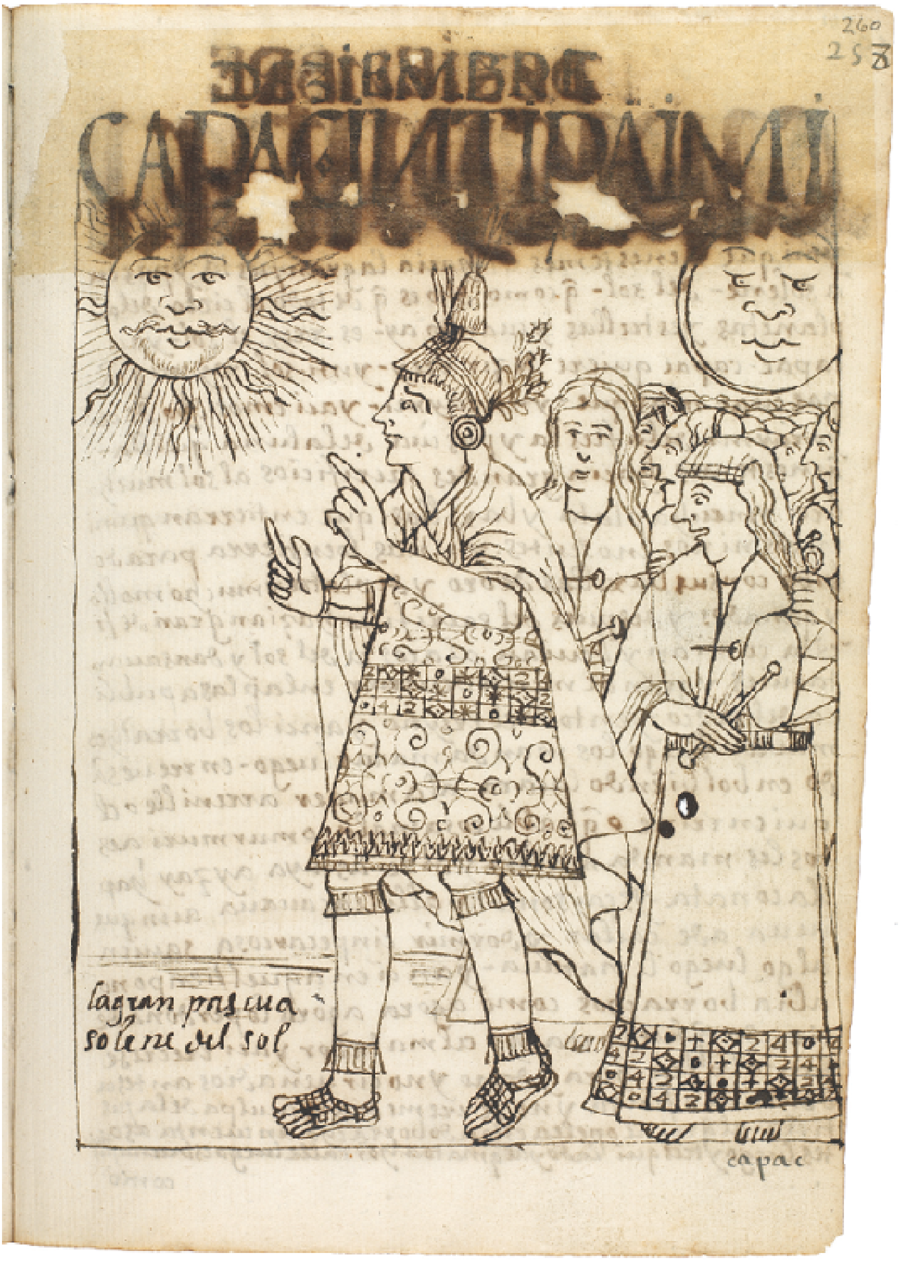
108. *Drawing 35. The ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca*


120
120
TORIA
IA
LA PRIMERA·HIS·DE LAS·REINAS·CO
MAMAVACOCOIA
Reyno en el cuzco
primera

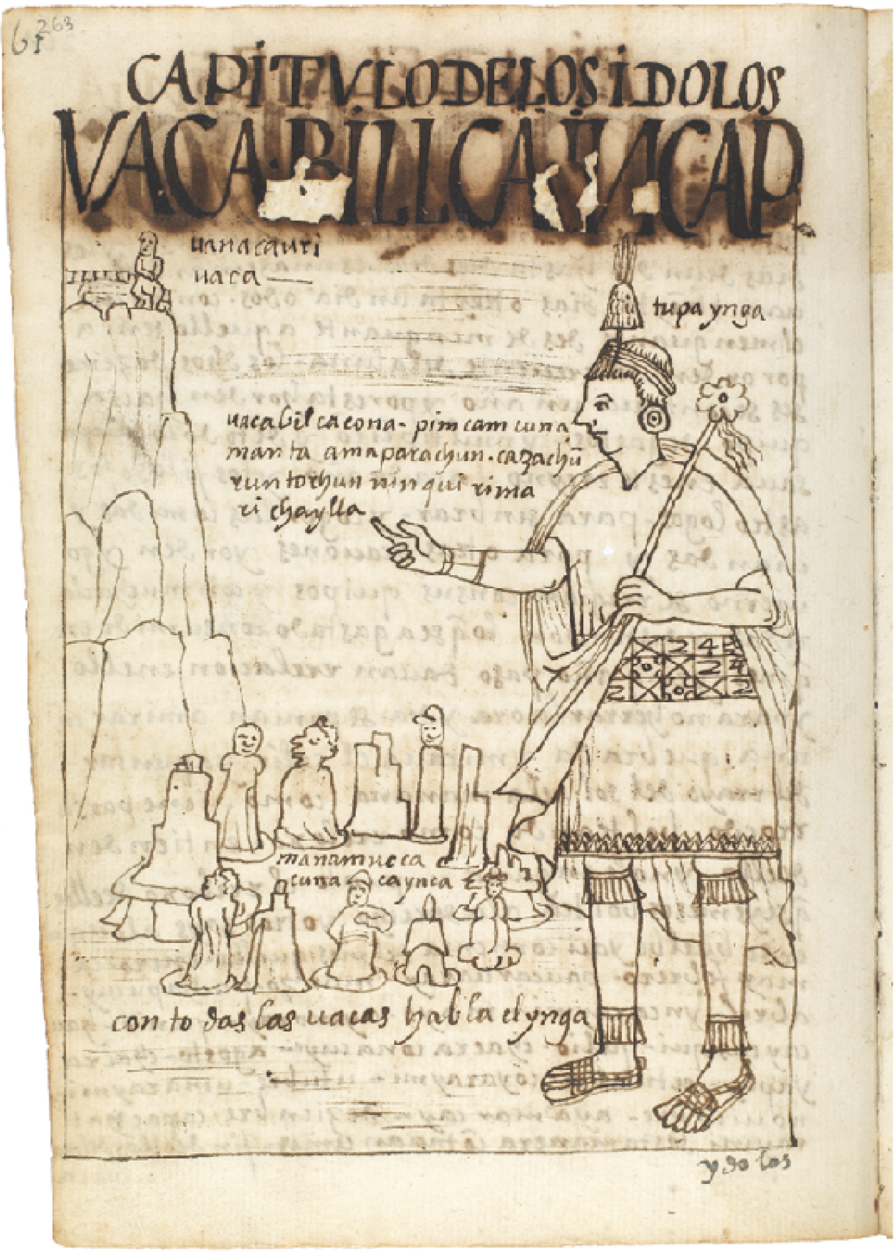
120. *Drawing 39. The first* coya, *Mama Huaco*


250
248
IVLIO
HACVINACVI · CHAVAVARQVM quilla
uallauiza · pontifize
sacrefiçio
chacra

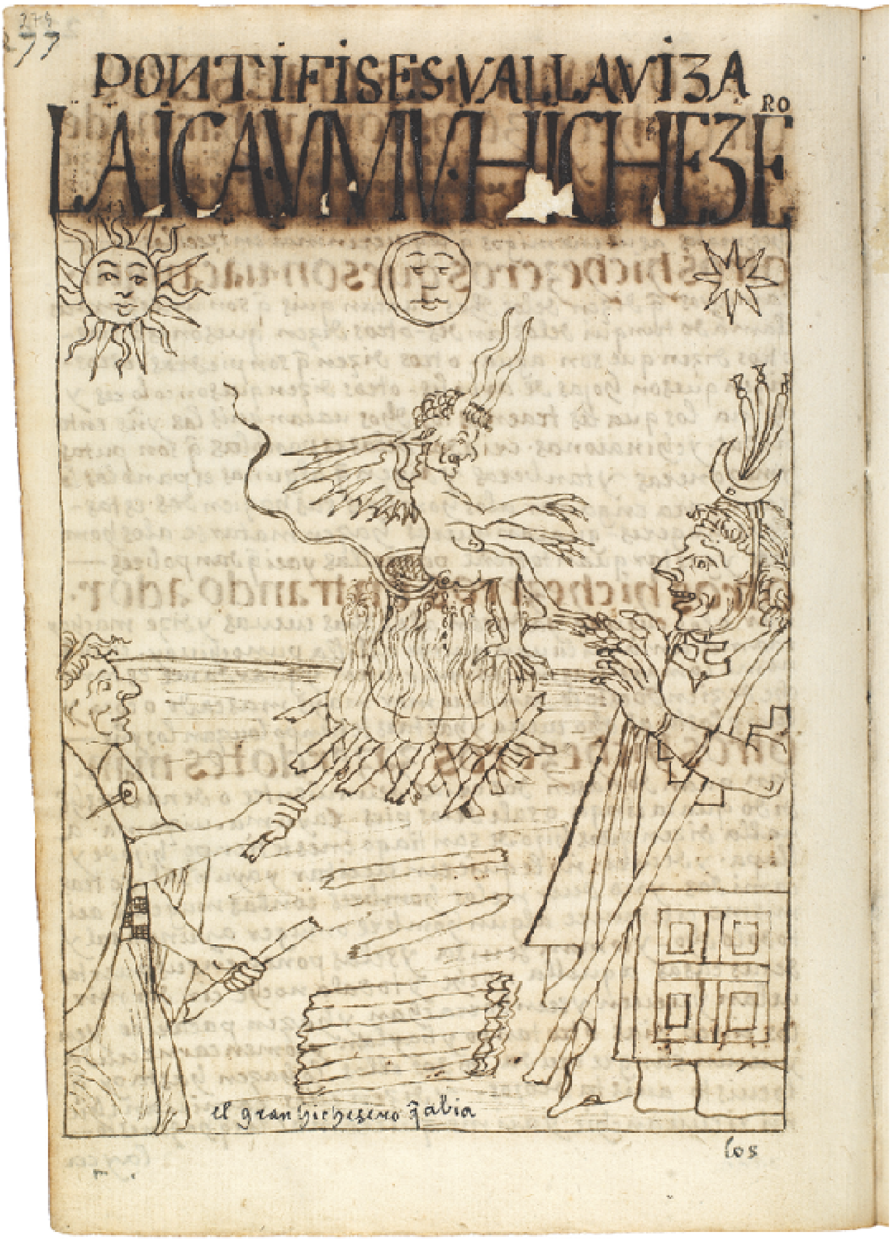
248/250. *Drawing 96. The seventh month, July;* Chacra Cunacuy Quilla*, month of the inspection and distribution of lands*


260
258
DEZIEMBRE
CAPAC INTI RAIMI
lagran pascua
solene del sol
capac

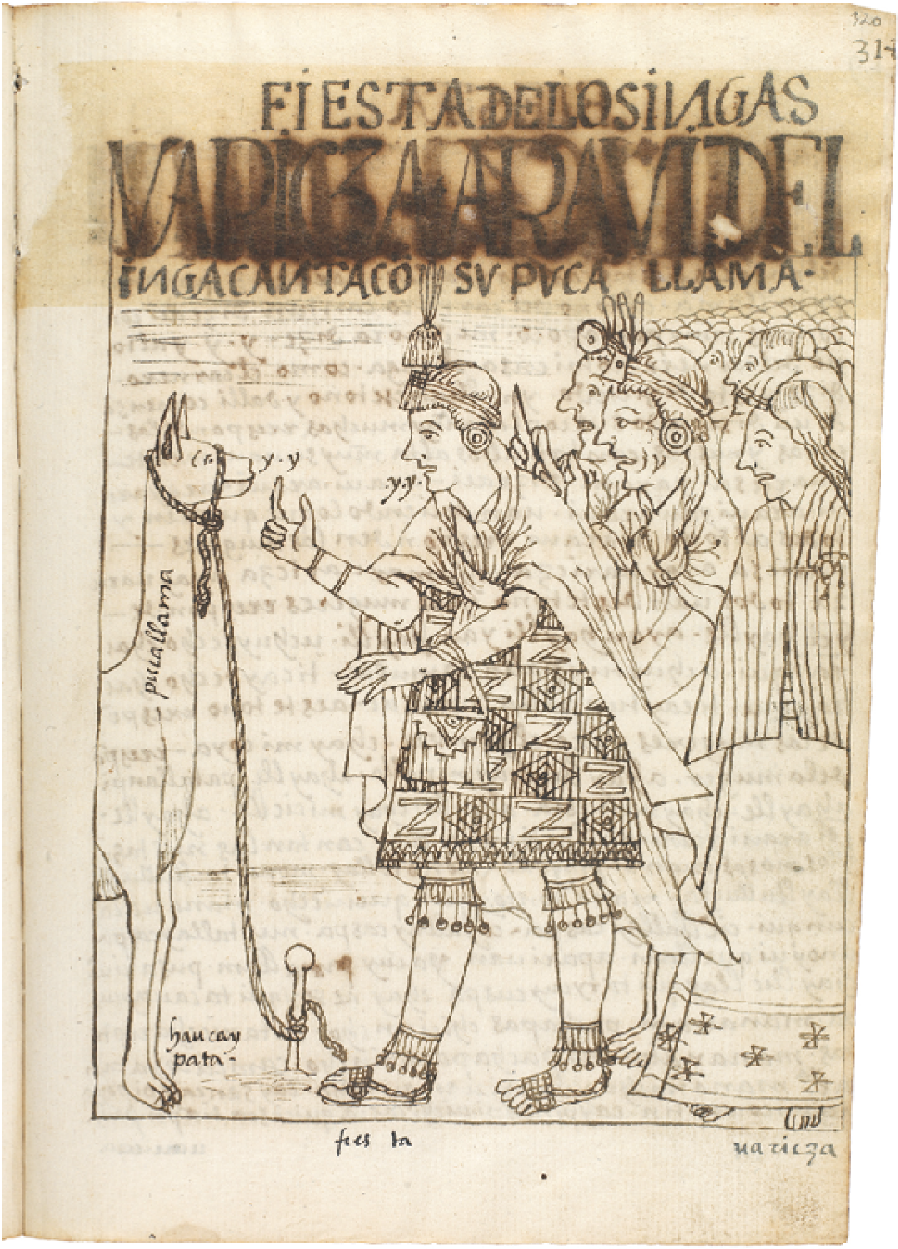
258/260. *Drawing 101. The twelfth month, December;* Capac Inti Raymi Quilla*, month of the festivity of the lord sun*off. He who kills should be hanged at once. That is justice.[229]


61 263
CAPITVLO DE LOS IDOLOS
VACA BILLCA YNCAP
unnacauri
uaca
tupa ynga
uacabilcacona - pimcamcuna
manta amaparachun. cazachũ
runtorhun ninqui rima
ri chaylla
manam ueca
cuna cayncac
con todas las uacas habla el ynga
ydolos

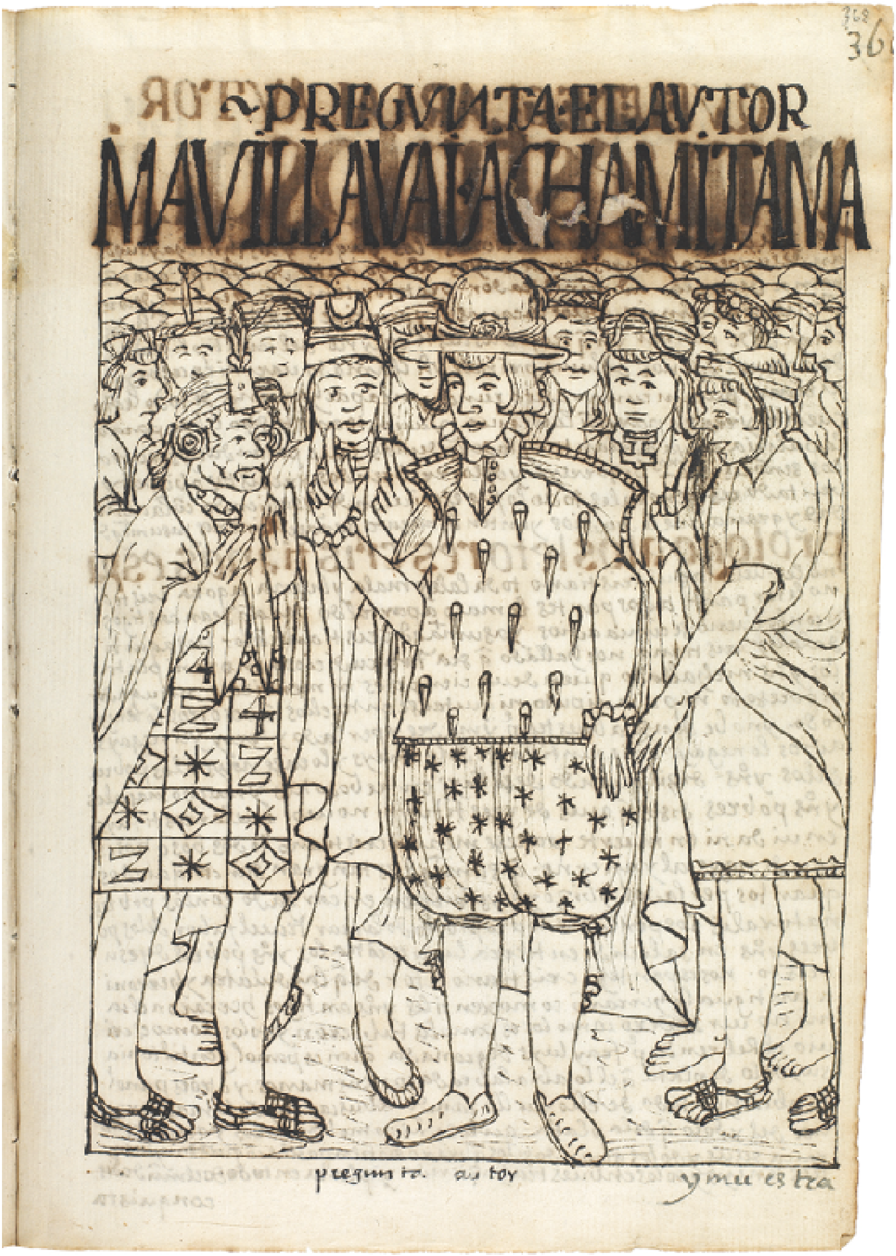
261/263. *Drawing 102. Divinities of the Inca,* Huaca vilca incap


279
277
PONTIFISES VALLAVIZA
LAICA VMV HICHEZERO
el gran hichesero Zabia
los

277/279. *Drawing 108. High priests,* huaylla uisa*,* layca*,* umu*, sorcerer*


320
314
FIESTA DE LOS INGAS
UARICZA ARAUI DEL
INGA CANTA CON SU PUCA LLAMA
y.y
y.y
puca llama
haucay pata
fiesta
uaricza

318/320. *Drawing 124. Feast of the Incas:* Uaricza*, dance;* araui*, song of the Inca. He sings with his red llama.*


368
36
PREGVNTA EL AVTOR
MAVILLAVAI ACHAMITAMA
pregunta autor
y muestra

366/368. *Drawing 146. Guaman Poma says, "But, tell me," as he inquires about the history of ancient Peru.*